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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

1866.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER:

A

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AND ABROAD,

FOR THE YEAR

1866.

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ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR

1866.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

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The aspect of public affairs at the commencement of the year 1866 was chequered with some features of anxiety. Though enjoying the blessing of peace with its neighbours, and exhibiting the outward symptoms of prosperity in an extended trade and a buoyant revenue, the nation was not without some causes of trouble and disquietude. Of these the cattle disease, which in the last month of 1865 was carrying off from six to eight thousand animals per

week, was among the most prominent. Serious anticipations were entertained in many quarters as to the inroads which this formidable malady was likely to make upon the sustenance of the nation; and the experience of its former visitations seemed to discourage the hope that, after once gaining a footing on our shores, the disease could, except after a considerable lapse of time, be extirpated. The progress of the cholera, which seemed to be advancing upon us in a westerly course from the Continent of Europe, was another source of anxiety to many. But a worse malady and more difficult to cope with than any physical disorder, was that chronic disaffection in Ireland, which at the present time, under the form of Fenianism, kept the Government in a state of constant vigilance and solicitude. The Special Commission which had been appointed in the latter part of 1865 for the trial of the persons charged with being concerned in this conspiracy, was still carrying on its proceedings at the opening of the new year, and seemed likely to find occupation for some time further in dealing with the long list of cases awaiting adjudication. And although few well-informed persons anticipated that any open outbreak or actual collision with the Queen's forces would take place, the symptoms of deep-rooted and wide-spread hostility to English rule which were manifested in various parts of the country caused serious disappointment to those who had hoped that a tolerant and conciliatory policy had at last made some favourable impression on the Irish mind, and was gradually healing the wounds of past misgovernment. Such flattering hopes the disclosures now made of the state of feeling prevalent in Ireland were but too well calculated to dispel. The only solid ground of satisfaction now afforded was the firmness and vigilance of those to whose hands the Government of the Sister Kingdom was committed. Extraordinary powers, it will be hereafter seen, were found necessary to be vested in them for the preservation of the peace and security of the loyal portion of the community.

The state of monetary affairs at the commencement of the year was not such as could be contemplated without some forebodings. The Bank rate of discount had undergone many and great fluctuations throughout the preceding year, and, when it closed, stood at the high amount of 7 per cent. The year 1865 had witnessed an extraordinary development of the "limited liability" principle in the creation of nearly three hundred new joint-stock trading companies, many of which were formed by the transfer of the undertakings of private firms, having very extensive liabilities or engagements, to limited associations. That many of these schemes originated in the efforts of speculative promoters, having no other object than their own immediate profit in view, no doubt could be entertained; and those who remembered the results of a similar delusion on the part of the investing public at former periods, could not but anticipate the consequent stages of reaction and collapse which inevitably follow upon a speculative mania. Probably few persons, however, at the end of 1865 could have imagined how

severe and crushing in their effects the failures of the succeeding year were destined to be.

The prospects of domestic politics, previously to the meeting of Parliament, were full of uncertainty. The Liberal Administration, which had been in some measure reconstructed after the death of Lord Palmerston, with Earl Russell at its head, and Mr. Gladstone as First Minister in the House of Commons, though it appeared externally strong in the support of a large majority, computed at no less than seventy, in the Lower House, was not devoid of some elements of weakness and instability. It was felt that the Cabinet no longer possessed that claim to the confidence or forbearance of the Conservative party which the supposed political leanings of the late Premier had afforded; nor was the personal popularity of the present chief at all equal to that of the late well-skilled and dexterous leader of the House of Commons. His successor had yet to be tried in that new position, and notwithstanding the incomparable eloquence and great abilities of Mr. Gladstone, it might yet be doubted how far he possessed the peculiar qualities demanded by that arduous post. The difficulties of the Ministry were, however, at the present time greatly enhanced by the task which it was already announced they had taken upon themselves for the ensuing session, that of dealing with the long-pending question of Parliamentary Reform. To attempt legislation on a subject which involved such wide differences of opinion, such opposition of interests, and such grave constitutional problems, was to face certain peril, and not improbable defeat. The Ministry of Lord Russell avowed that they considered the proposal of such a measure without the delay of another session was due to their own consistency, to the just expectations of the country, and even to the obligations of political morality. As to the nature and extent of the measure about to be proposed public expectation was entirely at fault. That there would be a reduction both of the county and borough franchises, and some transfer of representation from the small to the larger constituencies, was obvious enough, but the measure and the degree of these changes, and the checks and qualifications with which the enlargement of the popular element might be accompanied, were pure matters of speculation. To all these uncertainties was added that which related to the temper and tendencies of the new Parliament, elected in the preceding summer, previous to the decease of Lord Palmerston, containing a large infusion of new members, now about to enter on the work of legislation. One circumstance, highly gratifying to the nation, marked the inauguration of the new Legislature. Her Majesty, who since the death of her lamented Consort had not entered the walls of the Palace of Westminster, had announced her intention of opening her Parliament in person. No step on her part could have been more judicious or more pleasing to her subjects. Before, however, this proceeding could take place there were some preliminary ceremonies to be performed—the members had to take the oaths, and a

Speaker had to be elected, before the House of Commons was ripe for business. For these purposes the Houses met on the 1st of February. For the office of Speaker Mr. Evelyn Denison, who had filled the Chair in the two preceding Parliaments, was proposed by the Right Hon. William Monsell, seconded by Earl Grosvenor, and elected nem. con., the usual complimentary tributes being paid on the occasion. The Speaker elect expressed his sense of the manner in which his nomination had been proposed and seconded, and said he had always endeavoured to do his duty as a faithful and zealous servant of that House. The Right Hon. gentleman was then led to the chair by the mover and seconder, and proceeded to return his thanks to the House; and added that, on looking round, he missed one who was long the leader of that assembly, and who by a remarkable combination of qualities had obtained in no ordinary degree the confidence of the House; and he passed a high eulogium on the late Lord Palmerston, dictated, as he said, by feelings of regret and esteem. He asked from those who had been his colleagues in the House a renewal of the confidence they had hitherto accorded to him; while to the new members he would say that much of the fame which had been acquired by the House had been gained by an adherence to the rules and conduct of its business, a knowledge of which he recommended to the neophytes, assuring them that he should be always ready to afford them friendly counsel and advice.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer congratulated the Speaker on his resumption of the high office to which he had been elected for the third time. He then referred to the many statesmen and members of that House who had passed away, and he mentioned in terms of eulogy Lord Russell, who had been removed to the other House, and Sir James Graham; and dwelt in strong and feeling terms on the loss which the country and the House had sustained by the death of Lord Palmerston, with regard to whom another opportunity would occur of enlarging on his high qualities, as it would be his (Mr. Gladstone's) duty ere long to submit to the House a proposition in connection with Lord Palmerston's name. He added that an acknowledgment of his sense of the loss of Lord Palmerston was especially due from him, considering the arduous and responsible duties to which he had humbly succeeded, and concluded with an expression of his belief in the capability of the new Parliament to discharge its functions, and with a cordial utterance of his belief that the Speaker would receive from the House, as he certainly would from him, all possible confidence and support.

Mr. Disraeli, as leader of the Opposition, concurred in the encomiums which had been passed upon the Speaker, and expressed his confidence in the ability of that gentleman to discharge the high duties to which he had just been called. He intimated at the same time that it would have been more gratifying, as well as in accordance with precedent, if the pleasing task of seconding the Speaker's

nomination had been assigned to a member on that side of the House. Mr. Disraeli also took occasion to pay a tribute of regret to the memory of the late leader of the House.

Upon the 6th of February the formal opening of the proceedings of Parliament took place. An account of the ceremonies attendant upon Her Majesty's appearance in the House of Lords on this occasion will be found in another part of this volume[1]. The Royal Speech, which was read from the Throne by the Lord Chamberlain, was in the following terms:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—

"It is with great satisfaction that I have recourse to your assistance and advice.

"I have recently declared my consent to a marriage between my daughter Princess Helena and Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Augustenburg. I trust this union may be prosperous and happy.

"The death of my beloved uncle, the King of the Belgians, has affected me with profound grief. I feel great confidence, however, that the wisdom which he evinced during his reign will animate his successor, and preserve for Belgium her independence and prosperity.

"My relations with foreign powers are friendly and satisfactory, and I see no cause to fear any disturbance of the general peace.

"The meeting of the fleets of France and England in the ports of the respective countries has tended to cement the amity of the two nations, and to prove to the world their friendly concert in the promotion of peace.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity.

"I have at the same time the satisfaction to inform you that the exertions and perseverance of my naval squadron have reduced the slave-trade on the West Coast of Africa within very narrow limits.

"A correspondence has taken place between my Government and that of the United States with respect to injuries inflicted on American commerce by cruisers under the Confederate flag. Copies of this correspondence will be laid before you.

"The renewal of diplomatic relations with Brazil has given me much satisfaction, and I acknowledge with pleasure that the good offices of my ally, the King of Portugal, have contributed essentially to this happy result.

[1] See the "Chronicle" for February, post.

"I have to regret the interruption of peace between Spain and Chili. The good offices of my Government, in conjunction with those of the Emperor of the French, have been accepted by Spain, and it is my earnest hope that the causes of disagreement may be removed in a manner honourable and satisfactory to both countries.

"The negotiations which have been long pending in Japan, and which have been conducted with great ability by my minister in that country, in conjunction with the representatives of my allies in Japan, have been brought to a conclusion which merits my entire approbation. The existing treaties have been ratified by the Mikado; it has been stipulated that the tariff shall be revised in a manner favourable to commerce, and that the indemnity due under the terms of the Convention of October, 1864, shall be punctually discharged.

"I have concluded a treaty of commerce with the Emperor of Austria, which I trust will open to that empire the blessings of extended commerce, and be productive of important benefits to both countries.

"The deplorable events which have occurred in the Island of Jamaica have induced me to provide at once for an impartial inquiry, and for the due maintenance of authority during that inquiry, by appointing a distinguished military officer as governor and commander of the forces. I have given him the assistance of two able and learned commissioners, who will aid him in examining into the origin, nature, and circumstances of the recent outbreak, and the measures adopted in the course of its suppression. The Legislature of Jamaica has proposed that the present political constitution of the island should be replaced by a new form of government. A bill upon this subject will be submitted to your consideration.

"Papers on these occurrences will be laid before you.

"Papers on the present state of New Zealand will be laid before you.

"I have given directions for the return to this country of the greater portion of my regular forces employed in that colony.

"I watch with interest the proceedings which are still in progress in British North America with a view to a closer union among the provinces, and I continue to attach great importance to that object.

"I have observed with great concern the extensive prevalence, during the last few months, of a virulent distemper among cattle in Great Britain, and it is with deep regret, and with sincere sympathy for the sufferers, that I have learnt the severe losses which it has caused in many counties and districts. It is satisfactory to know that Ireland, and a considerable part of Scotland, are as yet free from this calamity, and I trust that by the precautions suggested by experience, and by the Divine blessing on the

means which are now being employed, its further extension may be arrested.

"The orders which have been made by the Lords of my Privy Council by virtue of the powers vested in them by law, with a view to prevent the spreading of this disease, will be laid before you, and your attention will be called to the expediency of an amendment of the law relating to a subject so deeply affecting the interests of my people.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons: I have directed that the estimates of the ensuing year shall be laid before you. They have been prepared with a due regard to economy, and are at the same time consistent with the maintenance of efficiency in the public service.

"The condition of trade is satisfactory.

"My Lords and Gentlemen: A conspiracy, adverse alike to authority, property, and religion, and disapproved and condemned alike by all who are interested in their maintenance, without distinction of creed or class, has unhappily appeared in Ireland. The constitutional power of the ordinary tribunals has been exerted for its repression, and the authority of the law has been firmly and impartially vindicated.

"A Bill will be submitted to you founded on the report of the Royal Commission, on the subject of capital punishment, which I have directed to be laid before you.

"Bills will be laid before you for amending and consolidating the laws relating to bankruptcy, and for other improvements in the law.

"Measures will also be submitted to you for extending the system of public audit to branches of receipt and expenditure which it has not hitherto reached, and for amending the provisions of the law with respect to certain classes of legal pensions.

"Your attention will be called to the subject of the oaths taken by members of Parliament, with a view to avoid unnecessary declarations, and to remove invidious distinctions between members of different religious communities in matters of legislation.

"I have directed that information should be procured in reference to the rights of voting in the election of members to serve in Parliament for counties, cities, and boroughs.

"When that information is complete, the attention of Parliament will be called to the result thus obtained, with a view to such improvements in the laws which regulate the rights of voting in the election of members of the House of Commons as may tend to strengthen our free institutions and conduce to the public welfare.

"In these and in all other deliberations, I fervently pray that the blessing of Almighty God may guide your counsels to the promotion of the happiness of my people."

The Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne was

moved by the Marquis of Normanby, who began by expressing the gratification, in which he felt sure all the House must partake, at the effort which Her Majesty had made to resume her public functions by meeting her new Parliament. The Queen had done this too when she was suffering from a fresh bereavement in the recent death of her lamented relative, King Leopold. He was sure both the House and the public would hail with delight her public re-appearance among them. In referring to the close of the civil war in the United States, the noble Marquis remarked with satisfaction the prevalent desire in this country to maintain friendly relations with that great republic, and, by promoting commercial intercourse, to repair the injuries sustained by the United States in the recent struggle. The conclusion of the treaty of commerce with Austria was also matter for congratulation. As to the state of things in Jamaica, it was unfortunate that Governor Eyre had not sent home such full details as would have prevented the necessity of sending out a Commission. At the same time he could not believe that Mr. Eyre had been guilty of the illegal acts which had been attributed to him until there was evidence to prove them. He next reviewed the subjects of New Zealand, the cattle plague, and the Fenian conspiracy, the latter of which he pronounced to be so silly and hopeless, and the measures for its suppression so successful, that he trusted they would prove the death blow to any combination of a similar character hereafter. As to Parliamentary Reform, the noble Marquis expressed a hope that the Bill about to be introduced by the Government for the extension of the franchise would respect the rights of property whilst it gave a fair share in the representation to the working classes.

The Earl of Morley having seconded the Address,

The Duke of Rutland referred to the important subject mentioned in the Royal Speech—the cattle plague—which had now prevailed for six months, and for which prevention, not cure, was the sole remedy. Yet what had Government done to stop the spread of the pest? Absolutely nothing, or worse than nothing. They had issued vague and contradictory orders, shifting the responsibility from themselves to the people. Even at that late hour Government should awake from their slumbers, and prohibit the movement of cattle through the country, and the importation of cattle from abroad.

The Duke of Richmond expressed similar views on the subject, and also complained, as being an insult to Parliament, that the report of the Commission on capital punishment had just been published in a newspaper.

Lord Feversham also condemned the conduct of Government in regard to the cattle plague, and moved, as an amendment to the Address, "We beg leave to add our deep regret that, upon this important subject the Government did not, from the first, assume the responsibility of issuing an order for uniformity of action throughout the country, as most essential to arrest the progress

and to mitigate the severity of so virulent, appalling, and destructive a malady."

Lord Effingham also censured the conduct of Government in the matter.

The Earl of Winchilsea considered that Government had forfeited the confidence of the country, and ought to be expelled from office.

Earl Granville defended the course adopted by the Ministers, and described the exertions made to stop the progress of the cattle plague. The Commissioners were, he understood, about to issue a further report, containing valuable information, though unaccompanied by any recommendations; and a Bill would be introduced into Parliament on an early day for effecting certain alterations in the law which the Government thought would be useful.

The Earl of Carnarvon held the Government responsible for the spread of the disease, and censured them for not having called Parliament together on an earlier day.

The Marquis of Abercorn dilated on the Fenian conspiracy; but whilst commending the manner in which the prosecutions had been conducted, blamed the Government for delaying the trials until after the general election.

Earl Grey said, that Ministers, by shrinking from responsibility, had incurred the very responsibility which they wished to avoid. They ought to have called Parliament together in November, and Parliament would, no doubt, have supported their recommendations. The intentions of the Government might have been good, but they had evidently displayed great want of judgment; and in a Government want of vigour and want of judgment were faults that could not be too highly condemned. On the question of Reform, the noble earl remarked that, in undertaking to deal with that subject now, Lord Russell was deserting the principle he had avowed in 1832—namely, the principle of finality, and was pandering to Mr. Bright and the ultra-Radical party.

The Duke of Argyle suggested that the discussion of the cattle plague might as well have been postponed until Ministers had introduced their promised measure on the subject, expressed his approval of the steps which had been taken, and argued against uniformity of action and the suspension of imports from abroad.

The Earl of Derby, after paying a tribute to the ability shown in the speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address, proceeded to review the various subjects of the Royal Speech. In most of these he concurred, but took strong exception to the conduct of the Government towards Mr. Eyre, which, he contended, was not only unjust and ungenerous in the highest degree, but imprudent in regard to the colony with reference to both its white and black population. Such a course would never have been pursued had Lord Palmerston been alive, for if that great statesman had an error it was an error on the bolder and nobler side of defending his sub-

ordinates to the very last. What the Government had now done was to send out a roving Commission that had no real power beyond that of picking up the gossip of the island and collecting irresponsible evidence on which Mr. Eyre might be tried for his life. He quite agreed with the opinions which had been expressed from all sides of the House as to the most serious remissness of the Government in all relating to the check and prevention of the cattle plague, though even more dangerous, even more mischievous than this was their negligence in not earlier dealing with the Fenian conspiracy, when the Government had all the proofs of the guilt of its leaders in their possession. Too much leniency had been shown in overlooking these repeated overt acts of treason. Lord Derby then proceeded to descant on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, referring with much humour to speeches made by Earl Russell in 1859, when his (Lord Derby's) Government were in office, and were taunted for their backwardness and hesitancy in not being prepared with a Reform Bill at the beginning of the Session. "Well," continued Lord Derby, "the noble earl is now at the head of the Government, and I do not gather that they have their measure ready. I infer from Her Majesty's Speech that they have not yet made up their minds what their measure should be. If the fact be otherwise, they certainly have done themselves great injustice, because they say that inquiries are now going forward 'with reference to the rights of voting in the election of members to serve in Parliament,' and that 'when that information is complete, the attention of Parliament will be called to the result thus obtained,' &c. Now, my Lords, the Government are proceeding either without information, or with the intention of making the information they may procure square with their foregone conclusions; or, again, they may be gifted with a superhuman prescience which enables them to know infallibly beforehand what will be the precise result of these inquiries, whereas we poor ordinary mortals must be content to wait until all those promised statistics are laid before us which are to prove the wonderful skill and dexterity of the Government in framing a measure in anticipation of the information on which it is to be founded. Well, my Lords, imitating the wise caution of the noble earl, I will express no opinion upon their measure until I have seen it. I hope it will be such a measure as I shall be able to support—that it will be a reasonable and satisfactory settlement of this grave and important question, which I believe it is desirable to settle, and settle once for all. And I promise the noble earl another thing—that his Bill shall have fair play, that it shall not be thrust aside by any underhand methods, that there shall be no factious movement or combinations against it on the part of those who can combine for nothing else; that it shall be dealt with on its merits; that if we can approve of it we shall give it our cordial support; but that, on the other hand, if we disapprove of it and think it is imperfect, inadequate, or dangerous, and,

above all, if we think it one leading to future agitations within a brief period of a perilous character, then, with whatever means we may possess, we shall do our best to throw it out by fair debate and honourable opposition."

Earl Russell vindicated the conduct of his Government upon the points on which it had been impugned by Lord Derby, especially with reference to the Jamaica insurrection and the question of Parliamentary Reform.

"As to the first," he said, "the question is, not whether Governor Eyre was right in repressing the rebellion, but whether he was right in adopting the means he did to suppress it. It is one thing to support an officer who may have committed some errors of judgment; but when it comes to a question of the lives of 500 of our fellow subjects, I do not think it right to say we do not care whether 500 persons have been put to death without necessity, but we will support the Governor whether he was right or wrong, and we care nothing about those persons' lives because they happen to be black. We determined that inquiry should be made. The question then before us was, whether the inquiry should be instituted with Governor Eyre at the head of the Government. There was this obvious objection, that the Governor could not maintain his authority when that authority would be shaken every day if the inquiry proceeded. There was this further objection, that if Governor Eyre retained the supreme authority no one would have believed that there would have been a fair inquiry, or that the truth would be permitted to be told when the person accused retained that high office. While, too, an apparent stigma was cast upon Governor Eyre, he would be liable to the imputation of suppressing the evidence, and not allowing it to go fairly before the public. For these reasons it was determined that the head of the Commission should be supreme Governor of the Island, and I venture to say that we could not have chosen a man of higher honour than Sir Henry Storks, or one more fitted to inspire respect, or to support and maintain authority in the island. We have associated with him Mr. Russell Gurney and Mr. Maule, and no two persons are more likely to take a correct view of the law of the case. We are aware that the Commission cannot take evidence upon oath. Directions, however, went out that the Legislature should be called together to enable the Commissioners to take evidence on oath, and Sir H. Storks has called that Legislature together to give him authority to examine on oath. It was clear to us that it was impossible to refuse inquiry, from the case made out by Governor Eyre himself. It was equally impossible to have a satisfactory inquiry if he remained at the head of affairs, and therefore the only justifiable course is that which we took. As to the other question, that of Parliamentary Reform, I have not much further to say. I think, however, the Bill of the Government will be brought in quite as soon after the meeting of Parliament as was that of the noble earl. Some of the information

has been very lately supplied, and there is a portion of it of which the correctness is doubted, and that has been sent back. I do not doubt, however, that by the end of the month the Government will be ready to propose their measure. The noble earl has some complaint against me as to the manner in which his own Bill was met, and that makes it necessary for me—though I should otherwise have postponed my remarks on this subject—to state that I entertained very grave and solid objections to that Bill, which made it impossible for me to agree to the second reading. My first objection to the noble earl's Bill was, that it took away a right that had been enjoyed, not only from the time of Henry VI., but from the very earliest time of our Parliamentary history—namely, the right of freeholders to vote for the counties in which they reside. That right was an essential part of the Constitution, so essential, in my opinion, that when the late Earl Grey told me it was very likely that a provision would be introduced in the House of Lords into the great Reform Bill, taking away from freeholders the right of voting for the counties they reside in and confining them to vote in boroughs, I told Earl Grey that if the Bill came down with that alteration I should consider it so vitiated that I would myself move in the House of Commons that the Reform Act, with all its good and great provisions, should be rejected. There was another provision in the noble earl's Bill which proposed to restore nomination boroughs. According to the Reform Act many of the smaller boroughs, in which there were 10 or 12 voters, were enlarged by 10*l.* voters, so that they contained 300, 400, or 500 electors, whereby they were enabled to send men of their own opinions to Parliament. Now, the noble earl's Bill had a provision by which freeholders of counties would have voted for those boroughs. Besides this, there was a further provision that these votes might be sent by post, so that any noble lord or right hon. gentleman in some distant country might send by post the votes of 300 or 400 tenants, who never went near the place, and thus carry the election. That struck me so much that I stated my objection to a gentleman who sat near me when the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed his measure to the House of Commons. These provisions, with the absence of any adequate extension of the franchise to persons occupying houses under 10*l.* a year, made the Bill so bad that it was impossible to support it. The noble earl, when First Minister of the Crown, introduced two measures —one a Budget imposing a very large tax upon houses, and another a measure for the Government of India. I consider they were both exceedingly bad measures, and both were rejected by Parliament. But much worse was the measure which the noble earl introduced under the name of a Reform of Parliament. I objected to that Bill, and I stated my objections fully and fairly. That Bill was defeated by no underhand proceeding, but by open and fair opposition. As to the objections raised by the noble earl to a measure of Reform, because it might be regarded in the light

of a stepping-stone to other more extensive reforms, I have only to say that the late Mr. Hume said the same of the Bill of 1832, and voted for it on that ground. But though Mr. Hume said he intended to go much further than the Bill of 1832, that did not prevent the late Lord Grey and his colleagues from carrying that important measure, nor should the fact of the same being said now prevent the present Parliament from carrying a measure commensurate with the requirements of the time."

The amendment of Lord Feversham was not pressed, and the Address was agreed to without a division.

In the House of Commons, as in the Upper House, the cattle disease formed a very prominent subject of discussion. It was naturally a matter of great interest in the various localities affected by it, and it is not therefore to be wondered at that members of Parliament meeting together from the various districts in which it formed the leading topic, should come up charged with the subject which in the eyes of their constituents appeared paramount to all other questions in which the nation was concerned. On the first evening's debate, consequently, little was heard of except this engrossing calamity, and much fault was found with the Government for not duly estimating its importance or anticipating its ravages. The Address to the Throne was moved by Lord F. Cavendish, the newly-elected member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, who in a promising maiden effort passed in review the various subjects touched upon in the Royal Speech. From the language used by Her Majesty on the foreign transactions referred to, he concluded that the foreign policy of the present Government would be identical with that of the late Government, which had been emphatically approved by the country at the late election. With regard to recent events in Jamaica, Lord F. Cavendish quoted from a despatch of Sir C. Darling to show that the outbreak must have been totally unexpected, and expressed his opinion that when it broke out all the white inhabitants believed it to be part of a general design, and that nothing but severe measures would prevent Jamaica from becoming a second Hayti. He contended that Ministers could have taken no other course than that which they had taken in justice to Mr. Eyre and to the honour of England, and that no slur was thereby cast on the Governor. He next defended the Government from the attacks which had been made on them for not taking on themselves at the first appearance of the cattle plague the responsibility of preventing all movements of cattle, pointing out that even now eminent agriculturists doubted whether such a course would not do as much harm as good. While regretting that Ireland formed an exception to the general prosperity of which Her Majesty had spoken, he maintained that the course taken in reference to the Fenian conspiracy had met with the unanimous approval of the country, mentioning, as a proof, the late meeting at Dublin. He expressed a hope that the Govern-

ment, having thus restored confidence, would earnestly seek for the causes of the disaffection which undoubtedly existed, and endeavour to remove them. On the subject of Parliamentary Reform he avowed himself a decided supporter of the wise and statesmanlike course of admitting to a participation in the franchise as large a body of the people as could be admitted with a due regard to the rights of others.

Mr. Graham, M.P. for Glasgow, who seconded the Address, dwelt strongly on the various reasons which prompted an early settlement of the question of Reform, and concurred with the mover in recommending an inquiry into the causes of discontent in Ireland. He gave various interesting details as to the condition of the manufacturing and mineral industries of the country; and, in speaking of the Jamaica outbreak urged that justice should be done without passion or partiality.

Mr. B. Stanhope canvassed the Orders in Council issued by the Government in reference to the cattle plague, and censured them as vacillating and dilatory. He sketched out a plan for meeting the evil in future, the main features of which were the stoppage of all railway traffic in cattle, the slaughter of foreign cattle at the ports of entry, and the levying of a rate in every county to establish a Rinderpest Fund, and pressed upon the House with great force the importance of dealing immediately with a question which, he contended, was of more urgent importance than Reform, Jamaica, or any of the other topics alluded to in the Speech.

Sir. J. Trollope pointed out the inconveniences which had arisen from intrusting the execution of the Orders in Council to various local authorities, who had done their best, but had been confounded by the number and discrepancy of those Orders. He blamed the Government for not summoning Parliament together earlier, if they had not courage to take the necessary measures on their own responsibility, and despaired of any adequate plan of compensation or assurance being carried out unless the Government took the lead.

Several other members representing agricultural constituencies followed in the same line of argument, objecting to the inefficiency of the measures pursued by the Government for arresting the disease.

Mr. T. G. Baring, Under Secretary for the Home Department, denied that the Home-office had shrunk from any responsibility in this matter. He reminded the House that, as the matter now stood, the whole of the power possessed by the Government was contained in the Act 11th and 12th Vic., cap. 107, and in one clause of that Act, enabling the Lords of the Council to make certain orders and regulations; and he denied that the Government had evaded any responsibility. The hon. member contended that the Government had done all in their power to arrest the extension of the murrain; and argued that it would have been utterly impracticable to feed the populations of London and the larger

towns by the means of dead-meat markets, and that to slaughter beasts at their landing places from abroad would have been attended with great loss to importers, and have inflicted much injury upon the cattle trade. As to uniformity of action, inasmuch as the circumstances of one county were totally different from those of another, it was out of the question to suppose that any uniform Order could have been applicable to all the varied circumstances of every part of the country. By the action which the Government had taken they had preserved Ireland from the cattle plague; and if the transit of cattle by railway were to be prohibited, the consequence must be, by stopping the conveyance of sound and healthy cattle between Liverpool and Manchester and other large towns in the north, to destroy the cattle trade with Ireland.

Mr. Lowe, who was one of the Government Commissioners, defended the recommendations of that body, who, he said, were unanimous on the main point, and insisted that whatever authority was exercised in a matter of this sort should be central. As a proof of the wisdom of these recommendations, he pointed to the case of Berkshire, in which they had been adopted in their integrity, and which had been absolutely free from disease. He believed that, if adopted by the Government when they were made, they would have arrested the disease; but the Commissioners had by no means the same confidence in their efficacy now that the disorder had attained such intensity.

Mr. Henley discussed the several Orders in Council issued by the Government, and showed how they had all been defeated by the inaction of the central authority. He professed his inability to understand why the Government from almost the very outset had not prohibited the exit of cattle from the London district, as it was from the London market that the infection had been carried to many quarters. Mr. Henley expressed a strong conviction that if this had been done, and one or two other places isolated, the disease would have been extinguished.

Sir George Grey replied in detail to the objections taken to the action of the Government, and maintained that the more stringent regulations which had been recommended in the course of the debate would have produced so much difficulty and vexation that they would not have been tolerated by the people. He referred to the case of Aberdeenshire to show that the Orders, where the magistrates had taken full advantage of them, were efficacious in stopping the disease, and regretted that similar energy had not been shown in other parts of the country. On the question of compensation, Sir G. Grey mentioned that in the last century the practice had produced such bad results, there being no local interests to keep down the amount, that it was given up.

The discussion of the cattle plague having fully occupied the first evening, an adjournment took place on the motion of The O'Donoghue for the purpose of giving an opportunity for considering

that part of the Queen's Speech which related to the state of Ireland. In opening this subject the honorable member observed that the language used from the Throne appeared to assume that, so far as regarded legislation for improving the state of Ireland, nothing was left to be desired. On the contrary, he said, the wide-spread disaffection which existed in Ireland was to be traced to centuries of misrule, and had nothing whatever to do with Fenianism, which was to be ascribed to disaffection, and not disaffection to it. He recommended that inquiry should be instituted and grievances redressed. The surplus of Irish income ought to be expended on public works; heavy penalties should be imposed upon absentees; the ascendancy of one Church over another should be abolished; the educational and poor-law system should be rendered similar to those in England; and a measure should be passed to secure to tenants the value of permanent improvements. He implored the House before it was too late—before blood had been shed, and passion had taken the place of reason—before love was banished and hate engendered in the hearts of a loyal and devoted people—to take some steps to investigate their case and redress their grievances. He moved, as an amendment to the paragraph in the Address relating to Ireland, the substitution of the words—"Humbly to express our deep regret to Her Majesty that wide-spread disaffection exists in Ireland, and humbly to represent to Her Majesty that such wide-spread disaffection is the result of grave causes which it is the duty of Her Majesty's Ministers to examine into and remove."

Mr. Blake, in seconding the amendment, complained of the indignities and severities inflicted on the Fenian prisoners since their conviction.

Mr. Lawson (Attorney-General for Ireland) opposed the amendment. He said the Fenians in Pentonville Prison were treated in the same way as the other prisoners. He admitted that it was the duty of the Government to inquire into the causes of whatever disaffection might exist in Ireland, and that duty, he said, they would perform without reference to the Fenian conspiracy. He showed, however, how the adoption of this amendment would imply that the conspiracy had been produced by the existence of grave causes of disaffection, and that he denied to be the case. He quoted from the '*Irish People*' to prove that the object of Fenianism was the total overthrow of all the institutions of the country, and pointed out that it had spread among the Irish in America and in England, who were exempt from the misgovernment of Ireland. He denied that the British Parliament had ever shown itself unwilling to entertain any measures devised for the benefit of Ireland, and assured the House that the Government had no other desire but to do the fullest justice to that country.

Mr. George blamed the Irish Executive for having delayed so long to break up this conspiracy, with the existence of which it must have been acquainted some time before.

Mr. Maguire, while condemning in strong language the folly and wickedness of the Fenian conspiracy, contended that there really did exist in Ireland causes for discontent and disaffection. Chief among these he mentioned the little sympathy shown by Parliament and the English Press for Ireland when she was suffering severe agricultural distress, the Irish Church Establishment, and the present relations of landlord and tenant, which last he believed to be at the root of the difficulty. He recommended Parliament to pass a tenant-right law which would give the tenants a right to compensation for improvements, and induce landlords to grant leases; and with regard to the Establishment, which he defined to be rather an insult than a substantial grievance, he deprecated anything like a State endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. That strong sympathy was felt for Fenianism by the people, especially by the artisan class, could not be denied, the cause of which was the want of confidence in constitutional agitation; and this he urged as a reason for dealing immediately with the grievances of the country.

Lord Naas denied that Fenianism originated in any of the domestic grievances which had been mentioned, asserting that it derived all its strength from foreign sources. He reminded the House how often these questions had been discussed in Parliament, and he referred to the balanced state of parties as a proof that of late years Irish members had possessed considerable influence in the Legislature. He enumerated the measures which had been passed for the benefit of Ireland, and contended that Fenianism was thoroughly condemned by every man of intelligence and property in Ireland.

Sir F. Heygate doubted whether any of the remedies mentioned would extirpate Fenianism, and instanced his own district, which was tainted with the poison, though the people enjoyed a tenant right, and had no religious squabbles. He looked to the increase of trade and manufactures as the true cure for the ills of Ireland.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in opposing the amendment, explained that the objects of the paragraph for which it was proposed to substitute it were threefold—to pronounce a solemn denunciation on Fenianism, to recognize the existence of the public opinion which had enabled the Government to deal firmly and boldly with the conspiracy, and to place on record the impartiality with which the law had been administered; and he called on the House to resist the omission of so important a portion of the Address. With regard to the amendment, he doubted the wisdom of holding out to the world that widespread disaffection existed in Ireland, and that this disaffection was the result of certain causes which it was in the power of Parliament to remove; and he objected still more strongly to accompany the first plain duty of denouncing Fenianism by promises which it might be beyond the power of Parliament to perform. The evils of Ireland were inveterate. The consequences of misgovernment could not be eradicated imme-

diately after the source of irritation had been removed, and vague and indefinite promises of measures of amelioration would be of little avail. The dissatisfaction must be uprooted by the vindication of the law, and, that being done, inquiry into the existence of evils became an obligation which no Government could resist. He allowed that the Fenian conspiracy, instead of releasing the Government from the obligation of endeavouring to improve the condition of Ireland, raised it higher, and he appealed to the House to judge the Government by their conduct on the various remedies which had been recommended in the course of the debate as each was brought forward. He explained the principles on which, in the opinion of the Government, legislation for Ireland should be conducted, and he referred to the fact that the best sentiments and convictions of the country during the late trials had been enlisted on the side of authority as a proof that recent legislation for Ireland had not been unsuccessful.

The O'Donoghue then, by leave of the House, withdrew the amendment as a substitute for the paragraph in the Address which he had proposed to omit, and moved that it be added thereto. Upon this proposition the House divided as follows:

For the Amendment	25
Against it . .	346
Majority . .	321

By the result of this division the Address to the Crown was carried; but inasmuch as a further discussion of some of the topics contained in it was desired by some members, a renewal of the debate took place on the bringing up of the report. On this occasion, Sir J. Pakington adverted to certain points in the Royal Speech which had not been touched upon by former speakers. Referring to the Jamaica insurrection, the right hon. gentleman, after deprecating in strong language, as premature and improper, discussion on the events which had taken place in the conduct of the officers engaged, proceeded himself to refer to those events, and to pass a high eulogium upon the conduct of Governor Eyre. He also expressed his regret that a portion of the Press had discussed, prejudged, and condemned the conduct of the civil and military authorities of the island, and that Mr. Bright and others had used language altogether unjustifiable. Passing next to the subject of Parliamentary Reform, he commented upon the course which Mr. Bright had adopted in reference to the question, and also on the accession of Mr. W. E. Forster to the Cabinet. He expressed a strong opinion that the Reform question ought not to be dandled before the eyes of the public for party purposes, and he called upon the Government to be frank and explicit in their dealings with the House and the country on this important subject.

Mr. Bright assured Sir J. Pakington that his censure did not affect him. He had grown accustomed to it, as there was no

public act of his life for the last twenty years which had not been condemned by that right hon. gentleman. He denied that he had prejudged the case of Governor Eyre. The Tory Press it was which had done so, encouraged as it was by several members of that party, of which Sir John was admittedly one of the leaders. The opinion which he had formed of Governor Eyre's conduct was based upon his own deliberate statements; and from those statements he declared that there was not a single judge in the three kingdoms who would not say that Mr. Gordon had been murdered. The hon. gentleman concluded by saying: "If law be not law to the negro in Jamaica, how long will law be law to the working people or any of their friends in this country? I say that the right hon. gentleman has allowed, it may be, official sympathy for Governor Eyre to weigh with him in this matter, and he has thought it right to give me notice that he would come down to the House and pronounce a solemn censure upon my conduct. I tell him that in all the public speeches I have made—and they have not been a few, as the House knows—there are none, there are no passages in those speeches to which I will to my last hour more adhere than to those which the right hon. gentleman has commented upon. There is nothing in them that I have to condemn myself for, and there is nothing in them that I retract; and if the same circumstances were to happen again I would repeat those passages; and, if God gave me power, with a more burning indignation would I condemn atrocities which have cast a foul blot upon the character of English governors."

Mr. Cardwell deprecated further discussion on the subject of Jamaica pending the result of the present investigation, but observed that he had received the highest character of Governor Eyre for courage and humanity.

Mr. Bouverie observed that he was glad to learn that the Government intended to stand or fall by the contemplated Reform Bill. He hoped it would be such a measure as would deserve the support of the House.

The subject to which the new Parliament directed its earliest attention was the formidable cattle disease, upon which the general voice of the members of both Houses connected with agriculture earnestly pressed for legislation. The Government were prepared to meet the demand, and very shortly after the opening of the session the Home Secretary introduced a Bill in the House of Commons. The securities against the spread of this fatal malady which it was proposed to enact were described by Sir George Grey in moving for leave to bring in his measure. He believed, he said, it might be taken for granted that all means of cure had failed, and that the time had arrived for stopping all transit of animals by road and rail, and for destroying all animals infected with the disease, or which had come into contact with animals already suffering from it. The Bill would empower local authorities to direct cattle to be killed, and to prevent their removal by road and rail,

except by licences, and even then only by daylight. Power would also be given to local authorities to declare certain districts to be infected, and all fairs and markets for fat and store cattle would be suspended for a limited period. As to cattle brought by sea, they would be slaughtered at the port of arrival, with the exception of cattle coming from Ireland, which would be allowed to be removed by road or rail after a licence had been obtained for that purpose. Having explained various other provisions of the Bill, framed with a view to its general application, the right hon. baronet said the Government had admitted the principle of compensation in the proportion of two-thirds of the value of the animals lost, but in no single case to exceed £20 per head. In the case of healthy animals destroyed from the apprehension that, having been brought into contact with diseased ones, they might contract the disease, three-fourths of the value would be given, but in no single case to exceed £25 per head. It was proposed that the funds out of which the compensation should be paid, as also the expenses of carrying out the Act, should be formed partly by local rates and partly by a special burden to be imposed upon those who had suffered by the loss of their cattle. The money would be raised by a rate levied in the proportion of one-third in counties, one-third in boroughs, and one-third by a cattle rate. The funds would be locally raised and locally distributed. The right hon. gentleman then detailed at length the provisions made in this Bill forbidding the opening without a licence of any market for the sale of fat cattle to be slaughtered, and also the sanitary regulations as to disinfectants, the cleansing of railway trucks, &c. He added, in answer to a question put to him, that the Bill would provide that the tenant should be permitted to deduct half the amount of the special rate levied upon him from his rent, and so divide the burden with his landlord.

The proposed Bill met with considerable criticism from various members, all of whom agreed in the necessity for granting such powers as were proposed, but some thought the measure did not go far enough, and complained of a want of vigour and promptitude on the part of the Government in dealing with the emergency. Among these Mr. Ward Hunt took a prominent part, expressing his belief that the safeguards proposed were insufficient, and that no law would be effectual for the suppression of the disease which did not altogether interdict the moving of cattle by railway for a definite period. He announced his intention of proceeding with a measure of his own of which he had given notice. The Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed the willingness of the Government to consider Mr. Hunt's Bill when laid upon the table. He thought, however, that the country was not prepared to tolerate so stringent a measure as Mr. Hunt proposed.

On Sir George Grey's Bill being discussed a few days afterwards in the House, Mr. Hunt again objected to it as not being framed with the requisite stringency. A debate of some interest took

place upon the principle of compensating the owners of cattle which might be slaughtered under the powers of the Bill for their losses, and the question was argued with much ability by some of the leading speakers.

Mr. Bright said that in the present emergency he quite agreed in the absolute necessity, so far as farms were concerned, of enforcing a rigid isolation; but he differed from the proposal in the Bill which left the power of widespread and indiscriminate slaughter to the local authorities. With compensation he believed that the slaughter would be unnecessary and monstrous in amount. It was contrary to the principle adopted by Parliament on past occasions of public suffering to vote money out of taxes to remedy a misfortune of this kind; and it was a grievance which every taxpayer would complain of, if his money were applied to the compensation of well-to-do farmers and rich landowners who might suffer from the affliction. If that principle were carried out it would tend to greater improvidence on the part of farmers than in past times. They would fancy that they were a class or order in the community that had especial claims upon the House—an opinion which, twenty years ago, was destructive of their independence and energy; and to encourage such an opinion among them would be most unfortunate.

Mr. Lowe deprecated Mr. Bright's habit of setting one class against another. As to the Bill of the Government, and especially the compensatory portion of it, the object was not to compensate people for what they had lost, but what they had lost through the direct agency of the Government by the destruction of their property for the public good. He recommended, however, to omit the clause granting compensation retrospectively. As to slaughter he thought the Government had taken a wise course in making the slaughter of diseased animals compulsory, and the slaughter of animals only exposed to infection an optional thing with the local authorities. As to the movement of cattle, he would prohibit it altogether for a limited period throughout the country, with certain exceptions, and would not allow local authorities to open fairs and markets. If the recommendations he offered were not adopted he feared that the Bill, which was to last for six weeks only, would be like many excellent people in the world—it would die before it was thoroughly understood.

Mr. Stuart Mill concurred generally with Mr. Bright's observations. As to compensation, however, he did not object to it on principle, because no one proposed that farmers should be compensated merely for what they lost, but only for that which it was proposed to destroy under the Act; and any juster claim for compensation than that could scarcely exist. But the more reasons there were for granting compensation, the greater was the reason for taking care that that compensation should not be excessive; and he thought if the infected animal were shown not to be worth two-thirds of what, if healthy, it would fetch in the market, that

proportion would be excessive. Again, the Bill did what it ought not, and did not do what it ought. It compensated an entire class of persons connected with the land for that of which they bore their share with the rest of the community; and it did not do what it ought to do in equalizing the circumstances of that class itself. For, inasmuch as the compensation was to be a local charge, the consequence was that those portions of the agricultural interest which had not suffered at all would not have to pay at all. In other words, those who suffered least would have to pay least; and those who suffered most would have to pay most. On the whole, therefore, he preferred a general rate upon the land or upon cattle to any local rate.

Lord Cranborne said it was a narrow view to treat the question as one purely affecting the agricultural interest. If it were one of that kind the House would not have heard so much of it as they had done. The question was, whether a great public benefit would not be attained by granting compensation, and he was of opinion that it would. To the principle of the Bill of the Government, however, he objected on the ground that it paid ill-timed and ill-placed respect to local authorities, and because the Government did not seem to have realized the fact that infection was a question of geography and not of traditional jurisdiction.

The argument urged by Mr. Mill on the subject of compensation produced so much effect that the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated his intention of modifying the clause to some extent, being now fully alive to the danger of fixing the rate too high. Accordingly he proposed to limit the amount of the compensation for diseased animals slaughtered to one-half of the value (instead of two-thirds), providing also that the amount should never exceed 20*l*. Some opposition was raised to this proposal, but eventually it was agreed to by the House. A more important amendment was carried against the Government on the motion of Mr. Ward Hunt, to the effect that no cattle should be moved on any railway before the 25th of March, 1866, or along any highway, canal, navigation, or river, except in certain cases to be expressly provided for.

Sir G. Grey said this proposal necessarily involved the stoppage of every market for fat cattle throughout the kingdom. The effect of that would be to change the supply of live cattle into dead meat, and thus, in the absence of the requisite facilities, materially interfere with the supply of food and greatly enhance its price to the people.

Mr. Henley supported, and Mr. Headlam opposed the amendment.

Mr. Lowe expressed his strong opinion in favour of adopting one simple rule.

After much discussion the amendment was carried by 264 votes against 184.

The Government having accepted this amendment and agreed to engraft it on their Bill, some further discussion took place as to

the source from whence the compensation should be supplied. Some members objected strongly to the proposition of a "cattle rate," by which it was proposed to raise one-third of the amount required. Among other suggestions it was recommended by some that the compensation should be taken from the Consolidated Fund, by others from a general county rate. Ultimately the Government acquiesced in the proposal to withdraw the clause imposing a "cattle rate" and to throw the whole charge on the county and borough rate.

The Bill thus amended was sent to the House of Lords, where it underwent but little discussion, and being rapidly passed through its stages received the Royal assent. Meanwhile Mr. Ward Hunt had brought a Bill into the House of Commons, the object of which was to provide a complete code respecting the movement of cattle by railways, roads, canals, highways, &c., specifying the exceptional cases in which such movements were to be allowed. This Bill, involving a great multiplicity of details, was canvassed at much length and underwent much diversity of criticism in the House of Commons, and was afterwards referred to a Select Committee in the House of Lords; but ultimately all the discussion which had been spent upon it proved fruitless, for the Bill was returned to the Commons in so greatly altered a shape that its former supporters declined to adopt it, and it was withdrawn.

Another subject to which the Ministers early invited the attention of the Legislature, was that of the oaths taken by members of Parliament. This matter had been a good deal discussed in the preceding session on the occasion of a Bill introduced by Mr. Monsell for altering the oath required to be taken by Roman Catholic members in pursuance of the Relief Act of 1829, which Bill, after passing the Commons, was thrown out in the House of Lords. The Government on that occasion had been urged, from various quarters, to take up the question and to bring in a Bill for assimilating the oath to be taken by the members of all religious communions without distinction. Acting on this suggestion Sir George Grey now moved for leave to bring in a Bill. The right hon. gentleman said that he adhered to the opinions which he expressed last session in the debate on Mr. Monsell's Bill, and that he thought the time had come when one general oath should be taken by all members of Parliament indifferently. It was not, he thought, necessary any longer to maintain the portion of the oath relating to abjuration or supremacy, or the maintenance of the Established Church, as the existing law was quite strong enough for the purpose. He therefore proposed that the present oath should be repealed, and that a short form of oath should be substituted, as follows:—"I, A. B., do swear that I will faithfully bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, and defend her to the best of my power against all conspiracies whatever which may be made against her power, crown, or dignity."

Mr. Newdegate opposed the Bill, and said this was not the time,

whilst the Fenian conspiracy existed in Ireland, to sweep away a portion of the oath of supremacy. He appealed to the number of petitions which had been presented to the House against any relaxation of the Protestant securities. Mr. Chambers and Mr. Whalley also opposed the Bill; but on a division being taken on the motion of Mr. Newdegate, the second reading of the Bill was carried by a great majority, only five dissentients voting for its rejection. The bulk of the Conservative party, it thus appeared, were not disposed to resist the proposed alteration; only Mr. Disraeli gave notice of certain amendments which he should propose, in order to strengthen the guarantees which he considered necessary. With this view he moved that the following paragraph be added to the oath of allegiance proposed by the Bill:—

"And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend the succession to the Crown, as the same stands limited and settled by an Act passed in the reign of King William III., intituled 'An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.'"

Sir George Grey intimated that there would be no objection to the addition of these words, which were accordingly adopted.

Mr. Disraeli next proposed to add another paragraph in these words:—"And I do further solemnly declare that Her Majesty, is, under God, the only supreme governor, of this realm, and that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate hath any jurisdiction or authority in any of the courts within the same."

The Attorney-General opposed the motion on two grounds—first, that the words were incongruous with and unnecessary to the object of the oath; and secondly, that it would be obviously mischievous in itself. It was a mere abstract declaration, a truism, and a platitude, only of use as a test. But this was not all, for it could not be said that it was even harmless, inasmuch as it really limited the jurisdiction of the Queen.

Sir H. Cairns and Mr. Whiteside supported the amendment, which was opposed by Lord E. Howard and Mr. Synan.

On a division it was negatived by 236 to 222

The Bill, thus amended, was sent up to the House of Lords; where it met with a favourable reception, the Conservative leaders in that House not insisting on their objection to it. In the debate on the second reading, the Earl of Derby, although admitting that the present offensive oath ought not to be retained, said there was yet a further question, whether that portion of it which protected the Protestant Church in Ireland should be struck out. The oath, in whatever terms it was framed, should express allegiance to the reigning sovereign, recognize the Protestant succession, and maintain the supremacy of the Crown. A difficulty however arose as to the mode in which the supremacy of the Crown should be expressed, and whether it should be confined merely to the civil and temporal authority of the Crown, or extend to its supremacy also in matters ecclesiastical. He would not offer any opposition to

the Bill, but he thought it ought to be amended in committee, so as to render it more acceptable to all classes of the community, especially with reference to the question of supremacy.

Lord Ravensworth opposed the Bill.

Lord Chelmsford did not approve of the omission from the new oath of the declaration that no foreign prince, prelate, or potentate hath or ought to have jurisdiction within this realm, and the disclaimer of any intention to interfere with the Established Church. He gave notice therefore that he should move in committee the addition of an amendment to effect the objects which he had in view.

On the committal of the Bill, an amendment proposed by the Marquis of Bath with the professed object of excluding Jews from Parliament having been negatived, Lord Chelmsford moved a proviso declaring that the supremacy of the Crown should not be impaired by the repeal of any of the Acts contained in the schedule. Lord Camoys, as a Roman Catholic Peer, did not object to this amendment, though he thought it might lead to misunderstanding. Earl Grey saw no advantage in it. Lord Ellenborough was in its favour. Earl Russell thought its adoption would have no practical effect, and would not oppose it. It was therefore adopted.

The approaching marriage of the Princess Helena with Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg, which had been announced by Her Majesty in the Speech from the Throne, gave occasion on an early day in the session to messages from the Crown to the two Houses, asking them to concur in making a provision for the Princess, and also for Prince Alfred on his coming of age. Propositions were made in the House of Commons for these objects by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in introducing the subject, observed, that with respect to the Princess Helena, her position was a peculiar one, as she was the eldest unmarried princess of the Royal Family when the most crushing calamity that could befall humanity descended upon Her Majesty; and that during that trial all the prominent qualities of the Princess's character—her strength, her wisdom, and her tenderness—were put to the test. Her Royal Highness was then, and had been since, the stay and solace of her illustrious mother. The proposition which he had to make to the House was, that Her Royal Highness should, on her approaching marriage with Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg, have an annuity for life of 6,000*l.*, in addition to a dower of 30,000*l.* With regard to Prince Alfred, the proposal was that he should be granted an annuity of 15,000*l.* during his life, to commence from the day last year on which he attained his majority, and to be settled on His Royal Highness in such manner as Her Majesty should think proper. With reference to His Royal Highness, there were certain contingencies which might render a further application to Parliament hereafter necessary. For example, in the event of His Royal Highness contracting marriage, it would be the duty of the

Government to call upon the House to make such further provision as the circumstances of the case might require.

Mr. Disraeli said that the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was well-considered and judicious. When occasions like the present arose, there was no embarrassment for the Crown, and no difficulty for the Minister; and Her Majesty might be sure that upon this, as on similar occasions, the claim made only elicited a fresh renewal of respectful affection from a grateful and devoted people. The resolution granting an annuity to the Princess Helena was then put and agreed to.

Mr. Bouverie, adverting to the reference made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to "contingencies" in the case of Prince Alfred, said that the impression left on his mind was, that one of those contingencies was the possible accession of His Royal Highness to the principality of Saxe-Coburg, of which he was the heir presumptive, and the question whether, in that event, Parliament would continue the annuity. If the public feeling were consulted, the cesser of the annuity would probably be acceptable, but for his own part he would rather see the annuity granted absolutely for life, than that Parliament should hereafter be placed in the invidious position of discussing the propriety of discontinuing it or not.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he was not prepared to insert such a provision as the right hon. gentleman seemed to think would be popular, because it would be impossible to define absolutely the contingent circumstances under which a cesser ought to take place at all, while nothing could be more inconvenient than to refer to some one contingency, and thus by implication exclude every other.

The provision proposed for Prince Alfred was also agreed to, *nem. con.* The House of Lords having cordially concurred in these votes, the Bills for giving effect to them passed speedily into law.

Another proposition was made to the House at the same time as the above votes were proposed, for the purpose of testifying the estimation in which the late Prime Minister was held by his countrymen.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an address praying that the Queen would give directions for erecting a monument in the abbey church of Westminster to the memory of Lord Palmerston, observing that he desired to make the proposal not as the tribute of a party, but of Parliament and the nation. There were two incidents in the career of Lord Palmerston which were truly national. It was, first, his happy lot, as Foreign Minister and subsequently as Prime Minister, to be associated with the extension of constitutional freedom in Europe. Secondly, it was his fortunate mission to have brought to an honourable conclusion a war that had taxed severely the energies of his country, but which had been undertaken to prevent the breach of a principle necessary for the peace, the safety, and well-being of Europe. Moreover, Lord Palmerston had the reward of his untiring zeal, immense energy, and long-

continued labours in an amount of public admiration and trust such as, upon the whole, surpassed that which had fallen to the lot of any other statesman of our times. This feeling pervaded every class of the community, from the aristocracy from which he sprang, down to the ranks of humble and honest labour. All who knew him were acquainted with his genial temper, the courage with which he entered into the debates of the House, his perfect command of "fence," and his genuine old English delight in a fair stand-up fight. Yet notwithstanding his possession of these powers, there was no man whose inclination or habit was more fixed in avoiding whatever could tend to exasperate. Another remarkable characteristic of the noble lord was, that he invariably said precisely the thing that he meant to say. It was his force of will, combined with a sense of duty and the determination not to give in, that enabled him at such an advanced age to make himself a model for all his contemporaries in the discharge of duty, and not only to struggle with, but actually to repel, the infirmities of age and decay of physical power. He had a nature, too, that was utterly incapable of bearing anger or a sentiment of animosity. This was a noble gift of nature, delightful to remember of him who had passed away.

Mr. Disraeli, although not enjoying the private friendship or sharing the political sentiments of Lord Palmerston, was anxious to express, on the part of the Opposition, their cordial approval of the proposition of the Government. Whatever differences of opinion might exist upon political questions, sixty years of political services, always distinguished and sometimes illustrious, could not be permitted only to be cherished by the admiring and, perhaps, grateful feeling of the country. Most fitting was it, then, that an outward and visible sign should be set up in the chief sanctuary of the realm to preserve the memory of a statesman who had combined in the highest degree two qualities that were seldom met together—energy and experience. He trusted the time might never come when the love of fame would cease to be the sovereign passion of our public men; but he still thought that that statesman was to be peculiarly envied, who, when he left us, left not merely the memory of great achievements, but also the tender traditions of personal affection and social charms.

Mr. Beresford Hope cautioned the House against another reproduction of the monumental horrors which now studded our cathedrals, and expressed a hope that the memorial to Lord Palmerston would be alike worthy of the man and the country.

Sir J. Pakington hoped that there would be no such delay in this case as in the Wellington monument, sanctioned thirteen years ago.

The address was agreed to amidst loud cheers.

CHAPTER II.

Disturbed state of Ireland—Progress of the Fenian conspiracy—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Rapid proceedings of Parliament on this emergency—Debates in both Houses—Immediate effects of the suspending Act—Temporary subsidence of the insurrectionary spirit—Discussions in Parliament on the condition of Ireland—Motions of Lord Lifford and of Earl Grey—Motion on the subject of the Irish Church Establishment by Sir John Gray—The debate is adjourned and not resumed—The Landlord and Tenant question—Bill introduced by the Secretary for Ireland—Debates on the Bill in the House of Commons; conflicting arguments of Mr. Lowe and of Mr. Stuart Mill—The Bill is ultimately dropped in consequence of the change of Ministry—Attempt of the Marquis of Clanricarde to carry a Bill on the same subject in the House of Lords—The measure is opposed and withdrawn—Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act proposed by the Earl of Derby's Government—The late Lord Lieutenant (Lord Kimberley) and other members of the late Ministry support the measure, which is passed—Revival of the Fenian conspiracy in the autumn—Menaces of the insurgent leaders in the United States—Alarm of the loyal and well-disposed classes in Ireland—Vigorous defensive measures of the Government—Arrests of suspected persons, and seizures of arms—The year ends without any outbreak or overt act on the part of the conspirators.

The condition of Ireland at the commencement of the year was such as to give it an unhappy prominence in the proceedings of the early part of this Session. The Fenian conspiracy, of the origin and nature of which a full account was given in the preceding volume of this work, still occupied the full attention of the Executive in that part of the kingdom. Numerous arrests and seizures of arms were made in various places, the military were held in constant preparation against an outbreak, and much alarm was felt in certain districts by the owners of property and the loyal part of the community. The Special Commission was engaged in disposing of the long list of prisoners arraigned before it; yet neither the penalties of the law nor the demonstration of force in the hands of the Executive appeared sufficient to control the insurrectionary tendencies which threatened the peace of the country. Under these circumstances the Government were driven to the necessity of asking for extraordinary powers to enable them to cope with the emergency, and little surprise was occasioned when, on the 16th of February, Earl Russell announced that Her Majesty's Government proposed to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and that measures would be taken to carry a Bill with that object through all its stages, in both Houses, on the next day (Saturday) and to obtain the Royal assent at once, so that the measure would be in operation in Ireland on Monday morning, the 19th.

Both Houses accordingly met on the 16th; and at twelve o'clock Sir George Grey rose in the House of Commons, which was un-

usually thronged both with members and strangers, to bring in a Bill to suspend for a limited period the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He allowed that this was a strong and extraordinary measure, but assured the House that it would not have been asked for had not the ordinary powers of the law been found insufficient to check the alarming and widespread Fenian conspiracy. Sir George traced the history of Fenianism in Ireland up to the cessation of the American war, when it assumed a more active form owing to the stimulus which it received from the American organization. He read extracts from articles in the "Irish People," and from documents seized by the police, to show that the object was to wrest Ireland from the British Crown, and that men, arms, and money were to be supplied from America for this purpose. The Government had hoped that the recent trials would have broken up the conspiracy, but the escape of Stephens had given fresh energy to it. He read reports from the Irish Executive, stating that depôts and manufactures of arms had been discovered in various parts, and that a large number of Irish-American emissaries were known to be dispersed throughout the country, swearing in members, endeavouring to seduce the troops from their allegiance, and holding out false hopes of material assistance from the United States' Government. Though in a few individual cases soldiers had been led astray, the Government had the fullest confidence in the loyalty of the army as a whole, and, with regard to the American Government, this conspiracy had not received the slightest shadow of support from them. Many of these emissaries had been arrested from time to time, but they were sufficiently wary not to carry evidence about with them which would justify the authorities in putting them on their trial. He described the steps which had been taken by the Government in despatching reinforcements and spreading detachments throughout the country, and read letters from the Lord-Lieutenant to show that he had for some weeks contemplated the necessity of this measure. The latest communication he had received and which had induced the Government to adopt the present step, was on the 14th of February, and the greater part of this letter Sir George Grey read to the House. Lord Wodehouse wrote as follows:—

"February 14, 1866.

"I have come to the conclusion, after most careful consideration, that the time has arrived when it is indispensable, for the safety of this country, that the Habeas Corpus Act should be suspended. The Chancellor and Mr. Fortescue authorize me to say that they entirely concur in the pressing urgency of the measure. There is a complete agreement amongst my advisers, and they feel most strongly with me the urgent necessity for prompt, indeed immediate, action. The state of affairs is very serious. The conspirators, undeterred by the punishment of so many of their leaders, are actively organizing an outbreak, with a view to destroy the Queen's authority. Sir Hugh Rose details the various plans they

have in contemplation, and he draws no exaggerated picture. There are scattered over the country a number of agents, who are swearing in members, and who are prepared to take the command when the moment arrives. These men are of the most dangerous class. They are Irishmen, imbued with American notions, thoroughly reckless, and possessed of considerable military experience, acquired on a field of warfare (the civil war in America) admirably adapted to train them for conducting an insurrection here. There are 340 such men known to the police in the provinces, and those known in Dublin amount to about 160, so that in round numbers there are 500. Of course, there are many more who escape notice. This number is being augmented by fresh men constantly arriving from America. In Dublin itself there are several hundred men (perhaps about 300 or 400), who have come over from England and Scotland, who receive 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and are waiting for the time of action. Any one may observe these men loitering about at the corners of the streets. As to arms, we have found no less than three regular manufactories of pikes, bullets, and cartridges in Dublin. The police believe that several more exist. Of course bullets are not made unless there are rifles to put them in. The disaffection of the population in certain counties, such as Cork, Tipperary, Waterford, and Dublin, is alarming; and it is day by day spreading more and more through every part of the country. But the most dangerous feature of the present movement is the attempt to seduce the troops. Are we to allow these agents to go on instilling their poison into our armed force, upon which our security mainly depends? I feel confident that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act will have a most salutary effect. It is remarkable that our reports show that the Fenian leaders are saying that there is no time to lose, as, if they delay, the Act will be suspended. I trust that the Cabinet will not think me an alarmist. I have watched every symptom here for many months, and it is my deliberate conviction that no time should now be lost in suspending the Act. I cannot be responsible for the safety of the country if power is not forthwith given to the Government to seize the leaders. With that power I hope still to avert serious mischief. I most earnestly urge that the Bill for the suspension be brought in without delay."

"Upon the receipt of that letter," said Sir George Grey, "I sent immediately a request to the noble lord at the head of the Government that the Cabinet might be at once summoned. The Cabinet was accordingly summoned, and I placed before them these letters for consideration. They felt it to be their imperative duty—a duty from which they could not shrink—to immediately lay these facts before the House of Commons, and ask it to grant the power which the Lord-Lieutenant, and they agreeing with him, think absolutely essential for the safety of the country. There is one feature in this insurrection which is of a satisfactory nature. It

differs from other conspiracies which have existed in Ireland in this respect, that it embraces within its sphere no persons who, from their character and position, are entitled to exercise a just influence in the country. I think the paragraph in the Queen's Speech most justly described the conspiracy. It said that it was not for any legislative change—not for the repeal of the connexion of Ireland with the British Crown—but that its avowed object was to wrest Ireland from the British Crown, and transfer it to a foreign power. It also justly described it as a conspiracy against authority, against property, and against religion, and as one—I won't say discountenanced—but repudiated by any man in the country who has any thing to lose, or who, of whatever creed or political opinion, naturally feels alarmed at objects such as these." In conclusion, Sir George Grey explained that the duration of the Bill would be limited to the 1st September next, and he impressed upon the House the necessity of passing it into a law without a day's delay.

Mr. Disraeli, after pointing out to the Government that they had allowed a clause in the Act of the 50th George III. to be repealed last year which would have enabled them to deal summarily with these emissaries, admitted that Sir George Grey's statement was authentic, and that it justified the House in assenting to the partial suspension of the Constitution. While reserving the right of inquiring at some future time how far the conduct of the Government had contributed to bring about this critical state of things in Ireland, he gave a complete support to the introduction of the Bill.

Mr. Bright expressed the shame and humiliation which he felt at being called on for a second time in a Parliamentary career of twenty-two years to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He asserted that Ireland was in a state of chronic agitation, and that the numerical majority of the Irish people were in favour of a complete separation from England. The causes of this he traced to the unjust legislation of the Imperial Parliament, which, since the Union, had passed many Coercion Bills, but only three really good measures for Ireland—the Catholic Emancipation Act, under the danger of civil war; the Poor Relief Act; and the Encumbered Estates Act, under the pressure of a terrible famine. That there might have been improved administration he admitted, but he denied that there had been any statesmanship shown in dealing with the Irish question, and he doubted whether any of the Ministers in his time had comprehended it. He attributed this in a great measure to the system of parties, and, in an eloquent passage, depicted the happy results which might be secured if two great and trusted leaders like Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, suspending for a moment their contests for office, would combine in an effort to ascertain the causes of Irish discontent and to apply a remedy. He pointed out that the fact of Fenianism having to some extent a foreign origin aggravated the difficulty, and asked

why Englishmen and Scotchmen, when they emigrated, did not, like Irishmen, carry with them an inveterate hatred to the Government and institutions of the land of their birth? He declared that it was not in human nature to live content under such institutions as existed in Ireland, and when this insurrection was suppressed there would still remain the seeds of another crop of disaffection. He believed there was a mode of making Ireland loyal, and he threw the responsibility of discovering it on the Government and on the Imperial Parliament. He did not oppose the Bill, but hoped that the Government would give some assurance that before long measures would be introduced which would tend to make Ireland as contented as Great Britain.

Mr. Roebuck characterized Mr. Bright's speech as being meant for mere mischief. He admitted that Ireland had been misgoverned in the past, but maintained that for the last thirty years every measure for her benefit had been carefully considered by Parliament, that Irishmen had enjoyed the same personal liberty as Englishmen, and that they had no grievances to complain of which were not common to the rest of the Empire. Englishmen, he said, had to put up with an Established Church which was not the Church of the majority; and with regard to tenant right, he asked why Irish and English proprietors should be put under a different law. He attributed much of the present discontent to the Roman Catholic priesthood, who for years had taught the people to hate English rule, but who, now that they found themselves threatened by this conspiracy, had become wondrous loyal, and he ridiculed the sentiment of nationality, showing that every great empire in the world's history had been made up of different nationalities. He called on Mr. Bright and those who thought with him, instead of vague declamations, to come forward with a programme of the measures which they thought ought to be carried.

Mr. Stuart Mill fully shared in the views of Mr. Bright, and expressed a hope that if these extraordinary, but, no doubt, necessary powers were granted, Parliament would not go to sleep for another eighteen years over the grievances of Ireland.

The O'Donoghue warned the House that this measure of coercion would create a panic in Ireland, augment disaffection and give an importance to Fenianism which it did not deserve. He asserted that the ordinary constitutional powers exercised with firmness and intelligence would have sufficed for the emergency; and in animadverting on the vacillation and weakness of the Irish Executive quoted from a speech of the Attorney-General to show that a few weeks ago they had not contemplated any such necessity.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after replying to Mr. Disraeli's criticism on the supineness of the Government in allowing the clause in the Act of George III. to be repealed, which he showed to be inapplicable to the present emergency, expressed the regret and pain with which he had listened to Mr. Bright's speech, many

of the propositions in which were open to question, and most ill-timed. He protested against the fallacy involved in treating this question as if it were the application of force to Ireland by an English Parliament, maintaining that the British Parliament was the Parliament of Ireland as well as of England and Scotland. He declined to recognize the voice of Ireland except as conveyed through the mouths of her legally elected representatives, and congratulated the House on the general unanimity with which Irish members had acquiesced in the Bill, contrasting it with the scene which took place in the House eighteen years ago, when a similar proposal was made. The Government, he said, would be ready at a fitting time to consider any measures which might be proposed for the benefit of Ireland, but he impressed upon the House that their single duty to-day was to strengthen the hands of the Executive for the preservation of law and order.

On a division leave was given to introduce the Bill by 364 to 6 votes, and it subsequently passed through all its stages without further discussion.

The Bill having been immediately carried up to the House of Lords, which was then sitting, and having been read a first time, Earl Russell moved the suspension of the standing orders in order that the Bill might pass through all its stages at that sitting. In doing so Lord Russell expressed the regret which the Government felt at having to propose to Parliament a temporary suspension of the Constitution in Ireland; but the necessity, he said, was great, and the step had been recommended by the experienced wisdom of the Irish Executive. The Fenian conspiracy, which had rendered this measure necessary, was notoriously directed to the overthrow of the Queen's authority, to the forcible transfer of property from its present possessors, and to the subversion of all religion. The conspiracy had been fomented and furnished with funds from the United States, where large numbers of persons of Irish birth and descent were settled; and the conclusion of the civil war in that country had set free a large number of restless and active men, many of whom were now in Ireland as emissaries from the Fenian Brotherhood in America. The ordinary processes of law had been put in force by the Irish Government against a number of persons, and judges and juries had alike discharged their duties, but it had been found that other measures were required. The Lord-Lieutenant had deferred as long as possible any recommendation to depart from the Constitution, but it had been found that the conspiracy was still spreading, that fresh emissaries from America were continually arriving, and that large sums of money were being sent over for the purpose of exciting rebellion, and therefore Lord Wodehouse had been compelled to acquaint the Government that without greater powers than he ordinarily possessed he could not be responsible for the peace of Ireland. The Government could not hesitate for a moment to act upon that declaration, and therefore, although with regret, they had now to ask the House to

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assent to this Bill, which would for a time suspend the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, but would enable the Lord-Lieutenant to arrest the foreign agents who were now industriously engaged in seeking to mislead the Irish people, and to seduce the Irish soldiers from their allegiance. Objections might be taken that the Bill was simply a coercive one, and was unaccompanied by any remedial measure; but the maintenance of law and order, and the restoration of peace, was essentially a remedial measure, and other measures in that direction would be considered when a more fitting time presented itself.

The standing orders were then suspended; and upon the motion for reading the Bill a second time, Lord Derby admitted that this was not a time to enter upon a general discussion of the state of Ireland. That country, it was well known, was at the present moment in a most perilous position, and it was not the time to ask the Government to enter upon a special vindication of the step which they had now taken, although he could not forbear to notice that their language at the opening of Parliament a few days since, had been such as to convey the belief that, in their opinion, the ordinary process of law would be found sufficient for the occasion. If the Bill were necessary, then it was also necessary that it should pass through all its stages without delay, and, therefore, he gave his cordial assent to the measure, at the same time abstaining from entering upon any consideration of the causes which had led to the present condition of Ireland. He could not, however, admit that the Fenian conspiracy was entirely due to the closing of the American war, because he knew that in 1859 the Phœnix conspiracy prevailed in Ireland, and had numerous branches in America. But the Government, upon their responsibility, having proposed this measure, and the House of Commons having passed it with a very insignificant minority of dissentients, he hoped their lordships would not hesitate to give it their unanimous support.

The Bill was then read a second time, and subsequently passed through all its stages.

The next step was to obtain the Royal assent, which, as Her Majesty was then at Osborne, was a matter requiring some time. As soon as the Bill passed the House of Lords a telegram was sent to Earl Granville, who was at Osborne, announcing the result, upon the receipt of which Her Majesty's signature was affixed to the document authorizing the commissioners to give the Queen's assent to the Bill. In order to allow time for bringing this document to London, the sittings of the Houses were suspended until eleven o'clock p.m., by which time it was calculated the special train would arrive in London. Time, however, rolled on, the hour of midnight struck, a quarter past, half-past twelve, and then there entered a clerk bearing a despatch-box, which the Chancellor opened, and took out the long-delayed document. Then came the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Bessborough

bearing his wand of office, also wearing their peers' robes, and sat upon the Ministerial benches. Another quarter of an hour passed, and then the clerk entered, carrying the Royal Commission. The Lord Chancellor then directed the Usher of the Black Rod to summon the Commons to hear the Royal assent given to the Bill in question, and shortly after the Speaker, accompanied by about fifty members of the House of Commons, appeared at the bar of the House. To them the Lord Chancellor, now seated on a bench in front of the throne, with the two other peers, made known the commands of Her Majesty. And at twenty minutes to one o'clock on the Sunday morning the Bill became law. Probably no statute was ever passed with so much celerity as this, the first Act of the new Parliament.

The powers of the new Act were put into operation in anticipation of its passing, and on the 16th a large number of arrests were made in Dublin and its vicinity. The suspension of the ordinary law led also to another consequence, scarcely less salutary, in the hurried departure of numerous emissaries from America, and active agents of the insurgent party, who thought it prudent to place themselves as speedily as possible beyond the operation of the stringent powers now vested in the Executive, and left Ireland with great precipitancy. By these events the alarms of the peaceable and well-affected part of the community were much allayed. From this time the insurrectionary spirit began to show signs of decline—the idea that any armed outbreak would take place during the winter faded away, and confidence in the stability of the Queen's Government and the continuance of tranquillity gained ground. That a serious shock had been given to that sense of security, without which Ireland never can enjoy prosperity or expect progress, was unfortunately too true. The mischief done by the alarms of this period was irretrievable, but with the cessation of active movements on the part of the disaffected, a feeling of contempt for the conspiracy and its boastful leaders took the place of alarm, and the country appeared to subside into its usual outward tranquillity. Nevertheless, as will be related hereafter, the Administration in office at the latter part of the session found it necessary to apply to Parliament for a renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, and were able to show a state of facts which induced the Legislature to comply with their demands. And again towards the close of the year the malady of Fenianism appeared in all its former virulence, compelling the Irish Executive to adopt extraordinary precautions, and keeping the owners of property and peaceably-disposed inhabitants of the country in a state of anxious suspense. In the mean time, however, several interesting discussions on the condition and grievances of Ireland took place in both Houses of Parliament, and measures were proposed,—which, however, failed to produce any legislative result,—for the removal of some of the evils complained of. On the 26th of February Lord Lifford, a resident Irish landed proprietor,

called the attention of the House of Lords to the condition of the sister country. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, he said, had been assented to because it was necessary; but the question remained, What were the causes of the disaffection which rendered such a measure necessary? After pointing out that the Irish people possessed the same rights, while they were subject to a lesser amount of taxation than the people of Scotland or of England, Lord Lifford expressed his opinion that the hope of transferring the ownership of the land to the tenants was the great cause of Fenianism. He blamed the Government for slighting the landowners, who were to a man loyal, but who were not permitted to have any control over the police, or any of that local influence which English magistrates exercised so beneficially. Referring to the Church Establishment, he noticed that a portion of the funds belonging to it might legitimately be applied to educational purposes, and he advocated some provision being made for the support of the Roman Catholic priesthood, who had rendered the State good service in discountenancing the Fenian movement, as they had done formerly in reprobating the Riband conspiracy. He concluded by asking whether the Government intended to propose a State provision for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland, and also moved for certain returns.

Earl Russell, after reviewing the attempts made by Mr. Pitt and others to settle the question of State payments of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland, pointed out the difficulties which presented themselves at the present day to such a course. There was a large body of persons who objected to all State endowments for ecclesiastical purposes, and the Roman Catholic Clergy themselves were indisposed to a course which would certainly tend to lessen their influence over their flocks. The Government, therefore, did not intend to make any proposal on that subject. Neither did the Government intend to introduce a measure for the purpose of applying any portion of the funds belonging to the Established Church to educational uses. Adverting to the evils which were now complained of in Ireland, Lord Russell remarked that some of those evils were of very long standing, and it was impossible by measures passed in one session of Parliament to remedy the grievances of Ireland and restore its people to happiness and prosperity. Since 1829 various beneficial measures had been passed, such as the scheme of National Education, the Poor Law, and the Encumbered Estates Act, and every disposition had been evinced by Parliament to promote the welfare of Ireland.

The Marquis of Clanricarde argued in favour of State provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, and denied that the bulk of the people of Ireland were disaffected or disloyal, although they were certainly discontented, for which they had many reasons. The gentry were not allowed any share in the government of the country, which was left to the Lord-Lieutenant and the police. The people were discontented because no measures of improvement

were adopted, and because every thing connected with Ireland was neglected.

Earl Grey, although he had been at one time a strong supporter of appropriation in connexion with the Established Church in Ireland, could not now support such a plan, because he believed the time for it had gone by. He agreed that the present state of Ireland proved that there are evils which ought to be removed, although he also concurred with the Prime Minister in believing that no one or two measures would be adequate to redress those evils immediately. The whole condition of the country required mature consideration, and on a future day he should invite the House to bestow that consideration upon this important subject.

Lord Dunsany believed that the Irish Roman Catholic clergy would not refuse State payment, but in any case he approved the offer being made to them.

Earl Grey shortly afterwards put in execution his intention of inviting their lordships to a comprehensive review of the troubles and grievances of the Irish people, a task which it is needless to say he performed with much ability and earnestness. His motion was in form that the House would on an early day resolve itself into a committee to consider the state of Ireland. The noble lord began by observing that it was often said in private conversation that there were many measures useful to Ireland which ought to be passed; but it would be useless to propose them on account of the strong adverse feeling between England and Ireland. Recent disclosures respecting Fenianism had shown that there was deep disaffection against the British Government, and so deep was that hostility that it survived amongst the Irish emigrants who went to America, and there found themselves in improved circumstances. It had been said that few persons in Ireland who had any thing to lose sympathized with the Fenians, but he feared that the feeling of the better classes was rather anti-Fenian than pro-British. An alarming feature of the present political discontent in Ireland was that it was not caused by distress, but was rather the cause than the effect of distress. The noble lord detailed at some length the remedial measures which he considered to be requisite, and then read the following resolutions, which, he said, he should move, if the House went into committee as he proposed:—

"1. That in legislating for Ireland, it is the duty of the Imperial Government to adopt such measures as might be expected to gain the approval of an Irish Parliament, fairly representing the people and expressing the opinion of the majority of men of education and intelligence in Ireland. 2. That the application of the whole income derived from Church property in Ireland to the support of a Church Establishment for the exclusive benefit of a small minority of the people of that country, is unjust, and ought not to be continued. 3. That, with a view to the correction of this injustice, it would be expedient to vest the whole property of the Church in Ireland in the hands of Commissioners empowered to manage it, and to divide the net income derived from it, in such proportions as

Parliament may prescribe, between the Protestant Episcopal, the Roman Catholic, and the Presbyterian Churches. 4. That it would further be expedient to grant to the said Commissioners such a permanent annuity on the Consolidated Fund as would be sufficient, together with the share of the income from Church property in Ireland applied to the Protestant Episcopal Church, to provide for paying to the present bishops and clergy of that Church the full incomes they now receive. As these payments to the existing holders of ecclesiastical preferment cease to be required, the proportion of the annuity thereby set free to be carried to the general account of the Commissioners, and divided between the three Churches in the proportion prescribed by Parliament. 5. That the proportion of the net income at the disposal of the Commissioners assigned to each of the three Churches ought to be paid to boards of trustees appointed to receive the same, and apply the amount for the benefit of the said Churches. 6. That the board of trustees for the Protestant Episcopal Church should consist of five prelates and five laymen of that Church; and that, subject to the claims of existing holders of benefices and dignities, the said Commissioners should be empowered, with the approval of the Lord-Lieutenant in Council, to make such change in the application of the income of the Church as might be considered expedient, with a view to the more effective performance of its duties. 7. That the board of trustees for the Roman Catholic Church should, in like manner, consist of five prelates and five laymen of that Church, and that the income placed at their disposal should be applied at their discretion to the building and maintaining of places of worship and glebe-houses, and to the payment of stipends to the clergy. 8. That the board of trustees for the Presbyterian Church should consist of five clergymen and five laymen of that Church, and that the income assigned to them should be applied, in the first place, to the payment of the stipends of clergymen now provided for from the Parliamentary grant known as the Regium Donum; and secondly, to the general purposes of their Church. 9. That the said Commissioners and boards of trustees should be required to lay annually before both Houses of Parliament full accounts of their receipts and expenditure. 10. That the enactments whereby the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church are restrained from assuming the title of their sees ought to be repealed, and that they ought to be allowed to assume the style of Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops of the said sees. 11. That, with a view to the improvement of agriculture in Ireland, it is desirable that the occupiers of land should have greater facilities for the secure expenditure of money in permanent improvements, but that the difficulties now complained of would be aggravated instead of being diminished by any enactment infringing upon the rights of property. Nor could the object in view be attained by any change in the law which, without infringing upon those rights, would empower tenants to compel their landlords to pay for improvement, since the creation of such a power would probably induce landlords to exercise their

right of resuming land held by the tenants proposing to use it when not protected by leases, and would also tend to increase the reluctance of landowners to grant leases to their tenants. 12. That it is the true interest of both owners and occupiers of land that they should be left free to settle the terms on which it is to be held by mutual agreement, with as little legislative interference as possible, but that it deserves to be considered whether the Irish law of landlord and tenant might not be made more clear and simple, and whether some changes in its provisions, especially the repeal of the enactments which give to landlords the right of distress and a preference over other creditors, might not tend to make the owners of land more desirous than they now are to let it to solvent tenants on conditions and for terms of years which would encourage permanent improvements."

Lord Dufferin, speaking on behalf of the Government, of which he was a member, agreed that, after adopting a severe but necessary measure of repression, it was right and fitting to examine into the causes of Irish discontent; but he could not assent to the motion, which was objectionable in point of form, and was based upon an erroneous supposition, that the disaffection which undeniably prevailed in Ireland was traceable to the existence of the Irish Church Establishment. That Establishment had its anomalies, which he did not defend, but it was not the object of attack on the part of the leaders in the Fenian movement. Neither was the absence of tenant-right the cause of disaffection. The Fenian leaders proposed to deal with the land question in a very different manner than the mere enforcement of leases. Nor was he more disposed to attribute the existing disaffection to the excessive emigration of the last twenty years. That emigration must be attributed, not to legislation, but to the much greater number of persons who, before 1841, were engaged in agriculture in Ireland than were so engaged in England with its fourfold production. The emigration, however, had in its results been beneficial to those who had left Ireland as well as to those who stayed at home, and the country still remained one of the most densely populated in the world. When complaints were made, that the resources of Ireland were not adequately developed, he expressed his earnest desire that every thing should be done towards that end; but the most certain means of thwarting it was the continuance of a state of insecurity which prevented the introduction of capital into the country. The Fenian movement had done Ireland serious injury, although he maintained that the country was now in a prosperous condition. After referring to statistics to show the increased value of cattle, the extended growth of flax, and the advance in the rate of wages, Lord Dufferin affirmed that the present disaffection, like the disorders of 1798 and 1848, was traceable to foreign influence; but, unlike the former examples, the disaffection was now confined to the lowest and most ignorant classes of the people, who had been misled by filibusters and demagogues. The disaffection thus pro-

duced could not be terminated by any legislation about the Church Establishment or tenant-right, although he agreed that at a suitable time remedial measures should be, and he believed would be considered; but in the mean time the Executive had only one course to follow—firmly, but temperately, to protect the industry and property of Ireland against the evil designs of unprincipled adventurers.

The Archbishop of Armagh defended the Irish Church, which, he contended, had been for 700 years connected with the English branch of the Establishment, with which it was solemnly united by the Act of Union. Admitting that the members of that Church formed but a minority of the people of Ireland, he reminded the House that eight-ninths of the landowners, whose property it was that supported the Church, were members of it. He condemned the plan of division of the ecclesiastical revenues sketched out by Lord Grey, as unjust to the Established Church, much of whose property had never belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, and much of which had been the gifts of its own members.

Lord Houghton could not regard the disendowment of the Irish Church as the sole means of conciliating Ireland, because he believed there were many subjects connected with that country which might advantageously be considered by the Legislature. The difficulty attaching to the land question in Ireland was the abiding distrust which existed between landlord and tenant, and therefore he thought landlords in that country would do well to yield some of their strict rights, and to grant leases as far as possible. Another subject deserving the attention of Parliament was middle-class education in Ireland, for he regretted to find that the Queen's Colleges had not realized all the hopes that were entertained by their founders. With respect to the Church Establishment, he thought the strongest argument in its favour was, that it went with the land, which formed a part of the whole State; but, as the relations between Church and State had been much altered, it was desirable that in all future discussions of the subject the advantage of the Church to Ireland should be solely kept in view. There was also another point connected with the subject to which he hoped the attention of the Government would be directed—the making some provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, which he believed might be done without offence to any one, and with great advantage to the country at large.

The debate was continued by the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Lyveden, the Bishop of Derry, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and other peers, nearly all of whom took exception to the resolutions of the noble mover, while some of them deprecated in strong terms any precipitate or violent action affecting the Established Church. In conclusion, Earl Russell remarked upon the inconvenience of mixing up the temporary question of Fenianism with questions of the permanent welfare of Ireland. Fenianism was a

movement of foreign and Republican origin, differing from previous similar movements only in the character of the men engaged in it. In the circumstances of Ireland there had been material improvement, and many causes of dissatisfaction had been removed. The Church Establishment might, by a majority of the people who did not belong to it, be regarded as an evil, but it was not a subject to be dealt with in so violent a manner as was now proposed. With respect to making provision for the Roman Catholic clergy from State funds, that was a proposition that would meet with great opposition in Parliament and in the country. It would, therefore, be unwise to go into committee without knowing exactly what was to be done, for which reason he opposed the motion.

Earl Grey's motion was then negatived without a division.

The much-vexed question of the Irish Church Establishment became the subject of a formal debate in the House of Commons a few weeks later in the session on the motion of one of the representatives of Ireland, Sir John Gray; and though the debate led to no practical result, being adjourned and never resumed, yet the facts and opinions elicited during the discussion were of considerable interest, and the tone adopted with reference to the question by Mr. Chichester Fortescue, the Secretary for Ireland, was not without significance. The terms of the motion were as follows:—"That the position of the Established Church in Ireland is a just cause of dissatisfaction to the people of that country, and urgently demands the consideration of Parliament." Sir John Gray commenced by disclaiming any wish to provoke an acrimonious discussion, or to give offence to individual members of the Church of Ireland, and pointed out the great social importance—apart from the money questions involved—of removing the feeling of religious inequality which was produced by the ascendancy of one Church over the rest. He contended that the Irish Establishment had failed polemically and politically, and had accomplished no object for which it was imported into the country, quoting copiously from the Census returns to show that it had neither succeeded as a missionary Church in winning over the Roman Catholic population, nor had even held its own. After citing numerous passages from Spenser, Sir T. Davis, Dr. Mant, and other writers on the early history of the Establishment, to show the penal laws by which its first introduction had been protected, maintaining that the blame of these was due, not to the English Government nor to the Irish Parliament, but to the Church itself, he proceeded next to discuss the revenues of the Church and their allocation. The entire revenue of the Church he estimated at a little over 700,000*l.*, spread over twelve dioceses and 1510 benefices, and he mentioned numerous glaring instances of the disproportionate distribution of revenue and Protestant population. In 199 parishes he stated there was not a single Protestant, though there were 98,017 Roman Catholics; in 615 benefices there was an average

population of twenty-three Protestants, and the cost of religious ministration to them was 31*l.* per family; while in 114 other benefices, containing a Roman Catholic population of 36,355, the Church revenues amounted to 178*l.* per Protestant family. After quoting from speeches of Mr. Disraeli, Dr. Whately, and others, in support of the object of his motion, and having repudiated with earnestness the desire to transfer one shilling from the Protestant Church to the Roman Catholic priesthood, he concluded by declaring that this question lay at the root of all Irish grievances, and that Parliament was bound, both by honour and interest, to take it into immediate consideration.

Colonel Greville seconded the motion.

Mr. C. Fortescue, though personally regarding the resolution with cordial concurrence, pointed out that it was impossible for the Government to accept it unless they were prepared to follow it up by immediate action, and he maintained that public opinion even in Ireland was not yet sufficiently clear, strong, or matured to call upon them for that. Their opposition, therefore, to the motion at the present moment would not be founded on any grounds of equity or of permanent policy, but simply on considerations of time and circumstances. Speaking for himself alone, and not as the organ of the Government, he sketched out a mode of settling the question which involved the surrender by the Establishment of a certain portion of its revenues (to be replaced by voluntary efforts), which would be available for the advantage of the unendowed religion of the majority. He discussed some of the arguments by which the ascendancy of the Establishment was supported, disagreeing with them all; and, after enlarging on the vital importance of the question, which, he said, lay at the root of the Irish difficulty, he concluded by expressing an earnest hope that the discussion would smoothe the way to an early and satisfactory settlement.

The O'Donoghue expressed his disappointment with the decision of the Government not to deal with this question. He characterized the Irish Establishment as an unparalleled anomaly, and described the question at issue to be simply whether revenues granted to the pastors of the people should be enjoyed by those who ministered only to a small minority—600,000 out of 5,000,000—maintaining that the experience of centuries proved the utter failure of the Establishment as a missionary Church. He ridiculed the fears of those who predicted all kinds of calamities from the disendowment of the Irish Church, reminding the House that its temporalities had already been curtailed; and claiming the Church revenues as the property of the nation, to be applied to national uses. On the part of the Roman Catholics, he disclaimed all hostility to the Protestant clergy: what they complained of, he said, was the ascendancy of one creed; and what they desired was perfect equality, to be attained by doing away with all State endowments for the support of the clergy. As to the disposal of the

revenues of the Church, he expressed a strong conviction that the Roman Catholic clergy would not accept any endowment from the State.

Mr. Whiteside, who had on several former occasions stood forward as the champion of the Church Establishment, drew a sarcastic contrast between the manly tone of the O'Donoghue's speech, and the vague and evasive manner in which the Government had dealt with the question, hinting that their chief object was to attract votes in the coming Reform discussions. He vehemently denied that Ireland was a Roman Catholic nation, maintaining that the intelligence, wealth, and industry of the country were Protestant, and warned the House of the impolicy of attacking a Conservative institution at a moment when there was no force in Ireland capable of resisting the spirit of disaffection but the Conservative party. He stigmatized the motion as an attack on property and the Protestant religion—prompted by the Roman heirarchical party; and went at great length into the history of the Union and Roman Catholic Emancipation, to show that this country was pledged to the maintenance of the Establishment, and that the Roman Catholics, by the pledges of their bishops in 1829, were precluded from attacking its property. In the same way, in tracing back the history of the Church's title-deeds to her property, he referred to the events of the Plantation of Ulster and the Act of Settlement, and drew an eloquent picture of the services of the Irish Church in the cause of order, loyalty, and true religion.

After several other speeches in favour of or against the motion, an adjournment of the debate took place; but the pressure of other business and the absorbing topic of Parliamentary Reform prevented the mover of the resolution from obtaining another day for the discussion, which consequently dropped.

The direct legislation upon Irish affairs this session was extremely limited. The only important step taken was another experiment to settle that very difficult question which has been the subject of so much controversy and so many fruitless efforts—the relation of landlord and tenant. Mr. Fortescue, Chief Secretary for Ireland, now once more endeavoured to grapple with the problem by a Bill to adjust the rights of the two parties. Introducing this measure to the House of Commons, the right hon. gentleman gave a history of the many failures of successive Governments to deal with this difficult subject, and he explained that his object was to give action and vitality to the Act of 1860, introduced by Mr. Cardwell when Chief Secretary for Ireland, which experience had proved to be a dead letter. The circumstances of Ireland were so different from those of either England or Scotland that exceptional legislation was necessary. In England the usual requisites of a farm were supplied by the landlord out of his own capital, whereas in Ireland they were found by the industry and outlay of the

tenant. It was proposed, therefore, that owners for life should be enabled to grant leases of thirty-one or sixty-one years, and that in cases of permanent improvement by tenants the latter should, if dispossessed by their landlords, be entitled to a lump sum, by way of compensation, equivalent to the increased letting value of the land, to be fixed by a valuator appointed by the Commissioners of Public Works. No notice to the landlord or any preliminary adjudication would be necessary, as the Government was persuaded that such formalities would act as an impediment to the promotion of the object in view. That object was to give the tenant an incentive to improve, by the certainty that if evicted he should receive a fair value for his outlay. He believed that if the Bill were passed, it would tend to restore peace and tranquillity to Ireland, by placing upon a solid and satisfactory basis the relations between landlord and tenant.

The propositions of Mr. Fortescue met with a rather warm opposition from Lord Naas, who declared that this Bill went much in advance of any former measures, and would, if passed, be certainly defeated by written contracts between the parties; also by Mr. Whiteside, Mr. George, and Lord C. Hamilton. On the other hand, Colonel Greville, Mr. Pim, and other representatives of Ireland gave it their support, and leave was given to bring in the Bill.

On the second reading there was a debate of considerable interest, the question being argued pro and con upon economic principles with much ability, Mr. S. Mill and Mr. Lowe representing the opposite views on the question.

Lord Naas led the opposition to the Bill. He moved a resolution condemning the Bill as injurious to the holders of small farms, and affirming the principle that compensation should only be granted for improvements made with the consent of the landlord. After examining the reasons which he supposed to have induced the Government to bring forward the Bill, denying that the farmers took much interest in tenant-right, or that it had any thing to do with Fenianism or emigration, he asserted that those who were at the bottom of the movement looked on the Bill as a means of obtaining fixity of tenure, with low rentals—quoting, in proof, from the writings of the O'Donoghue. In defending the conduct of the Irish landlords, he mentioned that within the last few years they had charged their property, under the Lands Improvement Act, to the extent of 2,000,000*l.*: and having examined at length the provisions of the Bill, he condemned as contrary to natural justice and the rights of property the proposal to give compensation for improvements effected without the consent of the landlord, and the manner in which that compensation was to be assessed. The Bill, he asserted, involved the communistic principles of the Tenant League; it would destroy confidence between landlord and tenant; it would produce either evictions or contracts of the most stringent character; and it would tempt land-

lords, directly an improvement was made, to terminate a tenancy and let it again at an improved rent. As to the resolution, he pointed out that it was substantially the same as that which had been agreed to by the Select Committee of last year, and in support of it he quoted the opinions of Lord Palmerston, Mr. Cardwell, Sir R. Peel, and Lord Dufferin, and he attributed the change which had come over the Government in this and other matters to the severity of party exigencies.

The Attorney-General for Ireland, in reply to the last charge of Lord Naas, asserted that the principle of the Bill had been settled when Mr. Fortescue first came into office. The Bill, he argued, was founded on natural justice; it solved the problem of securing compensation without injury to the rights of property. He denied that it would produce want of confidence between landlord and tenant; it would simply prevent a bad landlord doing that which no good landlord would think of doing; and he contended, moreover, that it was in entire accordance with the resolutions of the Committee of last year. To show that special legislation was necessary, he read passages from the report of the Devon Commission, and as the Bill was condemned by both extreme parties, he assumed that it was the happy medium, and would remove much soreness and discontent, without injuring the rights of property.

Mr. Lowe pointed out to the Attorney-General that if this Bill rested, as he maintained, on natural justice, the tenants of England and Scotland, who were not to have the advantage of it, would be treated with grievous injustice. Natural justice, however, he defined to be in this case a fulfilment of contracts; and the introduction of a compulsory term into voluntary contracts was a blunder and a solecism, for if both parties knew of it, provision would be made against it, and if one were ignorant, a fraud would be committed on him. This was a matter of imperfect obligation, which must be determined by contracts between the parties, and could not be enforced by laws. If a tenant, he argued, used the land for any purpose not contemplated by his contract, by making improvements or otherwise, he had no right to compensation for such breach of contract, and he warned the House against being led to deal with this question on sentimental grounds, maintaining that in dealing with Ireland, above all other countries, it was our duty and our safety not to deviate from the strict principles of political economy. After criticizing the confused language of some of the clauses, he asserted that the reason for introducing this Bill was not so much a craving for compensation—for no actual grievance had been shown before the Committee—as a desire to perpetuate small holdings, in which the priesthood naturally had a great interest. These contracts must be regulated by supply and demand. Emigration and other causes, if left to work alone, by reducing competition, would in time put the tenant in a position to get better terms; but in the mean time he maintained it was cruelty to the weaker party to pro-

mote a measure which would embitter the relations between landlord and tenant, and might stimulate evictions and lead to the aggregation of small holdings. Concession, he warned the House, could not stop here; fixity of tenure must follow, and ultimately a permanent settlement, like that of Bengal. In conclusion, he laid great stress on the unwisdom, in dealing with a people among whom prevailed wild dreams of reconquering the land, of relaxing in their favour laws of property which were still held just and right for other portions of the country.

Mr. S. Mill considered that no measure ever proposed by a Government for the benefit of Ireland, not even Catholic Emancipation itself, showed so just an appreciation of the wants of that country, or went so straight to the heart of the country, as this Bill, introduced in fulfilment of the promise held out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer early in the session, that it was the intention of the Government to legislate for Ireland according to Irish exigencies, and not according to English routine. It had been said that what would do for England might do for Ireland; and it might be asked, 'Why had not we been able to apply in that country the sciences and arts which in this had led to national prosperity?' In this application of the same laws to England and Ireland they showed that double ignorance which was older than the time of Socrates, and they were disregarding that precept which was inscribed on the temple of Delphi; they not only did not know the people of whom they were talking, but they did not know themselves. The fact was, that Ireland was not an exceptional country, but England was. It was England that was exceptional. Was there any other country on the face of the earth where, as a general rule, the land was held in large patches, and was farmed by a capitalist at a rent fixed by contract, while the mass of the people were entirely detached from it, and simply received their day's wages? In all countries where the cultivators of the soil had emerged from the condition of slavery, or from that modified form of slavery called serfdom, the tillers of the land held that land direct from the landlord. There did not exist—or there existed only as a middle class—the capitalist farmer. In this respect, therefore, Ireland resembled the rest of the world. It was England that was peculiar. Was it, therefore, right to look to England's experience to meet Ireland's exceptional case? They ought rather to look to Continental experiences, for it was there where the similarity to Ireland would be found to exist. What did Continental experience tell them as a matter of historical fact? It told them that wherever a system of agricultural economy like that in Ireland had been found consistent with the good cultivation of the land and the good condition of its peasants, rents had not been, as in Ireland, fixed by contract, but the occupier had had the protection of fixed usage, the custom of the country, and had secured to him permanence of tenure so long as he pleased to possess it. The hon. member then referred to the provisions of the Bill, and said the

tribunal therein provided for assessing the value of improvements was an impartial one; for if the parties immediately interested could not come to an agreement, the case would be adjudicated by the authorities, who, in Ireland, possessed the confidence equally of landlords and tenants. In no circumstance could the former suffer pecuniary loss, and he maintained that the right of the improver of the land to the value of his improvement, so far from infringing the rights of property, was of itself a right of the same description with those of property. When he heard the representatives of the Irish national party declare that the tenantry would be content and satisfied with this minute concession, and that a people who had suffered so much and bitterly could be thus easily conciliated, he called upon the House to seize the golden opportunity which now presented itself to secure such a great and important result.

The Bill was supported by Mr. Dillon, Mr. Pim, Mr. Saunderson, and other members, who argued that the former Bill, giving compensation for retrospective improvements, which had been agreed to by several members on the other side, viz., Lord Naas, Sir H. Cairns, Mr. Whiteside, and Mr. Napier, went even further than this measure.

Mr. C. S. Read examined the provisions of the Bill from the position of a practical tenant farmer, concluding that in an occupancy of twenty-one years the tenant would have reaped the full benefit of most improvements; that many improvements might be made which would be a detriment to the landlord; and that if this exceptional legislation were sanctioned, it would be difficult to maintain the law of distress and the law of hypothec in England and Scotland.

Mr. Whiteside argued at length in favour of the resolution, condemning the measure as unprincipled, unjust to the landlord, and delusive to the tenant; and contending that it had been introduced simply for political purposes, as part of the compact with the Irish Liberals concluded by Mr. Bright's letter to the Lord Mayor of Dublin.

The debate was adjourned, but owing to the change of Government which soon afterwards took place, there was no opportunity of resuming it, and the Bill, like others on the same subject which had preceded it, became abortive. Another attempt, equally unsuccessful, to deal with the land question was made in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Clanricarde. The noble marquis described the object of his measure to be to improve, but not to alter, the existing system of land tenure in Ireland. The Act of 1860 was based on the principle of written agreements, but its efficacy had been diminished by certain clauses which gave rise to doubts and constant litigation. It was, therefore, one of the objects of this Bill to make the law more plain, by requiring all agreements between landlord and tenant to be in writing. Lord Clanricarde vindicated the landlords of Ireland from the

charge of having by their harsh evictions of their tenants driven a large portion of the population from the country, and showed by statistics that such could not have been the case; and concluded by stating that if the Bill was read a second time, he should not at present proceed to any other stage, but would await any other cognate measures which might be proposed to Parliament.

Lord Dufferin declined to assent to the second reading of the Bill. The Government, he said, had brought in a measure of their own in the other House, and he thought that the provisions proposed by Lord Clanricarde would fail to remedy the evils complained of. There was considerable difference of opinion upon the merits of the Bill, Lords Bandon, Dunsany, and Wicklow objecting to its principle; Lord Wodehouse (Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland), Lord Drogheda, and Lord Clanricarde being in favour of the second reading. Earl Grey thought it better that the motion should not be pressed at the present time.

The Earl of Derby remarked that the difficulties connected with this question sprung from exaggerated notions of the rights of tenants. He was favourable to the principle of compensating tenants for improvements, but at the same time the landlord should have the right of selecting his tenants, so that he might let his property to those who would and could make improvements. Lord Derby added that he was inclined to vote for the second reading of this Bill, but thought that no inconvenience would be sustained if that stage were postponed until the Government measure came before the House.

The motion was ultimately withdrawn, and the Bill dropped.

On the 2nd of August, the Earl of Derby's administration having succeeded to power, and the Marquis of Abercorn being Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Government came to the conclusion that the Act for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus could not in the existing circumstances of Irish affairs be allowed to expire at the time limited by that Act (Sept. 1st) without risk to the public peace. It therefore became the duty of Lord Naas, the Chief Secretary, to move for leave to bring in a renewal Bill. In so doing the noble lord stated to the House of Commons the grounds on which the Government deemed the continuance of restrictions upon personal liberty still necessary to the security of Ireland. He stated that from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, up to the 23rd ult., 419 persons who had been imprisoned had been discharged, mostly on condition that they should leave the country. From every authority he learned that it would be dangerous to release some 320 prisoners who remained in custody at once, by the expiry of the Act. None of them were enabled to offer such security for their good conduct as the Government required, and most of them still boasted of the ultimate success of the Fenian movement. It was in order to enable the Government to discharge with safety those prisoners that the Suspension Act, which would expire in September next, was sought to be renewed, and

there was every disposition to deal with them leniently. Another reason, however, was, that the Fenian conspiracy still existed in force in another country, and it was necessary to be prepared for a movement towards Ireland from abroad rather than against action in Ireland. Nevertheless, there were still in Ireland newspapers advocating the Fenian cause, which disseminated seditious and treasonable sentiments through the country, while recently secret drillings of the population had been renewed.

Mr. Maguire moved as an amendment that the state of things which justified the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland no longer existed; that the ordinary tribunals had sufficiently vindicated the supremacy of the law; that there was a gratifying diminution of crime, and likewise an absence of political excitement in Ireland; and that measures of repression, unaccompanied with measures of a remedial character, tend rather to aggravate than lessen discontent and disaffection. He contended that no case whatever was made out for continuing despotic government in Ireland, and urged that the bulk of the prisoners would gladly accept their release on adequate terms, and that all danger from the Fenian conspiracy had died out.

Mr. Gladstone said that all who had listened to the speech of Mr. Maguire must admire the ability which he brought to this discussion. If the present were the occasion, he should probably be found voting with Mr. Maguire. But he did not think it would be proper when a new Government had entered on office to anticipate their policy towards Ireland; but in asking a renewal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Government was adding to their responsibilities in regard to their administration of that country. Alluding to a speech delivered by a gentleman now a member of the Government, he deprecated the principle there laid down, and which was based on material assistance afforded to Ireland by money grants. In regard to the Bill before the House, he urged that the duty of preserving the peace of the country was paramount with the Government; and without considering whether the general policy of Ministers would be such as he could approve, he could not refuse to strengthen their hands in such a way as they deemed necessary. The late Government, while asking for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for an unusually short period, had held out a prospect of the renewal of that proceeding. He did not think that an absence of general crime in Ireland implied an absence of political disaffection, and although the state of things in that country was not now the same as it was in February last, there might be still justification for the renewal of the Suspension Act; and he pointed out that the fact of Parliament not being in session for some months was an additional reason for affording the Executive the means of prompt action if any necessity for action should arise. On the whole, if the late Ministry had been in office, it would have been their duty to have made precisely the

same application to Parliament as that which had now been made by the existing Government.

Mr. B. Osborne enumerated the several occasions on which the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended in Ireland, and after declaring his dislike to entrusting the present Government with arbitrary powers, said there was one man in the Government who understood Ireland. If Mr. Disraeli were not oppressed by the great mass of bucolic respectability which weighed him down, the Irish question might safely be left in his hands. In 1844 that right hon. gentleman, then sitting for Maidstone, said: "If they want to permanently settle Irish affairs, with credit to themselves and with satisfaction to the Irish people, they must reconstruct the social system of that country, and they must commence by organizing a very comprehensive and pervading Executive. He wished to see a public man come forward to say what the Irish question was. Let them consider Ireland as they would any other country similarly situated when reading in their closets. They would then see a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, an alien Church, and, in addition, the weakest Executive in the world. That was the Irish question. Would not gentlemen then say at once that the remedy was revolution? But the connexion with England prevented revolution; therefore England was logically in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery in Ireland. What was the duty of an English Minister in such a state of things? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force." That right hon. gentleman was now in power, and had the opportunity of effecting, by his policy, the change which he had advocated in 1844.

After some further discussion, the second reading of the Bill was affirmed by 105 votes against 31.

The second reading of the Continuance Bill was moved in the House of Lords by the Prime Minister himself on one of the last nights of the Session. The noble Earl expressed his deep regret that the condition of the island was not such as to justify the Government in allowing the present measure to expire. He eulogized the manner in which the powers of the law had been put in force and administered by the Earl of Kimberley, the late Lord-Lieutenant, and expressed a hope that on the re-assembling of Parliament next year matters would be so much improved that he should be able to advise a return to the ordinary course of procedure.

The Earl of Kimberley, the ex-Lord-Lieutenant, declared that if he had remained in office he should have recommended the adoption of this Bill by Parliament. No one except those intimately acquainted with the facts could be aware how formidable the Fenian conspiracy had been. Since 1798 there had not existed so dangerous a condition of the public mind as in the past year. The persons who had been the promoters of the scheme had not

been the poorer and more ignorant classes, but the class which was best described as artisans and small tradesmen; whilst in the south-west of Ireland, if a rebellion had broken out, there was no doubt the farmers also would have been ready to take part in it. Adverting to the alleged grievances of the Irish people, the noble lord observed that the question of land tenure was one which must shortly occupy the earnest attention of Parliament, and that the anomaly of an Established Church must also be considered, although he seemed to regard the former as entitled to precedence of the latter. He believed that the Land Tenure Bill of the late Government was well suited to the occasion. Still, he would be ready to support any other that was equally calculated to effect the same object and that might be introduced by the present Government.

The Bill, having the support of both the leading parties, of course passed without difficulty, and unhappily the events of the ensuing autumn but too well justified its enactment. Once more the Fenian conspiracy, having its centre of operations in the United States and liberally fed with money from the expatriated Irish immigrants in that country, re-appeared in the same alarming form as in the preceding year, and called forth all the energies of the Government for the protection of the public peace. Again it was announced through the Fenian organs of the press that the Irish nation were about to rise in arms against their oppressors, the English Government; that Stephens, the escaped "Head Centre," was coming over to take the command of the national force, and that the green flag would be speedily unfurled, under which the patriot forces would march to victory. These announcements, though in some quarters regarded as little better than bluster and bravado, excited in many parts of the country a painful amount of suspense and alarm. Apprehension of local outbreaks, even if a general rising should fail to take place, was sufficient to destroy the confidence of the peaceable inhabitants, and to keep them in a fever of anxiety as to the future. The Executive felt it their duty to adopt the most energetic measures for the prevention of the threatened disorder. A reward of 2000*l.* was offered for the apprehension of Stephens. But though it was given out by the Fenian organs that he had left the United States for Ireland, it was believed by the best-informed persons that this announcement was a feint, and that the Head Centre had not really left America. Fresh regiments were sent to Ireland and all the suspected points were strongly guarded. A large consignment of breech-loading rifles was despatched to Dublin, for distribution among the constabulary. Armed vessels were employed to watch those parts of the coast where it was apprehended that the Fenian companies from America might attempt a landing. The county and town of Limerick were proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act. The police were incessantly employed in searching for arms, and by their exertions very large discoveries were made in various parts. Rifles,

ammunition, bullet-moulds, percussion caps, officers' uniforms, revolvers, pikes, bayonets, and other implements of a warlike character were found in considerable quantities, concealed in houses and premises at Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other towns. Large supplies of *matériel* were also stopped *in transitu* on board steam-vessels coming from Liverpool and other places to Irish ports. The arrests of persons implicated in the conspiracy were very numerous. Some were seized who had recently arrived from America and had arms, large sums of money, or treasonable documents in their possession. Many, respecting whom secret information had been given to the police, were taken in their own homes, chiefly in the towns, but few of the farmers or persons belonging to the agricultural class being implicated in the conspiracy. It was observable, as was noticed last year, that the hostility of the Fenians, as expressed in their manifestoes and documents, was quite as much directed against the Roman Catholic hierarchy and clergy as against the Protestant or English proprietors. On the other hand it deserves to be recorded that the Bishops and priesthood took a prominent part in denouncing the folly and wickedness of the conspiracy, and used their just influence with their flocks in warning them against any participation in the guilt of such proceedings.

Whether the leaders of the movement ever seriously entertained the design of an armed resistance to the Queen's authority but were prevented from taking any such steps by the precautions of the Executive, or whether their design was merely to worry and embarrass the English Government, and, while availing themselves of the funds liberally supplied by their partisans and enjoying the *éclat* and self-importance conferred by their position as leaders, to play on the fears and distract the repose of the owners of property and peaceable subjects of the Queen in Ireland, it may not be easy at present to determine; at all events it is satisfactory to record that, notwithstanding all the professions and menaces held forth, no drop of blood was shed, no shot fired, no outrage or murder traceable to any Fenian origin, was committed. The day preceding Christmas Day, which rumour had assigned as the date of the rising, passed off without any incident of the kind, and the year terminated without either the realization or the attempt to realize the confident vaunt, that the great conflict between the Fenian confederacy and the usurping power of England would be finally determined by force of arms upon Irish soil before the end of the year.

CHAPTER III.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS.—Prosperous condition of the public revenue—Expected remissions of taxation—The Budget is brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 3rd of May—Proposal to reduce the timber duties, the wine and stage-carriage duties, and other minor taxes—Scheme for the gradual conversion of the national debt into terminable annuities—Favourable reception and adoption by the House of the former portion of the scheme—The plan for reducing the debt meets with some objection, and is ultimately given up—Motion of Sir Fitzroy Kelly in favour of a reduction of the malt duty—Mr. S. Mill asserts the prior obligation of attempting to redeem the national debt—The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposes the motion, which is rejected, after a full debate, by 235 to 150. THE ARMY ESTIMATES are moved by the Marquis of Hartington, who enters into various details of military organization and expenditure—The votes, showing a reduction of 250,000*l.*, are agreed to—Lord Clarence Paget moves the Estimates for the Navy, which are slightly below the preceding year—The expenditure and administration of the Admiralty undergo much criticism in the House of Commons—Charges of waste and extravagance are brought against the department—Defence of the system by Members of the Government—Supplementary Estimates for conversion of Enfield rifles into breech-loaders are proposed late in the session by General Peel, the new Secretary of State for War—The expenditure is sanctioned by the House—Vote for fortification of the arsenals proposed and withdrawn. THE CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.—The vote for education—Statement of the Vice-President of the Committee of Council. CHURCH RATES.—Bill for their abolition brought in by Mr. Hardcastle—Important statement of opinion by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who undertakes to bring in a Bill to abolish the compulsory payment—Explanations made by him on introducing his scheme to the House—Subsequently to the change of Ministry Mr. Gladstone's Bill is debated and read a second time, but proceeds no further—Mr. Hardcastle's Bill is withdrawn—Proposed abolition of tests on taking degrees at Oxford and Cambridge—Bill of Mr. J. D. Coleridge, after passing second reading and Committee by large majorities, is postponed—Bill of Mr. Bouverie meets with the same result—Proposed measure for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister is rejected on a division.

THE flourishing state of the public revenue under Mr. Gladstone's administration has been for several years past so familiar a feature that it has come to be regarded almost as a matter of course. The existence of an annual surplus since the full development of the Free Trade policy took place, notwithstanding the constant reductions of taxation in progress, is regarded pretty much as a certainty. Under these circumstances, the financial statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer are looked upon in scarcely any other light than as admirable exhibitions of financial skill and oratorical ability. The crowds who throng the galleries of the House of Commons on these occasions are attracted much less by the hopes and fears excited by the prospect of financial changes than by the enjoyment of that versatile and skilful eloquence with which Mr. Gladstone is wont to embellish the dry details of fiscal policy, and to enchain the attention of his auditory by a recapitulation of facts and figures which, in less skilful hands, would be regarded as a wearisome infliction. The

published quarterly statements of income and expenditure for the current year had clearly indicated that a surplus revenue of moderate amount was to be looked for; but the sum at the Minister's disposal was also known to have been anticipated to some extent by engagements entered into with a foreign power for the remission of certain duties on wine and timber, and there was consequently little margin on which the expectants of a further reduction of our domestic burdens could build their hopes. A modest and unambitious Budget was therefore generally anticipated; and the Ministerial statement, though never without interest, was regarded with a less amount of curiosity than usual—a result also due in some degree to the absorbing excitement with which the debates on the pending Reform Bill at this time possessed the public mind. It was in the height of these contentions, in which he was himself taking so prominent a part, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was required to step aside for a time into the more tranquil region of finance, and to lay before the nation those details of its fiscal and commercial transactions which were happily exempt from the disturbing influence of political passions, and involved scarcely any matter of party controversy.

On the 3rd of May, in rising to lay his annual account before the Committee of the whole House, Mr. Gladstone began by expressing his satisfaction that he could now enter upon a subject with which no animosities were concerned. He said he had not to announce any surplus revenue on such a scale as that which they had had to dispose of during the last three years. During those years he had to ask the House to make arrangements to dispose of sums averaging three millions and a half of money. But although we moved within more contracted limits in the fiscal affairs of the present year, he had proposals to make which would not be without interest and importance. The total estimated revenue for the past year was 67,812,000*l.*, and the estimated expenditure 65,914,000*l.*, leaving a surplus revenue of 1,898,000*l.*; but this had been reduced by various items, for which provision had not otherwise been made, to 1,338,000*l.* He had estimated the loss to accrue from the reduction of the duty on tea at 1,868,000*l.*; the actual loss amounted to 1,871,000*l.* And the loss upon the diminution of the income-tax he had estimated at 1,650,000*l.*, whereas the actual loss was 1,568,000*l.* It was satisfactory to know, as indicating the advance of the country in wealth and prosperity, that a penny in the pound income-tax, instead of 1,000,000*l.*, now produced 1,400,000*l.* With regard to the effects of the reduction in the fire-insurance duty, he had estimated the loss at 260,000*l.*; the actual loss had been 272,000*l.* He had calculated that the increase in the value of the property insured would be about 10 per cent., but in point of fact it had reached only 5 per cent. After stating the results in regard to the other items of revenue, Mr. Gladstone came next to his estimates of the revenue and expenditure for the financial year

1866-7. His estimate of expenditure was as follows:—Funded and unfunded debt, 26,140,000*l.*; consolidated fund, 1,880,000*l.*; army, 14,095,000*l.*; navy, 10,400,000*l.*; collection of revenue, 5,003,000*l.*; packet service, 821,000*l.*; miscellaneous estimates, 7,886,000*l.*; making a total of 66,225,000*l.*, as against 66,147,000*l.* expended last year; being an increase on the estimates of the current year, as compared with the past, of 78,000*l.* The revenue for the current year he estimated as follows:—Customs, 21,400,000*l.*; Excise, 19,750,000*l.*; stamps, 9,450,000*l.*; assessed taxes, 3,400,000*l.*; income-tax, 5,700,000*l.*; Post-office, 4,450,000*l.*; Crown lands (including China indemnity), 3,100,000*l.*; giving a total estimated income of 67,575,000*l.* Deduct from this amount the estimated charge of 66,225,000*l.*, and there would be a probable surplus of revenue over charge amounting to 1,350,000*l.*, which, but for the changes of last year, would have been between 2,700,000*l.* and 2,800,000*l.* The changes referred to were:—950,000*l.* reduction of the income-tax; 260,000*l.* reduction of insurance duty; and 207,000*l.* reduced duty on tea. The right hon. gentleman then referred to the benefits produced by the commercial treaty with France, which were now so evident that they needed no elaborate demonstration. On this subject the right hon. gentleman said—"The exports of France in tissues are considerable, in cotton, linen, woollen, and yarns of all kinds, but the general history is this: Take the year 1860, the year before the treaty was established. In 1861, just as it happened, we ourselves felt the panic which was in England, when no doubt the prophets of England thought, 'See here is the ruin we told you would come.' In 1862, matters began to mend. I will state the figures of 1864 as compared with 1860 in millions of francs. In cotton goods France exported in 1860, 69½ millions; in 1864, 93¾ millions. In linen goods she exported 15½ millions; and these were the very things in which it was supposed that the French industry would be ruined by British competition. Yet in 1860 France exported linen goods to the extent of 15½ millions, and in 1864 to the extent of 24 millions of francs. In woollen goods she exported in 1860, 299¼ millions; and in 1864, 356 millions. In yarns she exported in 1860, 12½ millions; and in 1864, 43 millions. The total amount in 1860, immediately before the treaty, and when French manufactures were admitted to be in a flourishing condition, was 327 millions; in 1864, after it had been ruined for four years by British competition, it was 517 millions. The exports increased, if possible, in a more remarkable manner. I will state the figures, and I may here say they were all articles with regard to which great alarm prevailed in France as to the effect of English competition. I am not now stating what we sent to France, but what France sent to us in articles which it was supposed our competition would drive even out of the French markets. They are woollens, linens, cottons, yarns, manufactured earthenware, glass, and salted fish. Her exports to England of those articles before the treaty

amounted to 58½ millions in 1859, but in 1864 they had risen to 141 millions." The right hon. gentleman then referred to the treaties with Belgium, the Zollverein, and Austria, and to the beneficial results which have followed, and are expected to follow, in consequence thereof. He then proceeded to state the reductions which he contemplated. He would propose to repeal the duty on timber, and to equalize the duty on wine in bottles to the duty on wine in the wood. "The duty on timber is a very low duty, and that is the best which can be said in its favour. When a thing is bad, the best that can be said of it is, that there is very little of it. In every other point of view the duty on timber is as bad as it can be. To begin with, it is a protective duty; to go on with, it is a duty on a raw material; and lastly, it is a material of which this country stands in great want, which is of such vast bulk, and which has to be brought such distances, that to continue the duty on it is the very essence and quintessence of political folly. The history of the consumption of timber in this country is rather remarkable. In 1811 the duty on timber was high, and the consumption was 417,000 loads. At that period, certainly a most ill-omened one for commercial legislation, the duties were further raised; and in 1814 the consumption had fallen as low as 218,000 loads."

He would now pass over a long period of years up to 1841, when the system of reducing the duties commenced. The right hon. gentleman then detailed the various reductions made in the duty, and showed that each reduction thereon was followed by an increase in the consumption, so that in 1859 it amounted to 2,480,000 loads, and within the six subsequent years increased 50 per cent., the total amount now being 3,700,000 loads. He then referred to the proposed reductions and equalization of duties on wine in wood and in bottle, also the abolition of duty on pepper, whereby the mischiefs of adulteration would be prevented. As to the duties upon locomotion, the revenue produced therefrom, in all its forms, including taxes on carts, carriages, and horses, amounted to 1,600,000*l.*, and 459,000*l.* was derivable from railways. With none of these did he propose to interfere. But he must call attention to post-horses and carriages and all hackney vehicles, which produced a revenue of 266,000*l.*, bearing chiefly on the labouring and middle classes, as the present tax amounted to 9 or 11 per cent. on the profits of the London and General Omnibus Company, and of other similar companies. The tax on all such carriages he proposed to reduce from one penny, as charged at present, to one farthing per mile. These reductions would dispose of 562,000*l.*, being rather more than half of the estimated surplus.

He now came to propose the disposal of the remaining half. In his view the time had come for giving more attention than Parliament had hitherto paid to the subject of the National Debt. At the close of the great European war the debt amounted to 900,000,000*l.* The lowest point to which it attained was on the 5th of January, 1854,

when it was 800,515,000*l.* Then came the Crimean War, and on the 31st of March, 1857, the debt was 831,722,000*l.* On the 30th of March last it was 798,309,000*l.*, being a point nominally somewhat lower, having cancelled certain stock. "We stand now actually at the same point that we did in 1854. We are indebted to the savings' banks to the amount of some 3,000,000*l.* On the other hand, we have an immense amount of perfectly good securities that amount to about 10,000,000*l.* That, however, is an amount which we need not take into view in dealing with such an enormous accumulation of debt. 799,000,000*l.* is then the present capital of the debt. Observe the rates at which we have operated upon it. From 1815 to 1854 there were nearly forty years of the most profound peace ever known, and it was therefore the very period in which it was most desirable for us to deal efficiently with this debt, if we were to place ourselves in a position to look war in the face, should cause for it unfortunately arise. I have stated that the rate of decrease per annum over that period was 2,609,000*l.*, undoubtedly a very feeble sum when we consider the enormous amount of what had to be achieved. For three years, between 1854 and 1857, the rate of increase was nearly 9,600,000*l.*, and from 1857 to 1866, the decrease was 3,646,000*l.* I wish here to call the attention of the committee to this fact, that whereas two or three millions a year have represented the average of our reductions at a time of peace—I do not believe that if you take the whole of the years of peace since 1815 that it averaged three millions a year—when you become involved in any great or protracted war, you must be prepared to see it grow at about ten times the rate at which you reduced it in time of peace. The next question is, is that a satisfactory state of things?" The right hon. gentleman then referred to the opinions of Mr. Jevons, Sir J. Herschell, Dr. Percy, and Sir R. Murchison, as to the possible exhaustion of our coal-fields, and to the discovery of coal-beds in America and elsewhere. "It is," said the right hon. gentleman, "of no use to say a substitute will be found for coal. There are scientific men who say it may be possible to find a substitute, but if that were found it would not be peculiar to England. It is quite evident it cannot be peculiar. Therefore I will suppose our being after the next hundred years unable to obtain coal. This appears to me must be our relative position with other nations: If it is a question of coal against coal, how does the matter stand? There is another country enormously richer in this article than we are. The coal of the United States of America is about thirty-seven times greater than our own. It is true that of that coal a considerable proportion is anthracite, which has not yet been found capable of adaptation. Suppose coal is to fail, and to carry away this pre-eminence of cheap production of ours across the Atlantic, I ask you, and especially I ask gentlemen opposite, what will happen? There will be a decline—a decline of rents, profits, and wages. There will be precisely a reverse of what we have seen for the last twenty years in the increase of rents, profits, and wages. When rents, profits, and wages decline,

what will the owners of them do? The owners of wages—those who receive wages—finding wages are higher across the Atlantic, will emigrate. Owners of movable property will find a wider and more profitable field for its application, and will send their capital abroad. What will the owners of rents do? It appears to me they cannot emigrate. They may emigrate personally, but that upon which they depend cannot emigrate. At that period, when rents, wages, and profits decline, the charge on the national debt will remain a permanent mortgage on the lands and durable property of the country. I wish I could convey to the committee my own sense of the importance of these considerations. This is a matter which engages the special attention of skilful and scientific men under the direction of the Government from year to year. Mr. Hunn, whose estimate is one of the best made, estimates the coal of the United Kingdom, within 4,000 feet of the surface, and much of that could not be raised, at 83,000,000,000 tons. The consumption of coal in 1854 was 64,000,000 tons, and the present consumption is taken at 86,000,000. Every year the average consumption of coal is 3·7 per cent. greater than it was the year before. Now, taking three and a half, which is smaller than the known rate of increase—and we have reason to expect a greater increase of the increment rather than a decrease—yet take three and a half, this would give in one hundred years an annual consumption of 100,000,000 tons. Hence, the consumption of the next 104 years, that is by the year 1970, would have reached 103,000,000,000 tons, that is to say, a greater amount than all we now know to be available in Great Britain within 4,000 feet of the surface. I believe, long before you have consumed that quantity of coal, you will begin to find in operation the causes to which I have referred, and which will follow with inevitable certainty with increased prices." The right hon. gentleman contended that the proper way to guard against these calamities was to rid ourselves as far as we could of our liabilities. With this view he proposed to devote the remainder of the surplus to dealing with the Debt, in two modes, which he explained with great minuteness, under the heads of Operation A and Operation B. Under the first he proposed to convert 24,000,000*l.* of the savings' bank stock into annuities terminable in 1885, and under the second head he proposed to reinvest the spare dividends; the upshot of the two operations being to extinguish by 1905 nearly 50,000,000*l.* of debt at an immediate annual increased charge of a little over half a million. Summing up the proposed changes for the year 1866—67, Mr. Gladstone put the result thus:—

Timber Duties	£307,000
Wine Duties	58,000
Pepper Duty	112,000
Stage Carriage and Post Horse Duties	85,000
Conversion of Debt	502,000
Total	£1,064,000

Leaving an unappropriated surplus of 286,000*l.* "I have now," said the right hon. gentleman, "but to give the sum of all the operations which I have detailed, and they are as follow:—The amount of the surplus is 1,350,000*l.* The remissions as they stand are:—On wood, 307,000*l.*; on wine, 58,000*l.*; on pepper, 112,000*l.*; and on stage carriages and race-horse duty, 85,000*l.*; making a total of 562,000*l.* The loss on the conversion of debt for the present year is 502,000*l.*; making 1,064,000*l.*, and leaving a surplus for the present year of 286,000*l.* In the following year there will be a further change in regard to commercial charges, and a further charge, as I have said, on the debt; the joint result will be that the income of the year will be burdened to the extent of a quarter of a million. That, however, is an amount of burden on which I have no scruples of conscience whatever, because there has been no year in the growth of the national revenue, even when there has been a bad harvest, in which it has not amounted to a very much larger sum. With respect to the debt I hope I have not been understood to prophesy or to do any thing more than make such sketches of the future according to fair and apparent probability, as appeared to have a demand upon the attention of reasonable and prudent men. So regarding them, I will not say more than this, that the facts are very grave facts. They may even be considered urgent within certain limits, and so far as regards the adoption of certain measures. Undoubtedly it did seem as well to the Government, although the proper business of the finance of the year is to make arrangements for the year, yet that we should, upon suitable and sufficient cause, cast our glance forward into the future, and endeavour, in some degree, to meet this demand, so that when we ourselves cease to ply our arduous task of conducting public affairs—and by 'we' I do not mean the Government, I mean the House, and pass away from active life, those who come after us may have reason to see that in the provision made for our own wants we have also taken some thought for them, and may find no ground either to regret or to condemn."

Some comments were made by various members upon different portions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, Sir F. Kelly, among others, drawing from a part of Mr. Gladstone's argument in favour of reducing the timber duties, an inference favourable to his own project of lowering the tax on malt. The formal resolutions were agreed to.

The greater part of Mr. Gladstone's financial proposals were ratified by the House of Commons almost without discussion. Some slight opposition indeed was made by Mr. Hubbard, who moved an amendment to so much of the scheme as related to the retention of the existing duties on fire and marine insurance. He recommended that arrangements should be made for the gradual abolition of these charges. The amendment, however, met with little support. Another and a distinct part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals, which was made the subject of a separate

Bill, experienced a different result. This was the plan for the conversion of a portion of the National Debt into terminable annuities, with a view to its gradual liquidation. On the merit of this scheme, which was naturally of a somewhat complicated character, and involved important principles of financial policy, there was considerable difference of opinion. In the debate upon the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone endeavoured to make clear to the House the *modus operandi* by which he aimed at extinguishing a portion of the capital of the debt.

The object of the measure was, he said, the conversion of twenty-four millions of the National Debt in savings' banks deposits into annuities, amounting to 1,725,000*l.*, terminable in 1885, and the further conversion of twenty-five millions into other annuities to expire in the year 1905. He did not, when introducing this Bill, mean to refer to the subject of coal supply as the *basis* of his proposal to reduce the National Debt, but only as a reinforcement of the other reason which might be adduced in favour of that proposal. At the close of the great war, debt was being paid off at the rate of 1,900,000*l.* per annum, while in 1849 that amount had been increased to over four millions, which was in 1859 about the average paid for half a century. In 1850, by the lapse of the long annuities, the charge was a little over two millions per annum, while in last year it was about 400,000*l.* more. The measure now proposed was an attempt to approximate the reducing the National Debt to the point at which it stood before 1860. He contended that the argument against paying off money which was only chargeable with a low interest was fallacious, for all the money so paid off did not cease to exist, but went straight into the money market, and was applied to commercial enterprise. He admitted that the National Debt at its present amount was relatively smaller, looking to our increased wealth and population, than when it stood at three hundred millions; but it must be remembered that this country was only extricating itself from the incidental difficulties arising out of the war, which increased our National Debt to eight or nine hundred millions. Owing to our supremacy on the sea during the revolutionary war, immense openings were given to our foreign trade, which now could not be maintained, so that there was no parallel in the circumstances. The Bill proposed in the first place to convert twenty-four millions of savings banks' deposits into terminable annuities at a charge of 1,925,000*l.* Any balances which might arise would be invested in Government securities; and any stock so acquired would be subject to the second operation of the measure, which would be the conversion of such stock into another set of annuities terminable in 1905. The maximum increase of charge of the first operation would be 420,000*l.*, while that on the second operation would be 1,295,000*l.*, which added to the 420,000*l.* on the first operation would make a sum of 1,715,000*l.* But in 1885 there would be a relief of over two millions by the

lapse of other terminable annuities, which would be placed against the charge of 1,715,000*l.* The amount of Consols cancelled in 1885 would be sixty-two millions and a half. As regarded the principle of the plan, it was not by any means to be taken as involving that of the Sinking Fund, to which he was decidedly opposed. There could be no objection to terminable annuities in a year of surplus; but in a year of deficit, though nothing was gained, there was less disadvantage than in the case of sinking funds. Under the present Bill, the terminable annuities could not be sold in the open market. The right hon. gentleman then pointed out that the finance minister, being on the one hand a borrower, and on the other a banker, the investments of the banker balanced the deficiencies of the borrower; and this operation would apply to the meeting the charge for terminable annuities in years of deficit. The success of the proposed plan depended on a thorough understanding of the position of the State as bankers and investors of the sums taken from the savings' banks; and the bearing of the scheme on the assets, not the liabilities, of the State. On the whole it was proposed to adhere to the policy of paying off debt by means of terminable annuities cleared of their normal inconveniences and losses, and avoiding the objection of being borrowers and payers of debt in the same year.

Sir F. Kelly objected to the Bill, as it bound the House—no matter whether there was a surplus or not—to pay annually a sum considerably above one million sterling for the next forty years, making an aggregate of 63,000,000*l.*

Mr. Fawcett, though admiring Mr. Gladstone's general financial policy, thought it to be an unfortunate scheme to provide for future reductions by promising to increase the annual charge, and throw upon posterity a greater burden than the present generation was prepared to bear. If the debt ought to be reduced, let it be done in an earnest and manly way. Let the House and the Government adopt measures for creating a surplus revenue, which they should then apply in the old-fashioned and best manner—that was by the cancelling of stock.

Mr. Childers defended the Bill as a sound financial arrangement that would operate for the benefit of the country, whilst it did not entail a charge in excess of the present amount of more than half a million a year.

Mr. Henley believed that, stripped of the mystery with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had clothed his proposal, it was in reality a revival of the old Sinking Fund. As long as the country was prosperous, the extra charge would be paid freely, but as soon as taxes had to be raised to meet it the scheme would fall to the ground.

The Bill was read a second time, but made no further progress. The ministerial crisis and the change of Government which supervened, caused the matter to be postponed; and towards the end of the Session, Mr. Gladstone's successor, Mr. Disraeli, finding it ne-

cessary to provide a further sum to meet supplementary estimates for the Army, proposed to abandon the Terminable Annuities Bill, and to appropriate the sum of 502,500*l.* current year's revenue which Mr. Gladstone had designed to apply to the redemption of debt. Mr. Gladstone did not resist his proposal, but intimated that he should not abandon, in case an opportunity were afforded him for reviving it, the project of operating upon the debt which he had submitted to the House.

Independently of the measures of the Government, the action of Parliament in respect to the finances of the country in the present Session was very limited. Mr. White, one of the members for Brighton, made, at an early period of the Session, an effort to draw from the House of Commons a resolution in favour of "an early and large reduction of the Government expenditure." This motion found a few supporters, but was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who defended the estimates of the Government, and took credit for a considerable reduction in the army expenditure. The charge on this account was directly traceable to our colonial policy. New Zealand alone having for some years past employed one-twelfth and one-tenth of our efficient military strength. In the navy, too, there was a saving of 350,000*l.*, although he granted that it was neutralized by an increase of the vote for works recommended to be carried out by the Select Committee of last Session. As to the motion before the House, he did not deny that in certain cases great good might be done by general resolutions, but nothing was gained by vague and unsupported statements and denunciations. So far as the Government was concerned, the House would ever find them ready to agree to the freest discussion and the most searching criticism.

The Session was not, however, suffered to pass by without an effort on the part of the agricultural interest to obtain a reconsideration of their favourite project—a reduction of the malt duties. Sir Fitzroy Kelly, who had on several former occasions appeared as the representative of this question, again mooted the subject in the House of Commons in the form of a resolution, pledging the House on any future remission of indirect taxation to take this particular duty into consideration. In a brief retrospect of our fiscal history for the last twenty-four years, he contended that the cardinal principle of our financial policy was the remission or abolition of taxes which pressed most heavily on the comforts or necessities of the working classes, the Malt Tax being one of the last of this character remaining; and having shown by a minute calculation that of the 60,000,000*l.* paid by the consumers of beer annually, 20,000,000*l.* was paid on account of the duty, and three-fifths of this by the working classes, he accused of grievous inconsistency statesmen like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who one day told the working men that they ought to have the franchise because of the large proportion of the taxes which they paid, and the next obstinately refused to relieve them of so heavy a burden. After

referring to the condemnation by all political economists of taxes on raw materials, he dwelt on the benefits to be derived by the repeal of the tax from the consequent revision of the licensing system, and the cheapening and improvement of the quality of beer, calculating that, without the tax, sound beer might be brewed for 8*d.* per gallon, and mentioning some amusing results obtained by analyzing samples purchased in different parts of the metropolis. He commented on Mr. Gladstone's reasons for opposing the repeal, declaring that he had never heard any thing like an argument from him, compared the tax with the duties on spirits and tobacco, and expressed a strong conviction that if its abolition led to the substitution of beer for spirits as the national beverage of Scotland and Ireland, it would confer an immense benefit on both countries.

Mr. Neate moved, as an amendment, that, "in the present state of the taxation and resources of the country, it is the duty of Parliament to make provision for the systematic reduction of the National Debt, and not to sanction any proposal for a repeal or change of taxes which is likely to be attended with a diminution of the revenue," insisting on the peculiar importance of making some arrangement for the gradual reduction of the Debt at a time when new classes were to be admitted to the government of the country.

Mr. J. S. Mill, in seconding the amendment, impressed on the House the duty of making an immediate effort to provide for the reduction of the Debt in justice to posterity, whose claims on our self-denial and providence he vindicated with much earnestness. Referring to the probable exhaustion of our coal-fields, he asserted that after this, and perhaps the next two or three generations, the task would become impossible; and is it just, he asked, to bequeath pecuniary obligations to generations to which we cannot transmit our assets? The country could well afford to set aside a few millions each year for the extinction of the Debt, and though up to the present we had not done much that was blameable in our reductions of taxation, it would be a criminal dereliction to get rid of a tax for the simple purpose of being able to spend the money in some other way.

Mr. C. S. Read supported the motion in a practical speech, showing that the tax enhanced the price of malt, restricted cultivation, compelled the farmer to grow one crop when he would have preferred another, perpetuated the beer monopoly, and deprived the labourer of a beverage which was a necessity to him. If it were impossible to spare the revenue, he suggested a tax of a penny a gallon on beer.

Sir E. Buller, in an elaborate calculation, showed that the duty enhanced the price of beer to the consumer by about 33 per cent. He contrasted this result with the duties on wines and spirits, and commented on the significant fact that, though the consumer and the producer were anxious for the remission, the brewer was

contented with the duty, which prevented competition by keeping up the capital required in the brewing business.

Mr. Buxton replied to some of the statements as to the brewers' profits, contending that the cost of the simple process of brewing was greatly increased by the expenses of distribution.

Mr. M'Laren pointed out that the arguments used against the Malt Tax were applicable to all indirect taxes, and argued that the reduction of the sugar duties, which produced about the same amount, would be felt by a larger number of people. He gave an earnest support to the amendment, and showed how at an annual expense of less than 5,000,000*l.*, half of our Debt might be converted into annuities terminable in about sixty years.

Mr. Ayrton maintained that this was simply a consumer's question, and did not affect the agricultural interest as producers simply. Beer, he argued, according to the proportion of alcohol which it contained, was more lightly taxed than spirits, and the duty ought in justice to be increased rather than lowered. He saw no objection to the tax, and recommended the employers of agricultural labour, instead of agitating for this abolition, to discourage the consumption of beer, to put a stop to the practice of paying wages partly in beer, and to consider the possibility of bringing malt into more extensive use as an article of food. He eulogized the doctrines laid down in Mr. Mill's speech, and insisted on the importance of providing for the reduction of the Debt.

Mr. Hubbard, while allowing that this Duty interfered with cultivation, pointed out other cases of interference for purposes of revenue. There was no general agitation for the repeal of the tax, and, though not favourable to its principle, he maintained that there were others, such as the fire insurance and the sugar duties, which had a prior claim. With reference to the amendment, the reduction of the Debt, though an important duty, was not so pressing as the improvement of the revenue.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer commenced his reply by referring to the amendment, the importance of which he admitted, but deprecated any decision upon it in this incidental manner, intimating that he should advert to the subject in his Financial Statement. In respect to the motion, he repeated his old objection to pledging the House by anticipation to isolated remissions. This tax, he said, could not be dealt with at a less sacrifice to the revenue than 2,000,000*l.*, and as by the financial arrangements of last year there would be no very large sum disposable this year, the Resolution, even if carried, could have no present or proximate effect. After pointing out that Malt had already been favoured in the shape of a remission of the beer duty forty years ago, he maintained that the burden of the duty must be considered in relation to other duties and the nature of the commodity. It was almost in exact correspondence with the duties on tea and sugar; and that it was relatively much lighter than the duties on spirits he showed by stating that while 60,000,000 gallons of alcohol were annually

consumed in beer, only 28,000,000 were consumed in spirits, and that while the beer paid 6,500,000*l.*, spirits paid 14,000,000*l.* He did not dispute the importance of beer as an article of diet, though he could not concede to it the "evangelizing power" attributed to it by the abolitionists, who elevated it almost to the rank of a "missionary of civilization," and as to the proposition to change the form of the duty into a tax on beer, he pointed out that there were great practical difficulties in the way, and that no general concurrence in the proposal had been manifested. He warned Sir F. Kelly that, unless he provided a substitute, his motion struck at the root of indirect taxation; and, though not desirous to take up the position of obstinate and inconvertible opposition, he urged the House not to consent to a motion which could have no present effect.

Mr. Neate withdrew his amendment, and, on a division, the motion was rejected by 235 to 150.

The Estimates for the services of the year were brought in at an early period, and the principal heads showed some, though not a considerable, reduction. The Marquis of Hartington, as Secretary for War, proposed the Army Estimates, and made an elaborate statement of the various matters embraced by the general military expenditure, describing at the same time the several alterations in the discipline and administration of the service, the progress of military education, the arrangements for the manufacture and improvement of arms and implements of war, and other matters usually included in the Ministerial statement in regard to the War Department. The noble Marquis stated that the number of men of all ranks, the cost of whom was to be defrayed out of the army funds, would be 138,117, including 8983 depôts in Great Britain and Ireland of regiments in India. He said the estimate showed a reduction of 250,000*l.* as compared with last year. This was not considerable; but it should be remembered that it was made in a year succeeding four or five years in which other reductions had been made. In fact, the Army Estimates had been reduced since 1862-3 by 2,000,000*l.* The principal items of increase for the new year would be found in the votes for provisions at home, for the militia, and for the volunteers. The total number of men proposed to be voted was 138,117. No change would be made either in the artillery, cavalry, or guards. A small change would take place in the military train, and a material change in the infantry. When these had been effected, there would be 91 battalions abroad and 50 at home. Of the battalions abroad 24 would be in the colonies. The total number of infantry would be 76,164 men against 80,574 provided for in the estimates of last year. The total diminution of men would be 4523. The reduction would affect 82 captains; but 30 unattached colonelcies, and a similar number of majorities, would be created, thus providing for 60 captains. Of subalterns, 164 would also be reduced. These would be provided for as soon as possible, and those unemployed

would remain supernumeraries until opportunity arose for absorbing them. As to recruiting, the Government did not propose either to raise bounties or to increase the pay of the men, but they proposed to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject, as also into the operation of the Limited Enlistment Act. The noble lord having described the progress made at Woolwich with the improved ordnance, and also at the manufactory for small arms, referring incidentally to military education and the general administration of the army, observed, with regard to Fenianism, that, although many recruits might have enlisted in Ireland with the intention of disseminating their political principles in their regiments, still that neither the Commander-in-Chief nor Sir Hugh Rose entertained the slightest doubt of the loyalty of the troops in Ireland. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act had already effected much good, and greater facilities than heretofore now existed for obtaining evidence against soldiers who might have compromised themselves by joining the movement.

General Peel criticized the Estimates at some length, and expressed his approval of the intention to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject of recruiting and into the operation of the Limited Enlistment Act. He was not in favour of long enlistment, but he recommended that all enlistments should be for a uniform period of twelve years.

Mr. O'Reilly expressed his disappointment at the statement of the Minister for War, which, he said, would not give satisfaction to those who were in favour of economical Estimates.

A long discussion ensued upon the questions relating to the manufacture of ordnance and small arms, enlistments, military education, fortifications, promotions, and other matters.

A suggestion was thrown out by Sir C. Russell, that the labour of soldiers in military prisons should be utilized as in France, where the system had been found to conduce to the moral and physical advantage of the prisoners.

The Marquis of Hartington admitted that the suggestion was worthy of consideration.

The vote for commissariat services elicited a general opinion that the uniforms and necessaries manufactured by Government were far superior to those formerly supplied by contractors.

The several votes proposed by the Government were ultimately agreed to.

The naval expenditure underwent, in the course of this Session, a somewhat more severe and detailed criticism. The Estimates for this branch of the service were moved by Lord Clarence Paget, Secretary to the Admiralty. After touching on some minor changes in the form of the Estimates, he stated that the total amount asked for the year 1866-7 was 10,388,153*l.*, and explained that though the apparent reduction on the Estimates of last year was only about 4000*l.*, the reduction on the ordinary expenditure

was in reality much greater, as would have been apparent but for the increase of 350,000*l.* in the vote for the dockyards. This, he reminded the House, was in obedience to the decision of a Committee of the House of Commons in favour of an immediate construction of the new works which were rendered necessary by the changes in our navy, and it consequently would appear in the Estimates for some years to come. To show that there was a decrease in the ordinary items, Lord Clarence Paget mentioned, that while the cost of the *personnel* of the navy for the eleven years ending with these Estimates was 48,000,000*l.* as against 47,000,000*l.* for the *matériel*, the cost of the *matériel* this year was only 2,500,000*l.* against 4,000,000*l.* for the *personnel*. On the vote for the men, there was an apparent reduction of 172,808*l.*, but a real reduction of 80,000*l.*, the reduction in the number of men being 1350. Passing to the vote for the dockyards, Lord Clarence explained, that though the apparent increase on this vote was 64,776*l.*, the real increase was only about 35,000*l.* He next described what the Admiralty proposed to do in regard to shipbuilding this year. On this vote the chief reduction was on contract-built ships—viz. 229,000*l.*, and Lord Clarence entered at some length into the reasons which had led the Admiralty to make this reduction. He stated, that by the 1st of April we should have thirty armour-plated ships afloat, and that it was intended to commence a double turreted ship, to carry four 22-ton guns, of 5099 tons, 1100-horse power, and a speed of fourteen knots. It was also intended to build two large non-plated vessels of the Amazon class, and a smaller vessel, which, with the "Hercules" and another iron-plated vessel now building, would make 15,000 tons of shipping proposed to be constructed during the coming year. He mentioned also, that, since July, 1859, the Admiralty had got rid of 320 useless vessels. With regard to the expenditure on the dockyards, Lord Clarence said that very little had been spent on Woolwich and Sheerness, but that considerable progress had been made with the great works at Chatham, and it was hoped that equal progress would be made at Portsmouth, where it was proposed to provide additional facilities for repairing our iron fleet. He next described the new works at Devonport and Bermuda, and mentioned that the new dock at Malta was progressing fairly. Without entering into details, he announced that the Admiralty was preparing a scheme for retirement, which, it was hoped, would create a better flow of promotion, and another for bettering the condition of the medical officers. He quoted some gratifying statistics as to the discipline of the navy, which showed that crime and punishment were greatly on the decrease, while education was on the increase, and augured from this that the navy was becoming more popular, and that the comforts and interests of the men were fairly attended to.

Sir John Pakington, after some general remarks on the Estimates and the condition of the service, complained that no mention

had been made of the comparative merits of broadside and turret ships, and reminded the Secretary to the Admiralty that he had not redeemed his promise of a former year to build a sea-going turret ship. He also asked whether it was true that Captain Cowper Coles's invention had been ignored, in order that preference might be given to a rival scheme of Mr. Reed, the constructor to the navy.

Mr. Samuda pointed out the fallacy of building partly-protected armour-plated ships like the "Warrior," "Black Prince," "Defence," and "Resistance." He recommended that, as we had but ten thoroughly efficient armour-plated ships in the service, the Admiralty should at once build six turret ships.

Lord Clarence Paget assured the House that Mr. Reed was quite as anxious as any one could be to produce a thoroughly good sea-going ship on the turret principle. He meant a ship that could cruise about and blockade an enemy's port, not a ship that would have to wait in harbour till fine weather came, in order to go out. He contended that it was not expedient to cover the whole of the ship with iron plates, as recommended by Mr. Samuda, as such a vessel would require a tonnage far larger than it would be desirable to construct.

The vote of 1,368,971*l.* for salaries and wages in dockyards and naval yards at home and abroad (which presented an increase of 64,776*l.* as compared with the vote of 1865) led to a long discussion, in the course of which the annual chronic grievance about the wages of dockyard men was brought forward, and commented upon chiefly by hon. gentlemen connected with the representation of shipbuilding boroughs. The advocates of an increase of wages contended that the 3*s.* 10*d.* per day paid to the men was considerably less than that paid by private shipbuilders, and that, consequently, an injustice was done.

Mr. Childers, on the other hand, urged that continuous employment, and eventually superannuations, were an ample set-off against the plea of higher wages earned in private yards, and stated that 3000 men were already in receipt of pensions.

Mr. Samuda, a large employer of labour for the last thirty years, pointed out the difference between the amount of labour paid for by Government and by private shipbuilders, and showed that 5*s.* 6*d.* per day earned at piecework did not, in point of fact, give the workman a larger income at the end of the year than that which he would derive if in the service of the Government. He also stated that the workmen now paid twenty-five per cent. less for food and clothing than they used to do, while the wages earned by them were from twenty to thirty per cent. higher.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer warned the House not to give way to the pressure which was sought to be put upon them by the advocates of local interests, who were generous enough with funds which were not their own.

Sir S. M. Peto supported the vote, and asked how it was, that if

the men in Government dockyards were underpaid, they did not go to the private yards?

The vote was ultimately carried.

The votes for stores, outfits and repairs of ships were discussed at considerable length, and the mode of constructing ships by the Admiralty was minutely criticized on both sides of the House, Mr. Seely, Mr. Laird, Sir J. Pakington, Mr. Samuda, and other members taking part in the debate.

Sir J. Walsh directed attention to the importance of continuing the construction of iron-clad men-of-war, and especially of corvettes and vessels of a smaller class than those which now formed the armour-plated fleet.

Mr. Baillie contended that our naval force in this description of ships was inadequate for the purposes of defence and the protection of our commerce; and that, at the present moment, we were in an inferior position both in the Mediterranean and the Pacific.

Lord C. Paget admitted that, numerically, our navy might be small; but its force was really greater than it had been for many years, and fully equal to the security, and worthy of the dignity, of the country.

The condition of the Royal Navy and the expenditure of the Admiralty Department again became a subject of discussion towards the latter part of the Session, after the new Administration came into office. Mr. Seely, one of the members for Lincoln, who had bestowed much attention on the management and expenditure of the service, brought under the notice of the House of Commons the extravagance of the system on which it was conducted, entering in minute detail into the accounts of the different dockyards, pointing out important discrepancies in them, and contending that in various items, such as new works, repairs, wages, &c., they showed great extravagance and waste.

Mr. H. G. Baring made some observations in vindication of the late Board of Admiralty, and Sir John Pakington, as the present head of that department, admitted that on several points indicated by Mr. Seely a reduction of expenditure was possible, and pledged himself to study economy as far as was compatible with maintaining the Navy in a complete state of efficiency.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Samuda called attention to the small progress we had made of late years in building iron-clad men-of-war. He read to the House some important information as to the iron-clad navies of France, Russia, Italy, the United States, and other countries, to show that we were in a state of inequality and backwardness in this respect, which, he said, filled him with the greatest alarm. To remedy this inequality he proposed to build at once two vessels of 3500 tons and 1000-horse power, carrying two cupolas, armed with the heaviest guns which could be made, covered with 6-inch plates and having a speed of 15 knots; and ten others of 1500 tons and 350-horse power, with two cupolas carrying two 12-ton guns, with a speed of 13 knots. He proposed

to spread the building of these over two years; and as they would cost about 1,600,000*l.*, he recommended Sir J. Pakington to bring in a supplementary estimate of 400,000*l.* for the remainder of the present year.

Sir J. Pakington admitted that Mr. Samuda had not overstated our inferiority to other countries in respect of our iron-clad fleet, as he showed by returns corresponding very closely with Mr. Samuda's. Though we had not made as much progress as could have been wished, he was not disposed to blame the late Government, on account of the novelty of the matter and the necessity of making careful experiments at every stage; but he regretted the delay in trying the turret system. He could not accede to Mr. Samuda's proposal, but he had laid on the table a supplementary estimate to construct a turret ship, feeling satisfied that after the recent pounding of the "Royal Sovereign," the time for further experiment had gone by, and the turret system must be adopted if our iron-clad navy was to be brought up to an equality with that of other countries.

Mr. T. G. Baring defended the late Board of Admiralty, asserting that they had left our sea-going iron navy in a position far superior, both in armament and defensive armour, to that of any other Power. He entered into an elaborate review of the numerous experiments made during the last six years to show that, from the constantly changing and advancing results which had been obtained, it would have been unwise for the Admiralty at any moment to order a large supply of ships or guns which would have been inadequate to present requirements. He defended at length the course taken by the late Board on the turret ship question, and argued with regard to the whole matter that in proceeding carefully and experimentally they had acted judiciously and with true economy.

Sir J. Hay pointed out that, as foreign nations had now iron fleets on distant stations where our flag was only represented by a useless wooden ship, it was necessary that we should set to work at once to retrieve our inferiority. He believed that we were on the point of solving the problem of a sea-going cupola ship, and the Board of Admiralty which should supply the navy with an adequate force of these vessels would deserve the gratitude of the country.

The subject was pursued by Mr. Laird and Sir M. Peto, who censured the dilatoriness of the late Board in adopting the turret system; by Mr. Graves, who drew attention to the advantage of using machinery which consumed less fuel; by Lord J. Hay, who defended the late Board, and by Mr. Alderman Lusk.

It devolved upon the new Administration, before the close of the Session, to propose to the House of Commons a Supplementary Estimate for the army, amounting to 245,000*l.* This expenditure was principally required for converting the Enfield rifles, then in use, into breech-loaders, an improvement mainly suggested by the

recent victories of the Prussian army over the Austrians, which were in a great degree attributed to the efficiency of the "needle gun" used by the former. No objection was made to this proposal; and the amount required for this and other supplementary votes was obtained, as has already been stated, by abandoning Mr. Gladstone's project of setting aside the half-million from the year's revenue in order to apply it to the redemption of debt.

Among the Bills brought into the House relating to the national armaments was one for providing for the expenditure required for the fortification of the arsenals, in pursuance of the plan some years before adopted by Parliament, the amount of which was to be raised from time to time, as the works proceeded, by means of terminable annuities. Upon the House going into Committee on this Bill, on the 30th of July, an objection to it was made by Mr. Bernal Osborne, who said that the whole plan to which the House originally consented had been altered; and whereas the original estimate was eleven millions, the expenditure would be nearly thirty. He urged that there was yet time to pause in this reckless expenditure.

General Peel was unable to give an exact account of the state of the fortifications at present. There need have been no Fortification Bill introduced this year, as there were ample funds in hand; but this estimate was for a new work at Tilbury, for the defence of the mouth of the Thames, and this he deemed it necessary to submit to the House.

Mr. Gladstone said that the original estimate for fortifications was not eleven, but five millions, although it grew to between six and seven. He did not think that a proposal for new fortifications ought to be made at this period of the Session, and in the form in which it was made. In the present state of the finances, and with a surplus in hand, he objected to this sum being raised by loan, instead of being taken out of the revenue.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that Her Majesty's present Government were not responsible for the expenses of fortifications. But as it happened that the original application for a vote for fortifications was made on the 23rd of July, 1860, the period of the Session could hardly be made an objection for dealing with that subject now. The money required was in hand, but it was thought best to state the proposition to the House. If the House seriously objected to proceeding with the vote at this time, he would not press it.

The Bill was accordingly withdrawn.

The Civil Service and Miscellaneous Estimates were adopted without any discussion worthy of note. One of the most important heads was the Education Vote, which this year amounted to 694,530*l.*, being an increase of 1452*l.* on the preceding year. The principal items of this estimate were 431,694*l.* for annual grants to schools, 30,000*l.* for building and enlarging schools, 75,000*l.* for training schools, and 78,656*l.* for the expenses of the

Education Office. The proposal of these Estimates, by Mr. Corrie, drew forth considerable observation and comment on the system by various Members, but the vote was agreed to without opposition.

The often-revived but still unsettled question of Church-rates was again brought forward this Session, and may perhaps be considered to have made some slight advance towards a settlement; but as no legislative result followed the present attempt, that much-desired consummation is still relegated to the future. The Member who this year undertook the charge of a Bill for dealing with church-rates was Mr. Hardcastle, his measure being one of simple abolition. In moving the second reading on the 7th of March, he referred to the past history of the controversy, which he said had been agitated for more than thirty years, following in 1834 the abolition of the church cess in Ireland. There had been thirty-six attempts to settle the matter, and twenty divisions had been taken upon it. It had been a subject of great interest at the hustings, and especially at the last general election. All schemes of commutation, numerous as they were, and of exemption, had failed, and nothing had obtained the acceptance of the majority of the House except the proposal for total abolition. He argued that the abolition of this impost could not weaken, but would probably act as an improvement in ecclesiastical polity, and strengthen the Church of England. He showed that as the law stood it was in the power of a majority of Nonconformists in a parish to act with effect in a matter of Church government; and this was a reason why the abolition of the only subject-matter in which they could interfere would be in fact a strengthening of the Church; and he was authorized to say that Dissenters would never seek to interfere with any voluntary funds raised for the repair of the fabric of the church. He showed that not less than three millions were expended annually by Dissenters on the keeping up of their religious establishments, and it could not be supposed that the members of the Church of England could not raise a sum of a quarter of a million, which was the amount which could be raised by a compulsory church-rate, while all scandals and grievances would be removed, several instances of which he detailed.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Gilpin.

Mr. Walpole moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. Although most desirous that this question should be settled by a reasonable compromise, he could not consent to total abolition. In the absence of such a substitute as Churchmen were entitled to, it would not be wise to abolish that resource which our ancestors in their piety had provided for the maintenance of the fabric of the church. He feared that the object of the advocates of total abolition was not to abolish church-rates alone, but to do away with all ancient and modern endowments of the Church. He had no mistrust of the Church of England so long as she maintained her faith unsullied, but that was no reason why her means of doing good should be diminished.

Church-rates were necessary in aid of voluntary efforts; and looking to the vastly increasing population, who, if not supplied with spiritual instruction, must sink into ignorance, he could not consent to part with so useful an agent as church-rates.

Mr. Du Cane seconded the amendment. He said that during the last thirty years the Conservatives had held out the olive-branch of compromise till their arms fairly ached again. He warned the House against such a change in the face of a Reform Bill, which might introduce a large democratic element into the Constitution.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said in his opinion, as a private member, it would be advisable to settle a question which occasioned so much soreness and dissatisfaction in various parts of the country. The speech of Mr. Du Cane had widened the question without clearing it, for his reference to the coming Reform Bill meant this, if it meant any thing, that the Church was safe in Parliament so long as the nation was kept out. The law of church-rates was *primâ facie* open to grave objection, for when a rate was made upon a reluctant minority it prevented, in great part, the infliction of the impost. The grievance might be small, but the irritation which it produced was considerable. He was not, however, prepared to consent to the simple and unconditional abolition of church-rates, for he believed it would throw an additional burden upon the clergy which they ought not to be asked to bear. To abolish church-rates, and at the same time allow Dissenters to interfere with the disposal of funds to which they themselves did not contribute, would be the introduction of a new injustice in the removal of the old. He could not, therefore, vote for total abolition; but he invited Mr. Hardcastle to consider whether, by an equitable compromise, Dissenters might be exempted from paying church-rates, and, at the same time, disqualified from interfering with funds to which they had not contributed.

Mr. Hope was glad to hear the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which showed that light was about to dawn upon the difficulties which surrounded this question. He hoped that Mr. Hardcastle would withdraw his Bill, in order to allow a Bill to be introduced to give effect to the compromise suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Bright said any compromise of the principle of the Bill was quite impracticable. He suggested that the Bill should be read a second time, and that in committee a clause should be inserted abolishing the compulsory powers of collection. This would have the effect of eliminating all bitterness, without in the least interfering with the sustentation of the Church. He did not believe that the Establishment would be endangered by the abolition of church-rates. As a political institution, it would no doubt continue for many years to come; and, so far as its religious character was concerned, church-rates had been abolished in Canada, Australia, and the United States, and the Church had not suffered in consequence.

Mr. G. Hardy opposed the Bill, and asserted that, were it not for the emissaries of the Liberation Societies, church-rates would be

collected without the slightest difficulty in 9000 rural parishes in England.

Mr. Morley said he was quite willing to accept a settlement in the spirit indicated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Hardcastle, in reply, said he could not consent to give up the principle of total abolition. If that were admitted, he would be quite prepared to listen to a proposition for settling all other incidental questions.

Mr. Disraeli said the only issue before the House was abolition, and if any compromise were to be entertained it would be better to adjourn the debate so as to give the scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer a full and candid consideration.

The House then divided, and the second reading was carried by 285 votes against 252—majority, 33.

Before any further proceeding was taken on this Bill, a new aspect was given to the question by the introduction of a measure by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, following out the scheme of which he had suggested an outline in the preceding speech. On the 8th of May Mr. Gladstone moved for leave to introduce his Bill, which was to provide for the abolition of *compulsory* church-rates; and proposed to enact that no suit should hereafter be instituted, or proceedings taken in any ecclesiastical court, or before any magisterial court, to compel the payment of church-rate in any parish or place in England and Wales. It also made provision for the discharge of debts contracted on the security of church-rate under the system now existing. It further provided that, notwithstanding any thing contained in the Act with regard to the abolition of suits and processes for the recovery of church-rate, it should be lawful, with the exception of parishes where church-rate was sufficiently provided for by endowments or fixed funds, for the parishioners in vestry assembled to assess a voluntary rate to be applicable to any purposes for which church-rate had been heretofore lawfully applied. Another clause defined the class of persons who were to enter upon the discussion or decision of proceedings affecting the voluntary rate. It provided that, if at any discussion a difference of opinion arose and a poll was demanded, the votes should be entered in a book or on a schedule, declaring the willingness of the persons who gave their votes to pay their quota towards the rate in case it were passed by a majority. But the most important clause in the Bill was that which provided for compensation for the compulsory abolition of processes. He proposed that persons who declined to pay a rate should, after a certain lapse of time, be deemed ineligible to fill the office of churchwarden for ecclesiastical purposes. The only other material provision was that persons who had declined to pay a voluntary rate should, if they changed their minds, on payment or tender of payment of their proper proportion of the voluntary assessment, be entitled to all the power of voting, as if they had in the first instance voluntarily paid their share of the assessment. He made the proposal in a spirit of peace, and

the offering had already been accepted by a large portion of those who had been engaged in this controversy; and being made in the spirit of peace, he sincerely trusted that the attainment of peace would be the result.

Objection was taken by several of the Conservative members to this Bill, among others by Mr. Newdegate, Lord John Manners, and Mr. Thos. Chambers, who said it was not a compromise but a victory for the Dissenters, inasmuch as it abolished church-rate. As a Churchman, he objected to it that it kept up the form of compulsion without the force. The truth was that the church-rate was abandoned, and that the Dissenters had won the whole battle.

Sir R. Peel regarded the Bill as made in the spirit of conciliation, and, cordially approving of the course taken by the Government, trusted the House would give them its support. He wished to know whether, if a Dissenter refused to pay church-rate, he might claim a right to inter members of his family in the parish churchyard?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said there was no disability imposed except as to the making and application of the rate, the election of churchwardens, and the right of serving the office of churchwarden for ecclesiastical purposes.

Mr. Bright drew attention to the subject of Easter dues, which he pronounced a more offensive impost even than church-rates, and recommended that their abolition should be made part of the present measure.

Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

A long debate, which was more than once adjourned, took place on the second reading, Mr. Gladstone being at this time no longer in office. The time given for consideration of the measure appeared to have confirmed the objections taken to it at the outset by the leading members of the Conservative party. A prominent part was taken in opposing it at this stage by Mr. Henley, who contended that the machinery proposed by the Bill would have the effect of introducing all the elements of compulsory taxation into the voluntary system. This machinery would work with peculiar angularity in the country districts. Part of the machinery was a device by which the owners of property were assessed to a voluntary payment. He argued that if the law was to be changed, the collection of funds for the purposes to which church-rates have been hitherto applicable should be left to the full and free voluntary system. He also objected to the kind of qualified excommunication which was introduced by the Bill.

Mr. W. Hunt said that the difficulty which had to be settled was the contest for the abolition on the one hand, and the retention on the other, of a legal right to raise funds for the maintenance of the fabric of the church. He should be sorry to see any broad line of demarcation between Dissenters and Churchmen by means of "ticketing," and it seemed to him that that system was contained in the Bill. As there were no provisions for retaining a

legal right to the maintenance of the church in this Bill, he must oppose it.

Lord John Manners said that by the Bill the very essence and life of church-rates was sacrificed, while the principle was established of the payment for seats in parish churches—a principle which had been always strenuously resisted; it effectually brought about the separation of Church and State, while its operation would be productive of any thing but that peace and concord which were its professed objects.

Sir George Grey, in vindicating the Bill, observed that the upshot of the debate showed that whoever undertook to deal with church-rates, except on the principle of absolute and unconditional abolition, undertook a very thankless task. The principle of the present Bill, however, was a sound one, for it practically abolished the rate, while it left machinery adequate for the raising of the rates in such parishes as were still willing to raise the tax.

The Solicitor-General, Sir W. Bovill, who had himself a scheme embodied in a Bill before the House, said that he had endeavoured to frame a measure which would eventuate in a fair compromise of this question, and he hoped that it would receive due consideration from all parties. The principle on which it was founded was that every person—a Dissenter—who did not desire to pay church-rates should be exempt on simply giving notice of his objection, while it so guarded the rights of the Church as to render it acceptable to the episcopal body. He contended that the Bill in hand effected none of the purposes of the compromise which it was sought to bring about, while its details were so complicated as to render it impracticable.

Sir R. Palmer said that he acceded to this Bill because he believed that it would combine the principle of the abolition of compulsory rates and the retention of a means of providing for the maintenance of the fabric of the church; and he proceeded to support the measure as an adequate substitute for the existing state of things, which could not be justified.

Mr. Neate was glad to find that the Government had declined to accept the principle of a Bill which adopted the voluntary principle in its fullest sense. He moved as an amendment "that no scheme for the total, partial, or absolute or qualified abolition of church-rates will be satisfactory to the House, which does not contain legal and certain provision for supplying any deficiency which may ensue from such scheme in the funds applicable to the maintenance of the fabric of the church."

Mr. B. Hope opposed the Bill, as it was not the measure which he had consented to, for it did not provide for the retaining of church-rates, but only for abolishing the compulsory levying of the rates.

Mr. Gladstone stated that he had received a communication from a member of the Government, that the second reading of the Bill would not be opposed on condition that it was not pressed

further; and he was therefore surprised to find several members of the Government, including a Cabinet Minister, objecting to the measure, and expressing a wish to divide against it. Some of the objections which had been taken to the Bill arose palpably from its provisions not having been read. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to examine and reply to the objections, and argued that the encouragement he had received in regard to the Bill was amply sufficient to weigh against the dissatisfaction of some of those who must have been expected to be its opponents, and who seemed to think that, because they disapproved of it, it ought to be withdrawn. He, however, had found so much sympathy with his measure that he was emboldened to bring the Bill to the issue of the opinion of the House.

The second reading was then agreed to.

Mr. Hardcastle thereupon withdrew his Abolition Bill, the Solicitor-General also discharged his measure, and Mr. Newdegate, who had a third Bill, for the commutation of the rate, before the House, followed the same course; and thus terminated the various attempts which had been made in the present Session to bring this perplexing and difficult question to a decision.

The same principles which were at issue in the church-rate controversy were in some degree involved in a measure brought in by Mr. J. T. Coleridge, an eminent member of the Bar, lately returned for Exeter, the object of which was to relieve Dissenters from the impediments which now exist to their taking degrees at Oxford, by dispensing with certain religious tests. In moving the second reading of his Bill, Mr. Coleridge reviewed the early history and constitution of the University, and said it was essentially a lay corporation, and its connexion with the Church of England was not established until the existing colleges monopolized the University. As a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects were deprived of education in that great national seminary, Government was bound to interfere. In refuting the arguments used against the Bill, he insisted that the Universities were not exclusively Church institutions. His object was to restore the University of Oxford to its ancient position as a great national institution, free to all the subjects of the Queen who sought to enter it—to attract Nonconformists in large numbers, and subject them to the refining, ennobling, and sanctifying influences of the venerable place, while it would prove a great benefit to the Established Church by rendering it more self-reliant upon the purity of its doctrines, and, by a healthy rivalry, infuse greater life and vigour into its teaching. As a member of the Church of England himself, he would be ashamed if he did not hope that the influence of the University would be sensibly felt, not only in elevating the education of Nonconformists, but in reconciling them and bringing them within the pale of the Church.

Sir S. Northcote said this Bill would re-open the settlement of 1854. He felt bound to make a stand against giving Dissenters a

share in the government of the University, and to this he could not give his assent. He was not afraid of allowing a few Dissenters into Convocation, but he was afraid that if all tests were abolished the whole tone of the distinctive character of the educational influences of the Church of England would be lost. He did not desire to oppose the second reading of the Bill if he saw a reasonable prospect of a compromise being effected when the measure was in committee, but as a matter of form he would move the usual amendment that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. Buxton supported the Bill, which would relieve not only Dissenters but Churchmen who conscientiously objected to these tests.

Mr. B. Hope, Sir W. Heathcote, Mr. G. Hardy, and Mr. Henley opposed the Bill.

Mr. Lowe saw no danger whatever in the Bill, as its object was merely to allow Dissenters to take their degree of M.A., and thus acquire a voice in the governing of the University. The Dissenters did not ask, nor desire to have, any share in the direction of the religious education of those who proposed to enter the ministry of the Church of England.

Mr. Göschen expressed his satisfaction at the desire which appeared to animate the Opposition to settle the matter. The Church gained no strength by retaining such artificial tests.

Lord Cranbourne said the object of the Bill was the abolition of religious education in the University of Oxford.

Mr. Morley said it was a national and not a sectarian question.

Mr. Coleridge having replied, the second reading of the Bill was carried by 217 to 103. It subsequently passed through committee, certain amendments, moved by Sir W. Heathcote in order to restrict its operation, being negatived by a large majority; but owing to the lapse of time and pressure of other business its further progress was arrested. Another Bill, for a cognate object to that of Mr. Coleridge, being designed to enable Dissenters to hold fellowships at the Universities without making the declaration of conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England, which is now required by law, was brought in by Mr. Bouverie, who had in former sessions, and especially in 1864, made attempts to relieve Nonconformists from academical tests. He urged the House to sanction the relaxation now proposed, which, he observed, left untouched the oath of abjuration, and thus continued an insuperable barrier to Roman Catholics acquiring any share in the government of the colleges.

Mr. Walpole, in moving that the House should go into committee on that day six months, objected to Dissenters being invested with any power in the government of either Oxford or Cambridge, because those institutions were founded for members of the Church of England. Moreover, the education at the Universities had always been connected with religion, and in strict

conformity to the will and expressed intentions of those who founded the colleges. If this measure were passed, the result must be religious confusion or religious indifference. The establishment of the London University had taken away from Dissenters all real practical grievances in connexion with this question. Oxford and Cambridge were not national institutions in the common acceptation of the term, and never were so, if by that it was meant that those who went there had a right to share in the endowments and the government, which it was always intended should be conducted by members of the Established Church. He further objected to the Bill, that it disturbed the arrangement made by the Universities Act, which gave to Dissenters the privilege of a University education, whilst excluding them from participating in the management; that, although professing to be permissive, it would in the end become compulsory; and that it introduced the novel principle that those who would not be bound by the conditions on which the colleges were founded might claim a share in their endowments and their government.

Mr. Fawcett said the existing restrictions at the Universities injured their best interests. The University men were largely in favour of the Bill, and the movement in its behalf had sprung not so much from Dissenters as from the Universities themselves; and he argued that the benefits of these institutions were intended for the whole community, and not for a sect. One great advantage which he anticipated from the passing of the present measure was, that it would bring young men of different religious opinions together, thus producing unanimity of sentiment, and teaching them to respect each other, and that there were great works to be done for the public good, in which men of all creeds might unite.

Mr. B. Hope, Mr. Schreiber, and Mr. Selwyn opposed the Bill, and Mr. J. Goldsmid, Mr. Neate, and Mr. T. Chambers supported it.

Sir W. Heathcote said the Bill was a covert attack upon the Established Church, which was the inheritor of a large part of the property of the Universities, and that the remainder came into her possession since the Reformation. With regard to the argument that the Universities were national institutions, derived from the fact that many of the foundations were established previous to the Reformation, if any persons were entitled to use it as against the Church of England, it was the Roman Catholics. But who were excluded by this Bill? Who but the Roman Catholics? whilst every other class of Dissenter might come in.

Mr. Bouverie, in reply, said, if the House now decided against the demand, it would be renewed again and again until it was conceded.

Upon a division, the principle of the Bill was affirmed by 208 votes against 186; but the events of the Session, which caused so many other measures to be suspended, prevented its further progress.

A Bill for making the alteration so many times attempted in the Marriage Law, by enabling marriage with a deceased wife's sister, was this year brought in by Mr. Thomas Chambers, but rejected by the House of Commons by a majority of 174 to 155.

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL AFFAIRS.—Paucity of discussions in Parliament on these subjects during the present session. THE INSURRECTION IN JAMAICA.—Bill brought in by the Government to alter the constitution of that colony—Abstinence from discussion on the outbreak and conduct of the Governor pending the inquiry of the Commissioners—Debate on these subjects after the publication of the Report—Resolutions proposed by Mr. Buxton—The first is adopted and the rest withdrawn—Declaration of opinion by Lord Carnarvon, the new Colonial Secretary, in the House of Lords. INTERNATIONAL LAW.—Motion of Mr. Gregory for an address to the Crown in favour of exempting private property from capture in time of war—Debate on this question—Able argument of Sir R. Palmer, Attorney-General, against the motion, which is withdrawn—Mr. Watkin brings before the House of Commons the subject of the impending termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States—Statement of the Colonial Secretary in answer. THE WAR BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.—Comments and discussions in both Houses of Parliament before and after the outbreak of hostilities—Observations of the Earls of Clarendon, Russell, and Grey, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in the House of Lords—Debate on the position of affairs on the Continent and the attitude assumed by this country originated by Mr. Kinglake in the House of Commons—Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Appeal made to the Administration of Lord Derby for a declaration of opinion previous to the conclusion of the War—Speech of the Prime Minister in the House of Lords—Important and interesting debate in the House of Commons on the effect of the new distribution of power in Europe—Mr. Gladstone expresses a favourable opinion of the results of the war upon liberty and civilization on the Continent—Statement of Lord Stanley, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, respecting the future policy of our Government—Favourable reception of his speech.

THE discussions in Parliament during the present Session upon foreign policy or colonial affairs were both less frequent and less interesting than of late years. The attention of politicians was so much absorbed by questions of domestic concern, and especially by the engrossing subject of Parliamentary Reform and the party movements and changes which grew out of it, that international relations and Continental politics were comparatively disregarded. It is true that the great contest between Austria on the one side, and Prussia and Italy on the other, which wrought such speedy and decisive changes in the distribution of power in Europe, could not but excite a considerable amount of attention in England, and it naturally became the subject of remark in both Houses of Parliament; but the strict neutrality maintained by this country in the struggle confined the discussion of these affairs within the

strict limits of comment and criticism. The debates on Colonial Affairs were likewise very limited. It was to be expected that some legislative action would arise out of the recent insurrection in Jamaica, which had excited so profound a sensation in this country; but when Parliament met, the circumstances of that outbreak, as well as the means adopted for suppressing it, had been recently referred to the investigation of a Commission which left England early in January for Jamaica, and there were obvious reasons for abstaining from any Parliamentary discussion of the subject until the Commissioners had completed their inquiry. One step, indeed, which was urgently required by the existing state of the Colony, the home Government felt bound to take without delay, and that was to provide for a new Constitution for the island, ratifying in so doing the act of the Jamaica Legislature itself, which had resolved to place the Government in the hands of the Crown. Mr. Cardwell, on an early day of the Session, moved accordingly for leave to bring in a Bill, the object of which was to substitute a Government similar to that of Trinidad, consisting of a Governor and nominative Council, for that which existed in Jamaica. He proposed that the Bill should continue in force for three years only, an arrangement which would leave it open to Parliament, after receiving and considering the Report of the Commissioners, to decide finally upon what footing the island should be permanently placed. This proposal of the Colonial Secretary met with a favourable reception on both sides of the House; and the Bill for giving effect to it passed through Parliament speedily without opposition, a general consent being manifested to abstain from all discussion of recent events in Jamaica until the results of the pending investigation should be made known.

The Commissioners, after spending some months in the execution of the task assigned to them, returned to this country and made their report, the publication of which removed the restraint upon a free discussion of the affairs of Jamaica. Mr. Buxton, who had taken a prominent interest in the question, now brought it formally before the House of Commons, and a debate took place in which the controversy which had so much divided the opinions of the public, was carried on with considerable warmth of feeling on both sides. Calling the attention of the House of Commons to the evidence furnished by the Report of the very severe measures pursued by Governor Eyre and those who acted under his authority, the excessive and unnecessary punishments of death, the reckless flogging, and the burning of houses of persons neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the disturbances, Mr. Buxton moved the following Resolutions:—"That the House deplores the excessive punishments which followed the suppression of the disturbances of October last in the parish of St. Thomas, and especially the unnecessary frequency with which the punishment of death was inflicted; that, while approving the course taken by Her Majesty's Government

in dismissing Mr. Eyre from the governorship of the island, the House at the same time concurs in the view expressed by the late Colonial Secretary, that 'while any very minute endeavour to punish acts which may now be the subject of regret' would not be expedient, still 'that great offences ought to be punished;' and that grave excesses of severity on the part of any civil, military, or naval officers ought not to be passed over with impunity; that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to award compensation to those whose property was wantonly and cruelly destroyed, and to the families of those who were put to death illegally; and that since considerably more than a thousand persons are proved to have been executed or severely flogged on the charge of participating in these disturbances, all further punishment on account of them ought to be remitted."

Mr. Adderley, the recently appointed Under Secretary for the Colonies, said the Report of the Commission had been accepted on all hands, and he must decline to re-open the case and try it over again. The question now was, whether the House should pass Resolutions on the Report. The insurrection in Jamaica had been treated as a very small affair, but as news had recently arrived that another outbreak was anticipated, and the Governor had sent for reinforcements, perhaps Mr. Buxton would take it in hand. He urged that the Resolutions were inadmissible, and ought not to be agreed to, and especially because they only endorsed the censure which had been passed on the officials of Jamaica, without saying a word of the praise which had been bestowed upon them. He concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. S. Mill said that he and those who acted with him might well be content to let the subject go forth for the opinion of the country on the speech of Mr. Adderley. He, however, had to move an amendment, that recent transactions in Jamaica required investigation of a character which could only be satisfactorily made by a judicial tribunal. Whatever difference of opinion there might be as to the degree of culpability of the actors in these transactions, there was no doubt expressed as to the fact of culpability, and that the lives of persons had been wrongfully taken. Therefore a criminal court alone was competent to deal with that culpability.

Mr. W. E. Forster supported the first and second Resolutions.

The Attorney-General suggested that it was not necessary to enter into the facts, as they had been fully ascertained, and that it was not desirable to discuss the questions of law involved, as that might become the duty of a judicial tribunal.

Mr. Cardwell urged, that in considering this question the acts of spirit and judgment done by Governor Eyre should be set against the errors and mistakes which he had made; and he contended that the decision in this respect to which the Commissioners had come ought to be upheld.

Mr. T. Hughes supported the amendment of Mr. Mill, and

pressed the point that if the deeds done in Jamaica were to go by without judicial investigation, this generation would be the first that had not vindicated the honour of England when it had been violated by its colonial officers.

Sir R. Palmer stated his agreement in the first two Resolutions. The first he hoped would be accepted; but the second was unnecessary, because it asked that to be done which the Government was already doing. He wholly dissented from any thing that was said in extenuation of the excesses which had been committed.

Mr. R. Gurney, who had been a member of the Commission, said he was still of opinion that Mr. Gordon was improperly convicted; and he could say that there was not evidence on which capitally to convict, however he might have been open to a charge of sedition.

Mr. Ayrton urged that the parties implicated ought to be visited by the condemnation of the House.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the only way in which Parliament could act was by impeachment, and the first Resolution could not be made the foundation of an impeachment, as it assumed that every thing was done legally. The Resolution was one in which all sides might join, and he trusted that the House would accept it.

The first Resolution was then agreed to by the House; the second, third, and fourth were withdrawn.

In the House of Lords, when the same subject was brought under notice by a question addressed to the Government by the Earl of Romney, the Earl of Carnarvon, Chief Secretary for the Colonies, expressed his opinion in clear and unequivocal terms on the transactions of the insurrection and the measures adopted by the local Government for suppressing it. The noble Earl said he had no doubt that grave acts of undoubted cruelty, oppression, and injustice on the part of those in authority had been committed during and after the rebellion in Jamaica. There were three classes of persons to whom blame attached—the naval officers, the military officers, and the civilians. The amount of excess charged against the naval officers was less than that imputed to the other classes. At the same time there were cases that required investigation, and this had been undertaken by the Admiralty. The charges against the military officers were of a more serious character. At the same time the Commissioners had only designated by name three persons against whom they thought that proceedings should be taken. They mentioned the cases of Captain Elliot, Colonel Hobbs, and Lieutenant Adcock; and he must say that these and two or three other officers had been guilty of acts which it was impossible to look back upon without the deepest regret. The letters to which some of these officers had put their names were disgusting from their tone of indecent levity. The only persons, however, against whom, as he had said, the Commissioners

advised proceedings, were Provost-Marshal Ramsay, Ensign Cullen, and Dr. Morris. Ramsay was now on his trial for murder in Jamaica, and he was therefore precluded from saying any thing about him. He had brought the cases of Cullen and Morris under the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, and he submitted to him that it was desirable to try them by court-martial. Inasmuch, however, as Sir H. Storks had by this time left the island, and as General O'Connor, the officer now in command of the troops, was considerably implicated in many transactions during the late rebellion, he had suggested that it would be desirable either to remove the courts-martial from Jamaica, or to constitute them of officers who had taken no part in the transactions in question. The Commander-in-Chief had acceded to that view; and these persons would be brought to trial at courts-martial, taking the precautions that he had mentioned. The insurrection having been a serious one, it required strong measures to suppress it; but unfortunately the late Governor saw only one side of the matter, and only one part of his duty. He had no doubt, however, that Mr. Eyre and those officers who acted under him on the courts-martial, acted with most complete *bona fides*, and that their minds were altogether free from personal malice and evil intentions. To indict Mr. Eyre, then, on a charge of murder, would be most preposterous.

Earl Russell agreed in the above observations on the conduct of Governor Eyre, and eulogized the Report of the Jamaica Commission.

The Earl of Carnarvon, in reply to a question from Lord Houghton, said the question of compensation for damage done to property during the rebellion was one rather for the other House; but he should doubt whether this country would be disposed to make any grant on that account.

On the 4th of March a very important question of International Maritime Law was raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Gregory, who moved an Address to the Queen, praying her to use her influence with foreign Powers for the purpose of making the principle that private property should be free from capture at sea a maxim of international maritime law. His object in bringing forward the motion was to supplement the declaration of the Paris Conference in 1856, that a neutral flag covered belligerent's goods. That principle had been supported by the unanimous decision of a committee of the House of Commons, by the late Sir G. C. Lewis, several chambers of commerce, and many distinguished members at each side of the House. Lord Palmerston, too, had expressed himself in favour of it in 1856, although he thought fit to change his opinions afterwards. He contended that if it were recognized as an element of international maritime law, it would prove one of the most blessed and humanizing laws ever adopted by mankind. It was, he thought, utterly impossible for this country to remain in its present position on this question. It

must either advance or retrograde. In the event of a war breaking out at the present moment, England might lose her entire carrying trade, and her colonies be ruined. Having replied to various arguments which had been adduced against the principle, and noticed the objection that there would be no means of putting it in force if it were adopted, he granted that that was so; but he urged that they must trust to the honour of nations to conform to it, and, so far as France was concerned, he was persuaded she would give her adhesion to the principle.

Sir F. H. Goldsmid opposed the motion, as the adoption of the principle proposed would deprive England of her maritime superiority without advancing the cause of humanity.

Mr. Liddell and Mr. Baxter supported, and Mr. B. Cochrane opposed the motion.

Mr. McCullagh Torrens supported the motion, and said that the pillage of private individuals never yet put an end to any war, for war must be conducted upon public principles.

Mr. Buxton pointed to the extensive commercial operations of this country as a reason why we should be the first to support this rule, and argued that the present state of things was a positive temptation to war. He scouted the idea that a state of war would dissolve any international obligation of this character, and argued in favour of reducing war as far as possible to a duel between Governments and armies.

The Lord-Advocate, in reply to the argument that England, as the greatest commercial nation, was chiefly interested in this change, pointed out that the increase in our vulnerability had been accompanied by an increase in our power to defend ourselves, and he objected to this proposal as tending to cripple our strength for attack and defence. He maintained that all war was of necessity a violation of private property, and that the rule of exemption —which depended much on the discretion of the commanders, and did not spring from conventions—was, that the property of individuals should be spared when the military advantage of its destruction was out of all proportion to the individual loss. He controverted the doctrine that the capture of private property at sea was plunder, explaining that the object was to weaken the resources of the enemy, and the condemnation of the cargo was to reward the captors. He showed that the design of the convention of 1856 was to assimilate the maritime law of the European Powers, and did not involve the concession of a principle which would tie our hands for the future; and he insisted, with much force, that the miseries of a prolonged state of war were infinitely greater in the end than a sharp, short, and decisive struggle.

Mr. Laing asserted that in the event of a war breaking out in the present state of maritime law, the 7,000,000 tons in which British commerce was carried would be annihilated, and that commerce would be transferred to the neutral flag. He referred to the Danish claims, to our operations in China, and to the civil war in

America, to prove that private property on land had always been spared, and maintained that the right of blockade enabled a belligerent to do all that he had fairly a right to do in injuring his enemy. By a description of the commercial relations of great trading nations he showed it was not the risk of a few captures at sea which deterred them from going to war, and pointed out that the weaker Powers were much less likely to go to war with us if the temptation of preying on our commerce were removed. He expressed his belief that this was a very favourable moment for making the change, and called on the Government to take a statesman's and not a lawyer's view of the question.

Lord Cranborne denied that there was any established rule of warfare which exempted private property on land from capture, and illustrated his argument by reference to the campaigns of Napoleon, the Banda and Kirwee prize-money case, and General Sherman's march. After discussing some of the questions of maritime law which had arisen during the American civil war, he insisted that it was impossible to establish a law of this kind, as, in the case of war, no one would be interested in enforcing it but the belligerents, whose strength would be already tasked to the utmost.

The Attorney-General, in a speech distinguished by forcible and luminous reasoning, opposed the motion. He said that if the House adopted the rule that private property was to be respected at sea, it would lay down a totally different rule for maritime warfare to that which prevailed by land. Belligerent operations by land rested upon moral obligations and a regard for national reputation; but still they were of a flexible and indefinite character. The object of a naval belligerent was to operate generally against the resources of the enemy, and the incidence of the loss fell upon the nation; for private property would be made available for the public use if permitted to be added to the resources of one or other of the belligerents. Excluding the supposition of bad faith, he thought it would be most difficult to adopt the principle of exempting private property from capture, because suspicions of bad faith would be constantly cropping up, and retaliations would take place as the necessary consequence. He referred to the blockade of the Southern States as a proof that this was a most powerful instrument of warfare, and maintained that the right of blockade, which it was not proposed to weaken, was as great an interference with private property as the right of capture. Pointing also to the experience of the American war to show that powerfully-built mercantile vessels might easily be turned to warlike purposes, he urged that this was an additional reason why an enemy should not be permitted to enjoy undisturbed the advantages of a large mercantile navy. He mentioned a variety of cases in which, if the rule were adopted, merchantmen would be seized, and asserted that so much suspicion would be excited and so many practical difficulties would arise, that it would ultimately be swept away by both belli-

gerents. He denied that this change was a corollary of the Declaration of Paris, or that we had by that Declaration sacrificed a powerful instrument of warfare. It was a balance, he said, of disadvantages, whether we would cripple our naval power in time of war, or would submit to a temporary interference with our commercial operations; and he energetically repudiated the insinuation that the United States would take the opportunity of our being involved in a war to revenge themselves for the Alabama, as an unmerited imputation on that Government. After giving some further explanations as to the overture which had been made to the American Government for the revision of the neutrality laws, he went on to argue that this danger to commerce was a strong security for peace. "I will not," he said, "repeat the argument I used four years ago on the subject, of making war a duel between Governments, and separating the people from their Governments. I believe that such a mode of carrying on war would interfere with the national life and the patriotic feeling of countries, and would be far more mischievous to nations than any thing at present contained in international law. We have to consider the matter in this way—Does the present system afford us a valuable means of carrying on war when war is necessary? Shall we or not pay the price of these means—it may be an interference with our commerce, it may be a serious interruption of our trade—or shall we surrender these means and thereby cast away a part of our power in war? I say, if we be engaged in war, let us go on in good earnest; let us avail ourselves of all the usages of fair warfare; above all, let us not impose fetters upon ourselves on that ocean where hitherto we have been supreme. If we look to the interests of peace, have we not been told over and over again that commerce is the great antidote of war; that increasing commerce renders war less likely; that France is growing in prosperity, and, therefore, will be less disposed to make war? And is it not perceived that all those arguments have a direct bearing against the proposition now before the House; because, by that strong, inevitable, invaluable power of commerce, do you not bring a weight to bear against war—do you not bring a check against war in the first instance? Again, do you not introduce an element that tends to the restoration of peace when, in time of war, the strength of a belligerent Power is brought to bear against commerce and against maritime trade, at the same time that it is not brought to bear by the confiscation of land against individual or private interests? In this way commerce works as an antidote to war. That hitherto has been its influence in respect of war. And nothing which has hitherto happened in war leads us to think, whatever may be alleged in piping times of peace—whatever chambers of commerce may say—that the commercial interests would not be in times of war ready to bear their share in the risk; that they would not be prepared to look the evil in the face; that, whether by putting their ships in neutral hands, or by other means, they would not

use their best endeavours to assist their country in upholding the national honour, relying on the same material resources which have made her great and have enabled her to rebound from the pressure when war is over. Can any one doubt that this would be the case? To quote the words of the hon. member for Finsbury, 'We hear alarming predictions of ruin if things remain as they are.' I don't believe in the prophecy of ruin if things remain as they are; for we should only be doing what we did without ruin before. There may be a temporary depression of trade; but depend upon it, when the war is over, the power and prosperity of this country will be as they were before, and England will remain as great and as strong as ever. I do not believe in such predictions as those to which I allude; but I believe that even after a war our ships, like the ships of the United States, which were said to be driven from every sea, would live and come back to their own country. The truth is, mercantile men know how to deal with these things, and they do deal with them. It is not the experience of mankind, though predicted over and over again, that final ruin will come from such causes. But though I don't fear final ruin, if things remain as they are, yet if opinion is advancing in the direction of a change such as that now proposed, then opinion in this, as in all other matters, will prevail; and I have no doubt that if it does prevail, it will be proved to be right by prevailing. But the opinion to which I refer must not be confounded with the opinion of those who have certain interests—of those to whom it might be of no small value and importance to induce this country to take steps which would depress the power of our naval element and exalt that of military operations. Our power must depend on the naval element: the power of other nations depends on military operations. If changes of this kind be advanced by nations whose strength lies in military operations, we must inquire the motive which prompts the proposal. Such changes must be recommended by sound public opinion—recommended by the common sense of mankind—before we can adopt them. If, on the other hand, they come to us recommended by the opinion of the Emperor Napoleon I., as quoted by my hon. friend the member for Galway, or the opinion of French theorists, who would abolish all naval rights which are not of paramount value to a great military nation, we must be careful how we confound that with sound public opinion. I have the utmost faith in sound public opinion, and am prepared to bow to it on all occasions; but if public opinion does not recommend the adoption of the proposition of my hon. friend, I will still feel sure that England will not be ruined, and that we shall retain to the last our national prosperity and greatness."

After some further discussion the motion was withdrawn.

The subject of our Relations with the United States, especially with reference to the expiration of the Reciprocity Treaty between the two countries, was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Watkin, who pressed the Government to afford some infor-

mation as to the course which it was intended to pursue. He expressed his regret that the Foreign Department had for many years kept back information on important matters, and now, when it was found that a powerful United States fleet had been sent to the North American fishing grounds, the matter seemed to have become extremely serious. The object of the Reciprocity Treaty, which had been allowed to expire, was to establish an identity of commercial interests between the United States and British North America, and the House had been kept in ignorance of the facts which led to the expiration of the treaty; the only information which the Government had condescended to communicate being the notice of the American Government putting an end to the treaty, and the note by which it was accompanied from Mr. Adams, the United States Minister in London. Thus the House had had its hands tied, and was unable to take any step which might be adopted to induce the American people and their Government to consent to the renewal of the treaty and the continuance of the old friendly relations. He might be told that there was an indisposition on the part of the United States Government to negotiate a renewal of the treaty; but from personal knowledge he could meet such an assertion with a positive denial, and he believed that from the time the Prince of Wales visited America down to the autumn of 1864, there was not a week in which, if proper means had been resorted to, negotiations might not have been opened and carried to a satisfactory conclusion. It was clear, from the fact that a United States squadron had been sent to the fishing grounds, that the relations between the two countries were not in a healthy condition. Under these circumstances, he asked Who was responsible for this state of things, and what was to be done? And he called upon Ministers to tell the House what was the position of our relations with the United States, to give an assurance that some department of the Government was occupied with this important question, and whether there was any prospect of its being brought to a successful issue.

Mr. Layard said that if Mr. Watkin's object had been to raise a feeling of hostility on the part of the United States towards this country, and render it impossible to come to a satisfactory arrangement with them, he could not have made a speech more calculated to accomplish that end. Her Majesty's Government were fully alive to the beneficial character, commercially and politically, of the Reciprocity Treaty. It was not their wish, therefore, that it should come to an end; and that it had done so was entirely the act of the Americans themselves. With regard to opening negotiations for a renewal of the treaty, it was altogether out of the power of either Government to do so, the notice to terminate the treaty having originated in the Congress, in whose hands alone the matter rested, and not with the United States Executive. The question, then, was, Could the British Government have brought about such a change of public opinion in the United States as

would have induced Congress to adopt a different policy? and upon that point he was altogether at issue with his hon. friend. Her Majesty's Ministers had repeatedly conveyed to the Government at Washington their readiness to negotiate a renewal of the old treaty, or a modification of its terms, so as to make it more beneficial to both countries than it had hitherto been; and Congress itself had been moved on the subject, but had declined to act. To the last communication, addressed to Mr. Secretary Seward on the 16th of February, he had replied that public sentiment was not favourable to opening the question; and that Congress preferred treating it directly,.and not that it should be approached in the form of diplomatic agreement. Subsequently the matter had been submitted to the committee of Congress, and it now awaited their decision. All negotiations being beyond the limits of the United States Executive, and all attempts on the part of Her Majesty's Government to bring about an arrangement by that means having failed, it only remained for them to do all in their power to prevent any evil consequences that might arise from the abrogation of the treaty, and this they had done. The United States, it was true, had sent a squadron to the fishing grounds, but he saw no source of danger in that. Rather it afforded security against the danger of a collision amongst the fishermen on the coast. The English naval officers would co-operate with those of the United States in maintaining order. Her Majesty's Government had received from the United States authorities every assistance with the view of preserving a good understanding on the coast, and proposals had been interchanged by the two Governments which he believed would be acceptable to both.

Mr. White referred to the refusal of the Foreign Secretary to submit the dispute respecting the depredations of the Alabama to arbitration, as accounting for the irritation which had led to Congress giving notice to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty.

Mr. Cardwell, who, on behalf of the Government deprecated this allusion to an unpleasant subject, explained that the cessation of the Reciprocity Treaty did not affect the bonding privileges under which goods were carried free to and from the United States and the British provinces by railway, and that there was no intention on either side to suspend them. So also with the existing arrangements for the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the canals on one side, and Lake Michigan on the other. They would in no way be interfered with. And as to the fisheries, the two Governments were in the most friendly communication on the subject.

Early in the month of May, as the prospects of a great conflict in Germany became imminent, anxiety began to be felt as to the effect which such a war might have upon our national interests, although all idea of intervention on the part of Great Britain was repudiated alike by every party in the State. The movement of public opinion on this question did not fail to find a voice in the

Legislature. And questions were put to the Ministers in both Houses respecting the aspect of Continental affairs.

On the 8th of May the Earl of Cadogan asked whether our Government had made any offers of mediation, either alone or in concert with other Powers, to obtain a pacific settlement between Austria, Prussia, and Italy?

The Earl of Clarendon referred to the fall in all German securities on every Bourse in Europe, and the paralysis of industry and credit. Within the last fortnight the hope of peace had daily diminished. As the armies of those countries were marching to the same frontier, there was too much reason to fear that a collision, either through design or accident, must take place. With regard to making a tender of our good offices, we could not act alone. By ourselves we could do nothing against a determination that war was the most effective means of carrying out ambitious projects. That that determination would not be enforced we might still continue to hope; but there was no doubt that more than a million of men were now armed and ready for action. And he must say that it was a most saddening reflection in this enlightened age, that Europe should be menaced with a conflict for which there was no *casus belli*, and which was not only without cause, but without justification.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe said we were on the eve of one of the most expensive and bloody wars ever known. He deeply regretted that a country like this should be condemned to inaction, and not be able to raise her voice against it.

Earl Grey said the present state of Europe was the legitimate result of the rule of conduct we had recently laid down for ourselves, that this country would not, directly or indirectly, interfere in Continental affairs unless her interests or her honour were affected. This was not the policy of great States; and by acting in this manner two years ago with reference to Denmark, a great stain had been left on the honour of England. If we continued to pursue this selfish course, sooner or later we must endanger the peace of Europe.

The Earl of Derby concurred in Lord Grey's opinion.

Earl Russell denied that any such rule of conduct had been proclaimed by him. What he had said was, that if neither the honour nor the interests of this country were concerned, we should do well long to reflect before we entered into a war. As to Denmark, what our Government had done was, to urge Denmark to put herself in the right, and she had declined to do so. Lord Wodehouse was sent out with this express object in view, yet she still refused until it was too late, and the German Powers would no longer abstain from action. All the Government could then do was to remonstrate with Austria and Prussia, and endeavour to induce them to settle the question at issue by negotiation.

In reply to the Earl of Hardwicke, the Earl of Clarendon stated

that inquiries had been made in order to ascertain whether the good offices of Her Majesty's Government could be useful if they were tendered, but the answers were not encouraging.

About a fortnight later, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe recurred to the subject. Adverting to the great warlike preparations that were making upon the Continent, he asked, "whether any negotiations, or preliminaries for negotiations, official or confidential, were actually in progress on the part of the Government, with a view to settle by Congress, or otherwise, those unhappy differences among Continental Powers which endanger the peace of Europe; and whether they appear to offer a reasonable hope of an amicable issue."

The Earl of Clarendon said, "It is impossible to exaggerate the gravity of the present crisis or the consequences of the struggle which appears to be impending. I think my noble friend is perfectly justified in asking the question which he has addressed to me, and I have only to thank him for the terms in which he has expressed it. I can only reply to his question by saying that negotiations, or at least confidential communications, are going on. I hope they may terminate in the meeting together of all the Powers concerned, not only those which are neutral, but those which are arming for the strife. I can scarcely at present hold out the hope that they will terminate in peace, but the meeting together of the various Powers to deliberate on the differences which have led to the present state of things does lead to the hope of amicable settlement. My noble friend will readily understand how difficult it is to bring together in harmonious action Powers who have created that state of things to which he alluded. No effort on the part of the Government will be wanting to bring about that result; and I believe that is also the wish of the Emperor of the French. In the present state of the negotiations, I think it would be inexpedient for me to say more."

A few days afterwards the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to a question from Mr. Disraeli, said, "Her Majesty's Government have entertained with earnest desire, though perhaps not as yet with sanguine hope, the proposal for a meeting or Conference among the Powers of Europe. They thought that it was their duty not to pass by the chances presented in view of the extreme calamities which they sought to prevent, and which appeared to be certainly impending over a great part of Europe. They have therefore acceded to the proposal made to them, so far as they could entertain the question; but the precise terms upon which the invitation was to be addressed to the Powers of Europe in general have not, I think, been finally adjusted, according to the latest information which I have received. At the same time I do not think there is any reason to suppose, so far as present information goes, that difficulty is likely to arise upon the adjustment of those terms. As to the statement lately made by a foreign journal, that 'the

three Courts seek conditions of agreement in territorial compensations, which would offer indemnities and satisfaction to the claims of Prussia, Austria, and Italy, the difficulty in the present state of affairs consists in finding compensations suitable to each case,' I think that that statement goes beyond the facts. I cannot say precisely what are the real facts; indeed it would be dangerous to describe what, after all, must depend upon documentary evidence, and which yet may be in possession of the House. I do not think, however, that the statement that the three Courts are seeking conditions of agreement in territorial compensations as a basis, is an accurate description of what has taken place."

As time advanced, the chances of a pacific settlement seemed to grow less and less hopeful, and the two rival States of Germany, as the breach widened between them, were evidently on the very verge of hostilities. The House of Commons was at this time in the very midst of the Reform debates, involving the fate of the Government and the balance of the Constitution, yet the formidable aspect of Continental affairs prevailed for a time to divert the attention of Parliament from the great domestic controversy; and Mr. Kinglake succeeded, on the 11th of June, in postponing the subject of Reform for one night at least to a discussion upon the attitude and prospects of the German Powers, between whom the flame of war was at any moment ready to break out. In reviewing the circumstances of the crisis, he observed that, though nothing to create a misunderstanding had occurred, there was no hypocrisy practised as to the motives of the parties. Prussia wished to obtain the Elbe Duchies, and Italy wished to obtain Venetia. In regard to the first, Count Bismark was opposed by the opinion of the German people, by the King, and, to some extent, by the army; and it was a question which might have been settled by a Conference. Venetia was the difficulty; for, having her northern frontier guaranteed, Italy was able to occupy with impunity the position of a disturbing Power, and, while waiting for her opportunity, had entered into a convention with Prussia. As to the course taken by the by-standing Powers, nothing was known of the advice given by France to Prussia; but the rumour was, that not only had our Foreign Office urged Prussia to keep the peace, but that means of communication had been resorted to still more likely to be impressive on the King of Prussia. Italy, he believed, had been encouraged to arm, and to remain armed, by the French Government; and, though no advice had been given by us to the Italian Government which would lead directly to war, there was a rumour that we had tendered advice to Austria to cede Venetia, which must have acted as a great encouragement to Italy. Mr. Kinglake exposed at some length the absurdity of asking Austria to part with an important nest of fortresses which Prussia herself in 1859 had pronounced to be a German frontier and a safeguard of European peace, pointing out that what he called

the "Fenian" principle of nationality on which the demand was made, must involve the cession of Bohemia, Hungary, Trieste, and the Tyrol, not to push the question beyond Austria; and asserting that by such advice we became the disturbers of the peace of Europe. After remarking that, in accepting the proposal for a Conference without ascertaining beforehand what Austria's views were, the Government had departed from the pitiless logic of Lord Russell's despatch refusing to go into Congress two years since, he concluded by putting a string of questions to the Government—whether they had any ground for believing that peace would be preserved? what reason they had for concluding that the Conference would have been useless? and what was the purport of the advice given to Austria, Prussia, and Italy?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, premising that he answered the questions put to him under protest, and in the belief that they could serve no good purpose, denied that the quarrel between the German Powers could have been settled but for the Italian difficulty; for the testing question which disposed of the Conference embraced the Elbe Duchies quite as much as Venetia, and affected Prussia quite as deeply as Italy. The rescission of the Treaty of Gastein, the reference of the question of the Duchies to the Diet, and the convocation of the States of Holstein were the questions which were likely to give immediate occasion for war; and, speaking strictly of the circumstances of the moment, Italy, he asserted, could not be said to be acting the part of a disturbing Power, or to be aggravating the difficulties of the situation. As to the conduct of the by-standing Powers, while professing ignorance as to the course of France, he denied that our Government had given encouragement to Italy to go to war; and with regard to the cession of Venetia, that had notoriously been the policy which our Government, as a friend, had for some years advised Austria to follow—though, in a moment like this, believing the maintenance of the Austrian Empire to be of great importance to Europe, they might not be willing to repeat it. In the double quarrel in which she was engaged, Austria, having public right and justice on her side, had the sympathy of England with her in respect to the Duchies; but in the matter of Venetia she could not expect it. He declined to follow Mr. Kinglake into a discussion of the value of Venetia to Austria; and in regard to the parallel he had instituted between the Elbe Duchies and Venetia, he declared his readiness to give up Venetia altogether if its populations could be shown to be desirous of continuing to form part of the Austrian Empire. After explaining the fundamental difference between this proposal for a Conference and that which had been refused by the Government in 1864, he stated, in answer to Mr. Kinglake's questions, that the Government had no solid grounds for holding out a prospect that peace would be preserved, and that they had been particularly chary in giving advice singlehanded to any of the

Powers. He concluded by expressing approval of the policy of calling a Conference to settle disputes between the European Powers, and regretting that it had failed in this case.

Sir G. Bowyer pressed for an explicit denial that what he called the "Court of Florence" had been informed in private letters from some member of the Government that we would use our influence with Austria to cede Venetia, maintaining that the "King of Sardinia" had no more right to Venetia than to Middlesex, and that those who had mixed up Venetia with the Holstein question were responsible for the failure of the Congress.

Sir R. Peel contrasted Mr. Gladstone's expression, that he answered "under protest," with Lord Clarendon's readiness to give explanations in the other House, and warned Mr. Gladstone that these discussions might hereafter be not unfrequent. He attributed the present crisis to the overweening ambition of Prussia, fostered by an unscrupulous Minister; hinting that, had Lord Palmerston's advice to his Cabinet been followed, the Prussian policy would have been checked at the commencement of the Danish war.

Lord Cranborne vindicated the right of the House of Commons to demand explanations from the Government at such a crisis, and challenged a denial of the rumour that Lord Russell in private letters had advised the cession of Venetia. He threw also some doubt on the desire of the country population of Venetia to be annexed to Italy, and asserted that the principle on which that annexation was demanded might be applied to strip us of India, part of Canada, and even Ireland.

Mr. Layard explained that Mr. Gladstone had not protested against answering Mr. Kinglake's questions, but merely against being led into a discussion, and assured the House that the advice always given by the Government to Italy was, not to go to war, but to consolidate herself and apply herself to internal improvement. The Italian army, he asserted, was on a peace footing until Austria began to pour troops into Venetia.

Several other members took part in the discussion, and the question was much pressed upon the Government, whether, besides the official communications, Earl Russell had given any advice through the medium of private letters; but no answer was given to this question, and the discussion was at last allowed to subside.

The events of the war, which soon afterwards broke out, its rapid progress and decisive results, will be found fully described in another part of this volume. The Administration of Lord Derby had been but a short time in office, when it became evident what must be the issue of the contest, and that its termination was approaching. Under these circumstances a demand was made upon the new Cabinet for a declaration of their views and intentions with reference to the great changes impending in the distribution of power in Europe. In addressing the House of Lords upon Continental affairs and moving for certain papers, Lord

Stratford de Redcliffe commented upon the aggressive policy of Prussia, and invited the House to consider whether it was desirable that this country should permit a great Power to be struck out from the list of nations without some expression of opinion on our part. Deprecating war, and not always sympathizing with Austria, he still thought that the aggressive policy pursued by one Power would lead to general danger. The doctrine of nationalities was one which could be easily extended in any direction, and from its influence no country could claim to be secure, so that if it were allowed to prevail universal uncertainty must exist.

Lord Derby declined to follow Lord Stratford de Redcliffe over the whole range of European politics, and pointed out that the alternative to inactively witnessing the course of the present war was to interfere actively, which, he believed, no party in the country was disposed to do. If the assistance or good offices of the Government should be needed to co-operate with France in restoring peace, they would not be withheld; but until those good offices were sought, it was not the province of the Government in any way to interfere. With respect to the papers moved for, he thought it would be more for the public advantage that their production should be deferred until the pending negotiations were brought to a close.

Earl Russell expressed his approval of the policy of non-intervention adhered to by the Government.

In the House of Commons on the same evening, July 20th, a discussion of more than ordinary interest took place with respect to the effect of the changes likely to be produced both upon the Germanic States and upon the whole face of European politics by the territorial and dynastic changes consequent upon the war. Opinions were also expressed and declarations elicited with reference to the conduct and attitude of our own Government, the importance of which entitles them to be recorded. The occasion was also remarkable for the opportunity it afforded of drawing forth the views of the newly-appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Stanley, upon the principles of foreign policy. That noble lord, in an address recently delivered to his constituents at East Lynn, had laid down and explained the doctrine of intervention as he understood and professed it; and, taking occasion from this declaration, in which he expressed his own full concurrence, Mr. Laing addressed to him certain questions on the subject of our foreign relations:—

It was not likely, he said, that we should go openly and knowingly into an intervention; but we might drift into it under the insidious guise of a mediation. In minor differences, which turned chiefly on points of honour, mediation might be useful; but in questions involving great national and territorial interests there could be little force in mediation which did not verge on intervention; and by mediating in such a quarrel we ran the risk of patching up a hollow peace and leaving unsettled questions which

must lead to a future war. This was particularly the case with the present war, the evident scope of which was to establish an independent Italy and an united Germany, and that, he predicted, would be the result if we did not interfere. Our interest in this matter was to have a solid balance of power in Europe, and to have that effected by such geographical and national arrangements as would lead to a permanent and stable settlement; and having laid this down, he showed that the arrangements of 1815 could not be regarded in this light, being founded on artificial, not natural rights—on the rights of Princes, not of peoples; and he maintained that an independent Italy and an united Germany—both of which must be Conservative and peaceful Powers—would not only be favourable to the interests of England, but must lead to such a state of equilibrium of political power in Europe as would produce a permanent and real peace, and enable all the Powers to reduce their excessive armaments. It was, too, for the real interest of Austria—whose true mission lay towards the East—in the cultivation and civilization of the territories lying along the Danube. Without asking for a decided pledge not to mediate, he pressed the Government to declare that they would not commit the country to an armed mediation, without calling Parliament together and laying the whole circumstances before it.

Mr. Horsman, after some remarks as to the different degrees of sympathy felt in England for Prussia and Italy, expressed his concurrence with Lord Stanley's non-intervention views, but maintained at the same time that as we were a great Power, with great responsibilities, we ought to be ready to co-operate every where to advance the cause of liberty and peace. He discussed the various rumours afloat as to the invitation of France to England to join in a mediation, and showed that the relations and the views of the two Powers in respect to Prussia and Italy were so divergent,—England only desiring to see Germany united and powerful and Italy free and independent,—that there could be no joint mediation unless the Emperor were prepared to bring his policy into harmony with ours. He professed his inability to see the necessity for any application to Prussia and Italy, for Austria could have peace at any moment by agreeing to give up Venetia without stipulations, and to retire from the German Confederation; and both these conditions, he showed, were reasonable and for the ultimate advantage of Austria. The German people would not permit the return of Austria to the Bund; for the real explanation of Prussia's astounding success was not only the needle-gun, but the adhesion of the German people to a Power which could guarantee them the unity they so much desired. After an elaborate disquisition on the motives and policy of the French Emperor, he expressed a sanguine hope that the Emperor would acquiesce in the events which had been too much for him; and, if he applied to England, that the two Governments would join in pressing Austria to acquiesce in them also, and to put an end to a war which could be of no

advantage to her. Though at the commencement of the war his sympathies were strongly against Prussia as represented by Bismark, he could not but acknowledge that he was now engaged on a work of the greatest benefit to Europe. Mr. Horsman concluded by putting a string of questions to Lord Stanley as to the communications which had passed between France and England.

Sir G. Bowyer made some caustic remarks on the present position of the French Emperor, and read from a speech of Prince Napoleon to prove that the war was one against Catholicism and for the triumph of Democracy—the result of a conspiracy between France, Prussia, and Italy. He trusted that the present Government would endeavour to remedy the mischief done by their predecessors, whose foreign policy he strongly denounced, and would discountenance the exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation.

Mr. Gladstone, having first vindicated with some warmth, in answer to Sir G. Bowyer's attack, the Italian policy of Lord Palmerston's Government, said that, whatever the origin of the war might have been, we must now look at it as bearing upon the happiness and freedom of Europe, and consider how we could best use our influence to promote those objects; and, adverting to a remark of Mr. Horsman, he contended that the influence of England was best preserved by refraining from elaborate schemes to promote it. In discussing our duty, he exhorted Lord Stanley not to forget that the cause of Italy was dear to the people of this country, and warned him that they would never forgive a policy which attacked her unity and independence. Turning to Germany, he maintained that for years past she had been a perpetual weakness to Europe, and that often our Estimates had been increased by millions on account of what might happen to her. The struggles of Austria and Prussia for predominance had been an immense injury to Europe and to Germany, and the elevation of one Power to a position to wield the influence would be an unmixed advantage even to the loser. Her old position had been both in Germany and Italy any thing but beneficial to Austria, and though he lamented the unprecedented attempt to introduce a third party into the strife by ceding Venetia to France—which might prevent her parting from Italy on such friendly terms—the loss of Venetia, which need not at present, at least, involve the loss of Trieste, would be a gain to Austria. Even if she were excluded from Germany, she had still a glorious task before her in the cultivation of that vast and fertile territory and the civilization of those millions of subjects which would still be left to her.

Lord Stanley, in the present state of affairs, excused himself from going into any detailed discussion of a situation which varied from day to day, but with regard to the armed intervention into which Mr. Laing seemed to dread we might drift, he could conceive no stronger guarantee against it than the language held by Lord Derby and by himself constantly, both in and out of office.

He was not fond of giving advice to foreign Powers, though cases might arise in which the interference of a friendly and disinterested Power might be of service; but he assured the House that up to the present time the Government was entirely unpledged to any policy whatever. The sole diplomatic action we had taken was to support in general terms—as a matter of humanity and common sense—the proposition of the French Government for a temporary cessation of hostilities. That opportunity had passed away, and since then our advice had neither been asked nor offered. Replying to Mr. Horsman, Lord Stanley stated that he had every reason to believe that an armed intervention was not meditated by France. Austria had asked France to mediate, and the matter rested with her; and if we were asked to join, we must first of all ascertain on what terms she proposed to mediate. With regard to the terms said to have been offered by Prussia, Venetia, there was no doubt, was already practically ceded to Italy; and as to the exclusion of Austria from Germany, it had never been stated that it was the sole condition on which Prussia would make peace. The Government could be no parties to pressing terms upon Austria until they knew the whole extent of the terms. Speaking of the future policy of the Government, Lord Stanley said there never was a great European war in which England had less direct interest. The Italian question was not far from a settlement, and he could not see that the establishment of a strong, compact Power in North Germany would be either a detriment or a menace to us, whatever it might be deemed to be by other Powers. So far as human foresight could go, there were no complications in the situation which would involve us in war; and if we did not mean to take part in it we ought equally to avoid empty threats and holding out illusory hopes. If our advice were asked, and it seemed likely to be of use, we ought not to refuse to give it; but at the same time we ought carefully to avoid any responsibility for the consequences of its being followed. In conclusion Lord Stanley said that, as far as was consistent with his duty, he should take care to keep the House cognizant of all that was done.

Lord Stanley's statement appeared to be received on both sides of the House with much satisfaction.

The latest Parliamentary utterance on the subject of the war before the close of the Session, was made by the Earl of Derby in the House of Lords, on the 23rd of July, when that noble lord gave an explanation of the communications with the French Government, which commenced immediately upon the present Ministry assuming office, and stated that they acceded to the request of the Emperor by instructing the British Ambassadors at Berlin and Florence to co-operate with the French Government, in order, if possible, to obtain an armistice and to ascertain if any terms of peace could be agreed upon. They had expressed no opinion upon the mode in which the cession of Venetia had been

effected, but their sole desire was to assist, if possible, in preventing further bloodshed. The armistice was not agreed to, and the British Government had taken no further step, nor had they tendered any advice, nor proposed any terms. They had, however, recently learnt that a five days' armistice had been agreed upon and preliminaries of peace accepted by Austria and Prussia; and more recently they had been informed that Baron Ricasoli was willing on the part of Italy to accept the conditions proposed.

CHAPTER V.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM the great question of the Session—Declarations of Earl Russell's Government on that subject—Reference to the same topic in the Queen's Speech. Mr. Clay's Educational Franchise Bill—Fate of that measure—The Chancellor of the Exchequer introduces the Franchise Bill of the Government on the 12th of March—Reception of the Bill in the House of Commons—Formation of a third party in the House opposed to the Bill, commonly known as the "Adullamites"—Notice given by Earl Grosvenor of a Resolution disapproving the introduction of a Franchise Bill apart from the entire scheme of Reform—Public meetings in favour of the Government measure—The Chancellor of the Exchequer addresses, in the Easter recess, large assemblies at Liverpool, and declares the resolution of the Government to stand or fall by their Reform measures—Great debate, continued for eight nights, on Earl Grosvenor's resolution—Summary of the arguments of the leading speakers—Prominent part taken against the Bill by Mr. Lowe—Powerful and eloquent reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—A division results in the rejection of the resolution by a majority of five only, and the Bill is read a second time—Shortly afterwards the Government announce their consent to lay their whole scheme before the House, and bring in a Redistribution of Seats Bill—Statement of that measure by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—The Irish and Scotch Reform Bills are also brought in—The Ministers, on the suggestion of Mr. Bouverie, agree to refer both the Franchise and Redistribution Bills to the same Committee—Captain Hayter, M.P. for Wells, gives notice of moving an amendment on going into Committee condemnatory of the Redistribution schemes—That Bill is read a second time without opposition—Sir R. Knightley interposes an instruction to the Committee to make provision against bribery—The motion is carried against the Government by a majority of ten—Captain Hayter's amendment is moved and is debated for four nights, after which it is withdrawn by the mover—The Bills are committed and discussed clause by clause—Controversy as to the rental or rating test of franchise—Rejection of amendments moved by Lord Stanley, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Hunt—Important amendment proposed by Lord Dunkellin to make rating the basis of the franchise in boroughs—Debate on that motion—It is carried against the Government by a majority of eleven—Extraordinary scene of excitement on this division.

THE political history of the year 1866 turns upon the question of Parliamentary Reform. This one subject absorbed a very large portion of the time and almost the whole energies of the House of Commons—it brought about a change of Administration, it unsettled the relations of parties, it affected many political reputations, it engendered no small amount of popular excitement; and although it terminated for the present in no practical result, it yet produced a conviction in the minds of all thoughtful politicians, that some

alteration of our representative system was an inevitable necessity, and was only a question of time. Her Majesty's Speech at the opening of the Session had announced the intention of laying a measure of this nature before Parliament, and the chiefs of the Administration had made no secret of their intention not only to introduce a Bill, but to stake their official existence on its success. The majority of the House of Commons which the constituencies had lately returned as representatives of the Liberal party, appeared strong enough to carry through a well-considered measure of Reform, even in the face of a Conservative Opposition; but it was not till the actual trial was made that the difficulty of passing a Bill which might greatly alter the existing distribution of political power in the country was fully appreciated.

It devolved upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as leader of the House of Commons, to introduce and conduct through that House, the measure of which notice had been given soon after the commencement of the Session. In the meantime, however, a Bill for extending the elective franchise on a novel basis was introduced by a member on the Liberal side of the House, Mr. Clay, one of the representatives of Hull. It was proposed by this Bill to create an educational qualification, and it provided that every man of full age should have the right of submitting himself to be examined before the Civil Service Commissioners, and upon such examination (if satisfactory) should receive a certificate which would entitle him to the exercise of the franchise. The subjects of examination would be reading, writing, spelling, and the four rules of arithmetic.

Mr. Gregory seconded the motion, contending that the Bill, if passed into law, would have the effect of admitting the *élite* of the working classes to the possession of the franchise, whilst at the same time it would not let in an overwhelming majority to counterbalance the superior claims of education and property.

Lord Elcho supported the Bill.

Mr. Horsman hoped that some one on the Treasury Bench would state the views of Government on the subject of Reform. He taunted the leaders of the Radical party, with Mr. Bright at their head, for the antipathy and indifference which they had exhibited after all the pro-Reform clamour with which their names were associated out of doors. In fact, it seemed as if the Reformers in the House were either afraid or ashamed of the question.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer denied that Government were responsible for delay. The death of Lord Palmerston and the necessity for collecting trustworthy statistics had raised unforeseen difficulties; but he could assure the House that the Bill would be introduced at the earliest possible moment. With regard to the invitations addressed to him to give some utterance on the part of the Government in reference to the proposal of the hon. member for Hull, he flattered himself that on that subject neither his admiration for his hon. friend's abilities, the curiosity of the House,

nor any other consideration, would be sufficiently potent to extract from him a single particle of information.

Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

Upon the motion for the second reading, which did not take place till the Ministerial measure of Reform had been for some time before the House, a full and rather important debate took place. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then declared himself opposed to the scheme, as impracticable; Mr. Göschen and the Attorney-General also spoke against it. On the other hand it was supported by several leading members of the Opposition—Visct. Cranborne, Mr. Adderley, Sir J. Pakington, Mr. Whiteside, and others. The debate was adjourned but never resumed, and at a late period of the Session the Bill was withdrawn by Mr. Clay.

On the 12th of March the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the Bill of the Government. The House of Commons was much crowded both with members and strangers, and great curiosity was manifested to hear what was the nature of the scheme which the Ministers had to propose. The portion of the Queen's Speech which referred to the subject of the improved representation of the people having been read by the Clerk at the table, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, and after referring to the difficulties attending his present task, said that the paragraphs now read were not the only paragraphs in which, under the most solemn forms known to the Constitution, the subject of the representation of the people had been brought before Parliament. By no less than five Administrations, in no less than six Queen's speeches before that of the present year, the Sovereign, advised by her Ministers, had informed the Commons that in their judgment the time had come when the representation of the people ought to undergo revision. The right hon. gentleman referred to the length of time occupied in preparing the statistical returns as to the present state of the constituencies. He said that no time had been lost in preparing these returns. At the very first Cabinet meeting after the funeral of the late Lord Palmerston the Ministers framed the heads upon which they required information; and if members on each side of the House would examine the volume of information now laid on the table, they would admit that no time had been mis-spent, and they would admit the advantage of approaching the consideration of this important question with such a knowledge and such a mass of facts as were never before collected. There had been a disposition to murmur at the delay in producing these papers, and to ascribe it to vacillation on the part of the Government; but that had not been the case. The question of time was a matter of importance. It was now the 12th of March, and it would not be possible, considering the approach of the Easter recess, to ask the House to read the Bill a second time until the second week in April. Therefore the Government felt that as prudent and practical men they had to measure what their powers might be in regard to legislating during the present Session; and

hence arose the question whether they were to have a complete measure or an incomplete measure. Now, what would be a complete revision of our representative system? He must omit from the definition thereof many matters, such as the questions of secret voting or the shortening of Parliaments, which did not strictly belong to the revising of the elective franchise. The revision of our representative system was the matter now to be dealt with. It would be of immense advantage if they could deal with the whole range of that question at one stroke. But for that purpose they must consider the franchise of England and Wales, and also the franchise in Scotland and in Ireland; also the whole group of questions included in the common phrase of the redistribution of seats. The question between the three kingdoms—the question between town and country—the question between total extinction by the capital punishment such as was inflicted in Schedule A, between the milder method of amputation administered in Schedule B, or that mildest method of all, which was that adopted by Earl Russell in 1852—the method of grouping towns together—all these were matters that must undergo careful consideration. Then there came another question that could never be avoided when you review the electoral system, namely, the consideration of whether in all cases the present boundaries of boroughs are such as the exigencies of those boroughs naturally require. Another matter connected with the subject would be the consideration of the state of the law as to corrupt practices—a subject as difficult as it was important. But all these subjects, great in themselves and complex in themselves, could not come under the review or criticism of this House without careful searching and jealous examination; and it was impossible to expect that Parliament could give itself to that complete view of the electoral system during the present Session. It was conformable to our habits to entertain a high idea of what was called the omnipotence of Parliament, but time and space could not be annihilated, even to make lovers happy, or for any other purpose whatever. If this Bill were now read a first time, the second reading would be proposed on the 12th of April, or between that and the middle of July, the latest period at which such a Bill could be sent to the House of Lords. The Government nights would only amount to twenty-four, one half of which at least must be occupied by finance and supply, and beyond these twenty-four nights they would have nothing to depend upon but the charity of private members. Now what had they found in former years? In 1860 they spent months in trying to do nothing; and on the occasion of the great Reform Act one single Bill of the three forming the great Reform occupied in one of its three forms fifty-three nights in the House of Commons, and at least one hundred nights were occupied in the complete review of the electoral system which was then achieved; but in order to do so the members turned day into night, summer into winter, and sacrificed, unjustly sacrificed, for two years all other legislation which re-

quired debate or serious discussion. The Government, having fully considered all these matters, had resolved to confine themselves to a Bill for the alteration of the elective franchise. In 1860 it was proposed to reduce the county franchise from 50*l.* to 10*l.*, but in the present case the Government proposed to modify that plan, and to reduce the county franchise to 14*l.* of value. This, however, would not apply to a house alone, but would apply equally to a house and land, provided the rental of either or both was not less than 14*l.* per annum. This would correspond with a 12*l.* rating franchise, and it was estimated that it would add 171,000 persons to the electoral lists. It was also proposed to recognize the possession of copyhold or leasehold property within the limits of boroughs, and to give them the same privileges as if they were freeholds within the limits of a borough. It was next proposed that all adult males who had deposited 50*l.* in a savings' bank for two years should be entitled to be registered for the place in which they resided. This privilege would add from 10,000 to 15,000 electors to the constituencies of England and Wales. An annual claim to be registered would be essentially necessary in the case of savings' banks voters. With regard to towns, there were at present four classes of occupiers, viz., rate-paying householders, compound householders, those who occupied portions of houses without being rated, and those who were the inmates of other people's families. The growth of the constituencies in towns had barely kept pace with the growth of the population generally; but he was glad to find that the infusion of the working classes in the present constituencies was larger than he expected, being in boroughs 21 per cent. It was intended to abolish the ratepaying clauses of the Reform Act, which it was hoped would admit 25,000 voters above the line of 10*l.* Persons who were now in the position of compound householders would in future be treated like ratepayers, and it was believed that votes would thereby be given to 35,000 persons. In showing the evil consequences resulting from the ratepaying clauses, the right hon. gentleman said: "In some places it has been supposed that the local officers, under the influence of particular bias, did not apply for the payment of the rate until the date had passed when the payment of it would avail with a view to the exercise of the franchise. The rates of the two parties of voters are paid by the political agents in the interest of the respective candidates; and one local gentleman who very kindly sent up this information, as far as his own place was concerned, hoped that the communication would be considered confidential. There are certain boroughs where, by common consent, the law is overlooked on both sides. In Liverpool I do not overstate the case when I say that there are not less than between 6,000 and 7,000 persons, probably more, whose rates are habitually and ordinarily collected from the landlord by arrangement with the parish officers, and are therefore disfranchised without any neglect of their own. They are not compound householders, but their rates

are collected from the landlord. We expect that the victims of this class are almost all of them persons who belong to the designation of working men. We shall admit not less than 25,000 above the line of 10*l.* by the abolition of this clause. Then we come to the question of compound householders. The principle upon which we go is that they should be treated exactly as ratepaying householders, if the rent of their house is of such a scale that in the judgment of the Legislature they are suitable persons to be enfranchised. It is perfectly certain as an economic truth, that the rates of that house, though paid in the first instance by the landlord, are ultimately paid by the householder; and it can make no difference to us, and does not justify any line of distinction being drawn between the two. At present the law is defective in this respect, that the name of the compound householder does not commonly appear on the rate book for the purpose of rating. In the amendment of the law of rating, which we shall have to propose, we shall provide that the name of the holder of the house, as well as any rating held in the house, shall appear upon the rate book; from whence, just like the rate of the householder, it will pass to the list of voters without imposing the burden or trouble upon the householder himself. Being upon the list of voters, it will be subject to the scrutiny of the revising barrister just as if it were the name of the ratepaying voter, and it will remain and stand upon the register as such. Therefore an effective enfranchisement will be given to the compound householders, whereas, up to the present time this enfranchisement has been almost purely speculative, and there was a want of executive means to remedy it. In the metropolis, we may say without fear of contradiction, that it is not done in one case in fifty, and when it is done it is for some particular purpose: the election agent finds out the names and puts them on the list. Now that is a way in which it ought not to be done. Let it be understood that if our proposal be adopted, the householder of a compound house will be put upon the list without any claim; he will get there by a spontaneous process. Then comes the third of the classes to which I formerly alluded—that class which is also very numerous in the metropolis—the occupiers of flats or portions of houses not under separate landlords, and not the subject of separate rating. As to these we can do nothing but leave them as they are. If they can show that the portion of the tenement inhabited by them is of the clear annual value of 10*l.*, and if they get themselves rated, as I believe they are entitled to ask; though legal difficulties of this kind form an almost insuperable obstacle, they may by a circuitous process get themselves placed on the list of voters. Of course, if there were no trouble and uncertainty as to the rating, that would get rid of the difficulty; but the public officer does not know, and cannot know, who these people are. He knows the value of the annual rating of compound householders, because that is necessary for public purposes; but he does not and cannot know the rent paid to the householder by the

man who is the occupier of part of the tenement. Consequently we must leave these persons as they are now, subject to the burden of yearly claims. If the party can show that the tenement he rents is of the clear annual value of 10*l.*, though relieved from the necessity of being rated, he may have his name placed on the register, but with the necessity of renewing his claim from year to year. As to lodgers, we propose to place them exactly on the footing of those holding tenements of the clear yearly value of 10*l.*, without taking into consideration rates and taxes. These will be entitled, through a claim made from year to year, to be placed on the register. In 1859, the late Government proposed that any person paying 20*l.* by the year, or 8*s.* per week, for any rooms, whether furnished or unfurnished, should be entitled through yearly claims, subject to certain formalities, to be placed on the register. We think that there are insuperable difficulties to any franchise resting upon rent paid for furnished apartments. In the first place, the clear annual value of rooms is difficult to ascertain when the price continually fluctuates from day to day in town and country. Still it is a thing capable of being brought to some definite standard; but the value of the furniture, the rent paid on movable commodities, would be a totally novel, and, I must say, inconvenient basis for the franchise. If the case is defective when you have to estimate the value of furnitnre alone, much more is it so when you come to consider the rent paid for furnished lodgings, because not only does it include the furniture but many other particulars—personal service, firing, cooking, very commonly the use of the kitchen fire—in point of fact, creating a basis of a kind so peculiar that it would be quite impossible to make use of it for the purpose. I wish the House to understand, because great interest has been exhibited on the subject of the lodger franchise, that we propose to deal with it in a manner that will include every case, and more than every *bonâ fide* case, which could have been included in the Bill of 1859. If a man pays 20*l.* a year for his furnished lodging, then that lodging ought to be worth, allowing for the use of the furniture, more than 10*l.* clear annual value. We propose that any person paying rent of 10*l.* clear annual value, subject to the usual conditions of occupation and residence, shall be entitled to come on the register. I can give no information—and I believe the right hon. gentleman in 1859 could give no information—as to the number of persons who will be entitled to be registered as lodgers. My firm belief is that it will be a small one. The operation of claiming from year to year is one which must be very burdensome to the working man; but educated men, young men—such as clerks in business, versed in the use of pen and ink, possessing intelligence and the inclination to obtain the franchise, and willing to take the trouble necessary, as I hope they will be, will constitute a middle class of extended franchise, though it would be to delude the House if I were to point to any large number of the working classes as likely to come on the register

through this means. I think I am safe, and speak with moderation, when I say that the working man does not spend more than one-sixth of his income on his house. As well as we can gather, it is one-sixth, therefore his income must be 96*l.*; or, in other words, without making any allowance whatever for sickness and interruption of work, he must receive 1*l.* 17*s.* a week, or, if we allow for necessary breaks, 2*l.* a week wages. But it is a small proportion of the working class that get 2*l.* a week wages; and I do not think therefore that the franchise can be said to be liberally and largely within the reach of the working man at 10*l.* annual rental. The 7*l.* franchise will certainly work in a different manner. The net 7*l.*, allowing 60 per cent. for rates and furniture, would give a gross sum of 11*l.* 4*s.* That would represent 67*l.* 4*s.* But instead of thirty odd shillings a week, the wages of a man occupying such a house would be a little under 26*s.* a week. That sum is undoubtedly unattainable by the peasantry, and by mere hand labour, except in very rare circumstances, but it is generally attainable by artisans and skilled labourers." The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to say that it was not intended to confer the franchise on persons occupying furnished lodgings, as the bases would be far too slippery and capricious to deal with. To give votes to 6*l.* householders, and likewise to admit the classes to whom he had referred, would be to transfer the balance of political power in boroughs to the working classes. This, he apprehended, had never been contemplated by Parliament; for it was not well, on the general grounds of political prudence, to make changes of too sudden and extensive a character in the depositaries of power. What the Government, therefore, proposed to do was, to take the amount next above 6*l.*, namely, a 7*l.* clear annual value, a figure not very far from that apparently fixed by the Small Tenements Voting Act; and it was calculated that the net number of persons enfranchised by this provision would be 144,000. The total number of new voters of all classes would be:—

In counties.	172,000
In towns	204,000
Lodger and savings' banks franchises . .	24,000
Total	400,000

Of this number one-half would belong to the working classes, and one-half to what might be termed a new middle class. The only remaining provision in the Bill had reference to the dockyards, and it was proposed to disfranchise the labourers in those places. Such was the scheme of the Government. "It is probable," said the right hon. gentleman, "that according to the various tempers of men's minds, we shall be told that we have done too little, or that we have done too much. Our answer is, that we have done our best. We have endeavoured to take into account the state

and condition of the people, as well as the qualification which the people possess for the exercise of political rights. We are mindful that the limbo of abortive creations is peopled with the unfortunate skeletons of Reform Bills, and we do not wish to add to the number of those unfortunate measures. We may have erred, but we have endeavoured to see how much good we could effect. As to the completeness of the measure, I have given to the House what I think a clear and distinct statement of our honesty of purpose upon a careful examination of facts; not to attempt, by any measure that we could lay upon the table of the House at a given moment, what we knew to be impracticable, and in which, therefore, we must fail. If we are told that we ought to have done more, our answer is, that it was our duty to take into view the sentiments of the country—disposed to moderate change, sensible of the value of that which it possesses, and sensitive with regard to bringing what it possesses into hazard. Nor can I deny the opinions expressed of the intelligence of the working classes, and of their admirable performance of duties, at least of their duties towards their superiors; for it seems to me, that if they sin their sins are against themselves. Yet it is true of the working class, as it is of any other class, that it is a dangerous temptation to human nature to be suddenly invested with preponderating power, and that, I think, is the reason why we have not done too little; and, notwithstanding that we may be told that we have done too much, I hope that will not be said. I do not entirely abandon the expectation that even those who have almost protested on principle against any extension of the franchise, may be disposed to accept the measure; and if they do not wholly approve, they will not be averse to settle this great, important, and difficult question. I would beg them to consider what immense value there is in an extension of the franchise for its own sake. Liberty is a thing which is good,—not merely its fruits, but is good in itself. With regard to English legislation, when we are told that things are done more economically, more cleverly, and effectively in foreign countries, we answer, yes, but they are managed freely. And in freedom, in the free discharge of political duties, there is an immense power for the people, both for discipline and for education. If the issue is to be adverse to the Bill, I hope it will be taken in direct terms. I trust it will be taken on the question whether there is or is not to be an enfranchisement made. We have felt the course now proposed by us essential to character, to credit, and to usefulness; not merely of the Government, not merely of party, but of this House, committed as Parliament has been with respect to the question of the representation of the people. We cannot consent to look on this addition,—considerable though it be,—of the working classes, as if it were an addition fraught with nothing but danger; we cannot look upon it as a Trojan horse approaching the walls of the sacred city, and filled with armed men bent

on ruin, plunder, and conflagration. We cannot describe it as 'Monstrum infelix,' or say,—

> "'Scandit fatalis machina muros,
> Fœta armis: mediæque minans illabitur urbi."

We believe that these persons whom we ask you to enfranchise ought rather to be welcomed as if they were recruits to your army. We ask you to give within what we consider a just limit of prudence and circumspection. Consider what you can safely and justly offer to do in admitting new subjects and citizens within the pale of the Parliamentary Constitution; and having so considered it, do not do it as if you were compounding with dangerous persons, but as if you were conferring a boon, which will be felt and reciprocated by a feeling of grateful attachment, by new interest in our Constitution, by a beneficent working of the law of nature and Providence, begetting new attachment to the Constitution—attachment of the people to the Throne and laws under which we live, which is, after all, more than your gold and silver, and more than your fleets and armies, at once the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land."

The reception which the measure met with at its first promulgation was somewhat ambiguous. By members of decidedly Liberal opinions, it was welcomed with much satisfaction as a fair and honest measure, which would open the door to a large number of the unenfranchised community, and would satisfy the reasonable demands of the people. Among those who offered a cordial support were Mr. Bright, Sir F. Crossley, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Baines, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Acland, and Captain Grosvenor. On the other hand the Bill was vigorously denounced as a democratic and dangerous measure by some of the Conservative members, among whom were Mr. Whiteside, Lord Cranborne, Mr. J. Hardy, and Lord Robert Montagu. Occupying an intermediate position between the two was a section of the Liberal party comprising some very able and eloquent speakers, among whom Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman were conspicuous, who manifested at the outset a strong disapprobation of the Government measure, and regarded it as a step in the direction of Democracy, which was fraught with dangerous consequences. This section of the House became much distinguished in the debates which afterwards took place on the Bill; and the division in the Liberal party which arose from their opposition contributed more than any other cause to the ultimate defeat of the Government. On the evening of the introduction of the Bill, Mr. Laing declared himself a dissentient from the policy of the Government, of which he was usually a supporter. He said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had himself shown the impolicy of dealing in a hurried and precipitate manner with a measure which required the most grave and cautious consideration. He was indisposed to reopen a question which he thought had been satisfactorily settled many years since; and he objected to a Bill which, while professing to amend the representation of the people, gave as many members to Honiton as to Liverpool, Manchester, Edin-

burgh, Glasgow, or Dublin. He admitted that he was elected to support Lord Palmerston's policy, but he contended that the present was a measure which that statesman would not have sanctioned.

Mr. Horsman followed on the same side. He complimented Mr. Laing on his speech, which he regarded as sound and constitutional. The address of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the contrary, when divested of its rhetorical embellishments and revealed in its incongruous proportions, was nothing more nor less than another bid for power, another promise made to be broken, another political fraud and parliamentary juggle; and, as a whole, a combination of weakness, incapacity, and failure. The Bill was brought forward to meet the exigencies of a single statesman. It contained no great principle, it would settle nothing, but unsettle much, for it was based upon the old and stale device of Government by numbers. The sound, strong, masculine, English common sense of Lord Palmerston would never have sanctioned a measure which had so little to recommend it and so much to which exception might be taken. It was the Bill of Lord Russell and Mr. Bright forced upon an unwilling Cabinet, and found no response in the country, because the people had no confidence in the sincerity of the member for Birmingham. He recommended the Liberal party to consider their position, and he exhorted the new House to show itself equal to its first duty—namely, to vindicate the supremacy of constitutional opinions, and spurn the dictation of a democratic minority.

But the most prominent of those who, on this occasion, seceded from the side of the Ministry, was Mr. Lowe, whose speeches, marked by uncommon vigour of argument and felicity of expression, made a forcible impression on the House, and were eagerly welcomed by the opponents of the Bill. On this occasion he contended that the proposal for increasing the county franchise by 172,000, and the voters in towns by 204,000 would increase the expense of elections, and make extensive changes in the distribution of political power. He complained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not stated a single ground which justified the introduction of the Bill. He had not proved that the working classes were at present excluded from the franchise; for the returns just collected by the Government showed that a considerable percentage of them were already voters. For many years past, owing to the discovery of gold in Australia and California, and owing to the great emigration which had taken place, the condition of the working classes had gradually improved, and the result was that a process of spontaneous enfranchisement had grown up and was going steadily forward. He believed that process would continue, and that the tendency of the present system would eventually be to put the working classes in the majority. The Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared to be of opinion that a constituency could not be too large, so long as improper people were not admitted to

it. Before bringing in a Bill to alter the constitution of the House, the Government ought to have instituted a minute and careful examination into its present state. If the character of constituencies out of doors was lowered, the members sent to the House would be of a lower class too, and the tone of public men would likewise be lowered. He warned the House, therefore, how it allowed constituencies to become too democratic. Having pointed out what he considered to be the shortcomings of the House of Commons, the right hon. gentleman said that in 1832 there was a practical grievance, but that in 1866 the grievance was altogether theoretical. There was now no pressure from without from the working classes.

Mr. Lowe, after some further observations, concluded by saying that he was prepared to consider any measure which might be brought forward for the improvement of the House of Commons, but he could not see in the present proposition any thing which would accomplish that object. On the contrary, he believed that the measure was of a dangerous and revolutionary character, and that although it might hereafter be the pride of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he had carried it through Parliament, he (Mr. Lowe) would always find gratification in the reflection that he had resisted it.

Mr. Villiers contended, in reply to the arguments of Mr. Lowe, that Parliament was pledged to deal with the question of Reform, and reminded that right hon. gentleman that he himself had declared that "no reform would be satisfactory that did not reduce the franchise." The present was not, he thought, a fortunate moment to cast a slur upon the working classes, after the fortitude and endurance which they had recently exhibited in the manufacturing districts. The Government had brought in a simple Bill to lower the franchise, because they were persuaded that under existing circumstances it would not be possible to carry a more extensive measure in the present Session.

Mr. Fawcett, in an able maiden speech, declared his warm approval of the Bill, as a wise and just concession to the claims of the working classes. He deprecated the personal tone adopted by Mr. Horsman in his speech, and commented on the inconsistency between Mr. Lowe's present attitude and the political course he had up to this time pursued. He would put to him a simple question; and if he could not answer it satisfactorily, his reasoning, however profound, would not much influence the country. The question was, Did not Mr. Lowe join in that combination which declared that no Government was worthy of the confidence of the country, unless it reduced the borough franchise? Further, Had he not been a distinguished member of a Government which came into office expressly to carry an extension of the franchise? And did he not sit on the Treasury Bench when an extension of the suffrage was proposed much wider than the present Bill? But, so far as Mr. Lowe was concerned, he asked how it was that he had

taken office under an Administration which had deposed Lord Derby's Government because it had not been liberal enough in the matter of Reform? The right hon. gentleman had read his Bentham, studied Aristotle, and sojourned in Australia before he took office; and if he had changed his mind since then, why had he not told the House what it was that had wrought the change?

Mr. Bright was willing to give a hearty support to the Bill, because he believed that, although not perfect, it would settle the question of Reform for a time. He would be glad, when the Bill reached the Committee, to see the county franchise reduced from 14*l.* to 10*l.*, as proposed by Lord Derby; and if the Opposition wished to obtain a triumph over the Government, and at the same time show their consistency, they would support such a proposition. Had he been consulted by the framers of the Bill, he would not have given it his sanction, or, had he been a Minister of the Crown, he would not have prepared it, because he did not consider it went far enough; but it was an honest and a simple measure, and he would not undertake the responsibility of rejecting it. He advised the House to accept it, lest hereafter they might have to make far greater concessions. In reference to the course taken in the debate on this Bill by Mr. Horsman and Mr. Lowe, the hon. gentleman commented on the announcement by Mr. Lowe in 1859 of the expediency of reducing the franchise, and said the right hon. gentleman must have a very short memory when he trifled with this House. He was afraid that when men changed their opinions after fifty years of age, there was not much chance of their turning back again. He could not with much hope appeal to Mr. Lowe or to his colleague, Mr. Horsman, and he did not know whether he could appeal to Lord Elcho, who, with the exception of the member for Salisbury, was the only member on this side of the House who cheered the sentiments of the two right hon. gentlemen. "What (said Mr. Bright) is the reason these gentlemen, who had been holders of office, take this course against the Government Bill? I will not deal in any insinuations, but I will say that, from gentlemen who held office with Ministers in this country, but happened to be left out of what may be called the daily ministrations, we had a right to expect a very minute account of the reasons why they change their opinions before we can turn round and change with them. These are the gentlemen who all at once start up as the great teachers of statesmanship in the House and the country. What I complain of is this, that when place recedes into the somewhat dim past, that which in office was deemed patriotism vanishes with it. Last night Mr. Horsman made an attack upon so humble an individual as myself. He is the first of the new party who has expressed his great grief, who has retired into what may be called his political cave of Adullam, and he has called about him every one that was in distress and every one that was discontented. The right hon. gentleman has been long anxious to form a party in this House. He has made

efforts to bring over many members to his party or cabal, and lastly he has succeeded in hooking Mr. Lowe. A Cabinet Minister had once said that two men would make a party. When a party is formed of two men so amiable—so discreet—as the two right hon. gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in Parliament a party perfectly harmonious and distinguished by mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one difficulty which it is impossible to remove. This party of two is like the Scotch terrier, so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head and which was the tail. The right hon. member for Calne told us that he had some peculiar election experiences. There are some men who make discord wherever they appear. The right hon. gentleman on going down to Kidderminster got into some unpleasing altercation with somebody, and it ended with having his head broken. But I am happy to say, and the House will bear witness, that with regard to his power now, it is probably as strong as before he took his leave of Kidderminster and went to Calne, a village in the West of England. The right hon. gentleman found on the list of electors about 174 names, of whom, according to the blue-book, about seven were working men. But the real constituent of the right hon. gentleman is the Marquis of Lansdowne; and he could send in his butler or his groom, instead of the right hon. gentleman, to represent the borough. I think in one sense—regarding the right hon. gentleman as an intellectual gladiator in this House—we are much indebted to the Marquis of Lansdowne that he did not do that.

Lord Cranborne argued that an 8*l.* franchise would give 22 boroughs returning 40 members to the working classes, and a 7*l.* franchise 47 boroughs returning 80 members. He calculated that the measure would give altogether 133 members to the working classes. To these might be added 35 other members who would be given to the boroughs by a redistribution of seats, hereafter making a total of 168, which would be a majority of all the boroughs in England and Wales.

Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

It may be mentioned that the reference made by Mr. Bright in the above speech to the Cave of Adullam was regarded as so appropriate, that it fastened a distinctive appellation upon those to whom he applied it. Those Liberal members who withheld their support from the Government measure became familiarly known as the "Adullamites," or the party of the "Cave," and frequent allusions will be found to them by this name in the debates which followed.

Among those who took a leading part in this secession was Earl Grosvenor, who, in the interval which preceded the next stage of the measure, gave notice that on the second reading of the Electoral Franchise Bill, he should submit an amendment to the effect that the House was of opinion that it was inexpedient to consider the Bill for the reduction of the franchise until it had before

it the whole scheme of the Government for the amendment of the representation of the people.

This announcement was received with loud cheers by the Opposition.

Sir W. Hutt also gave notice that, in the event of the House going into committee on the Bill, he should move as a proviso to the first clause, that the Act should not commence or take effect until after provision should have been made for such redistribution of seats in the counties, cities, and boroughs of England and Wales as Parliament might deem expedient, and that that Act should, with the other, be construed as one Act.

The latter notice of amendment was afterwards withdrawn, but on the former a very important movement took place, the united Conservative party combining with the Adullamite section, which gradually received more adherents, to oblige the Government to abandon the course which they had chosen, of proceeding in the first instance with the Franchise Bill alone, and to compel them to disclose their intentions with respect to the other great portion of their scheme, the redistribution of seats.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer early declared the intention of the Government to meet the proposed amendment with a direct negative. The motion of Earl Grosvenor would be resisted upon two grounds—first, because it said one thing and meant another; and secondly, because it was undoubtedly a distinct vote of want of confidence in the existing Administration. As to the propriety of postponing legislation on the subject of Reform until a Bill had been introduced for the redistribution of seats, the Government were not unwilling to give a promise that after the second reading of the Bill, and before going into committee, they would state their intentions with respect to the franchise in Scotland and Ireland. These would be put into the form of a Bill, and would be laid on the table, to be regarded merely, however, as information for the House, inasmuch as the intention of the Government was to prosecute the Reform Bill until its fate was determined.

Earl Grosvenor justified his intended resolution on the ground that the feeling of the House was in favour of considering the subject as a whole.

In the course of a somewhat sharp discussion which took place on the same evening in reference to the Government scheme, Lord R. Montagu, replying to some observations of Mr. C. Villiers, referred to the right hon. gentleman as the "pretended friend" of the working classes, and urged the necessity of having the whole scheme of the Government relating to the representation of the people before the House.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, desiring to be guided by the precedent of the Act of 1832, was not of opinion that any such preliminary measure was necessary. Referring to the remark which had fallen from Lord Robert Montagu, the right hon. gentleman retorted upon the noble lord the phrase he had applied

to Mr. Villiers as the "pretended friend" of the working classes; and declared that, if the working men whom the noble lord and others seemed to dread as an invading and destroying army, instead of their own flesh and blood, were introduced into the House, they would set him an example both of courtesy and good breeding.

The phrases used on this occasion by Mr. Gladstone were referred to with some sharpness in the subsequent discussions on the Bill.

Lord Cranborne entreated the Chancellor of the Exchequer to let the House know who their new masters were to be. In proposing so great an alteration, it was right to ask for information as to the extent of the change that was to take place, the number of new voters to be introduced, the class of the community to which they belonged, and how far they represented the wealth and numbers of the country.

The motion for the second reading of the Franchise Bill with Lord Grosvenor's amendment upon it, was fixed for an early day after the re-assembling of the House subsequently to the Easter recess; but in the meantime some movements of considerable importance in their bearing upon the question of Reform took place in the country. Numerous public meetings were held in the large centres of population in favour of the measure of the Government, and resolutions were passed recording the earnest desire of these assemblies to see the Bill passed into a law. The most important of these provincial gatherings took place at Liverpool, where Mr. Gladstone was entertained at a great banquet given by the Liberal electors of the town, at which the Duke of Argyll, Lord Clarence Paget, Mr. Göschen, M.P., as well as several of the leading merchants and residents at Liverpool, were present. This was followed by a great public meeting held at the Amphitheatre at which a resolution was proposed by Mr. W. Rathbone in the following terms:—"That this meeting agrees that the Bill to extend the right of voting at elections for members of Parliament in England and Wales, proposed by Her Majesty's Government and now before the House of Commons, deserves general and hearty support as an honest and practicable proposal towards an amendment of the laws relating to the representation of the people." On both these occasions Mr. Gladstone addressed his numerous auditories in language of great energy and eloquence, in which he descanted on the justice and expediency of the measure proposed by the Government, and on the fallacy and weakness of the arguments used by its opponents, and expressed the firm and resolute intention of Earl Russell's Cabinet to stand or fall by the Bill. The second of these speeches he concluded in these terms:—"I am sorry that at this moment immediate danger to the measure that the Government has introduced should proceed from a name honoured in the lists of the aristocracy. A notice of motion has been given by Lord Grosvenor for the purpose of defeating the

Bill; and we are told, and, as the announcement has been publicly made without contradiction, we are, I suppose, truly told, that that notice is to be seconded by Lord Stanley. I know not two individuals more entitled to respect and honour in the position they occupy; but I am bound to say that I think a more deplorable arrangement was never made. A more gross blunder never was committed than when, in the councils of political party, with that kind of cleverness which so often outwits itself, it was determined that the representatives of two of our noblest and most ancient houses should come forward combinedly for the purpose of defeating an act of grace, and what is likewise an act of justice to the great community of the country. However, gentlemen, much lamenting that unhappy instance, I am persuaded that that is not to be taken as an indication that there will be a fundamental change in that wise moderation which has hitherto for the most part distinguished the conduct of the most favoured members of society, those upon whom the bounties of Providence have been poured out in the largest abundance. I do not think that that movement, formidable though it be, is likely to succeed. We have framed a measure, I think, in the strictest spirit of moderation. We do not desire, we should be the first to resist, sudden and violent sweeping changes; but the progressive enlargement of the popular franchise—with due regard to the state and circumstances of the country—we consider not to be liable to the application of any of these epithets. Having produced this measure, framed in a spirit of moderation, we hope to support it with decision. It is not in our power to secure the passing of the measure; that rests more with you, and more with those whom you represent, and of whom you are a sample, than it does with us; still, we have a great responsibility, and are conscious of it, and we do not intend to flinch from it. We stake ourselves—we stake our existence as a Government; whether it be worth much or little, is not for us to say, but such as it is we stake it, and we also stake our political character on the adoption of the Bill in its main provisions. You have a right to expect from us that we should tell you what we mean, and that the trumpet which it is our business to blow, shall give forth no uncertain sound. Its sound has not been, and I trust will not be, uncertain. We have passed the Rubicon, we have broken the bridge and burned the boats behind us. We have advisedly cut off the means of retreat; and having done this, we hope that,as far as time has yet permitted, we have done our duty to the Crown and the nation. The result, gentlemen, is in other hands than ours. I beseech you, I beseech all reflecting Englishmen in whose hands by the well-understood Constitution of our country the ultimate settlement of this great issue is lodged, to consider what the future is to be. I cannot doubt, from the extraordinary working and movement of society, that there is on the part of the masses of the community a forward and onward movement, which will be perfectly safe and harmless,

and infinitely profitable, if we only deal with it wisely and in time. But read the signs of the times—the voice that spoke as man never spoke rebuked those in authority who could not read the signs of the times. Does any man really suppose that the political limit signified by the number 10 is to be for ever and ever, from generation to generation, the limit within which all are to enjoy, but beyond which every man is to be deprived of the enjoyment of the franchise? Certainly not. The defeat of the Bill, what would it procure? an interval, but not an interval of repose—an interval of fever, an interval of expectation, an interval for the working of those influences which might possibly extend even to the formidable dimensions of political danger. Let the great English nation be wise, and be wise in time. Let it not, through any unwise dallying, through any unwise neglect of an opportunity as favourable, I believe, as was ever offered to the Legislature, and, through the influence of weak, or cowardly, or selfish apprehensions, refuse the granting of a boon which, I am firmly persuaded, if granted now, will be received as a boon in a spirit of gratitude, and tend to increase the attachment of the people to the institutions of the country and its rulers. Let them not convert what is for their own advantage into an occasion of danger and of evil; but let them, in regard to the duty of the day and the prospects of the future, rally round us and strengthen us for the task which we have in hand. If they so rally round us, whatever difficulties may lie in our way will soon be surmounted; and the next time we meet in these now crowded halls it will be to congratulate one another on the passing of this measure into law, and on the evident fruits which it may have begun to produce in the augmented contentment, attachment, and loyalty of the people."

The great contest of the Session commenced on the 12th of April, and the debate then begun was continued by adjournments for eight nights. It was characterized by marked ability: perhaps no occasion in recent times has produced so conspicuous a display of Parliamentary oratory. Opposed to the Ministers were not only their usual adversaries in the compact ranks of the Conservative party, but also that formidable section of the Liberal party who ranged themselves under the banner of Earl Grosvenor; and who, though not so strong numerically as they were in talent and eloquence, proved a very powerful auxiliary to the Opposition party. Out of the long catalogue of speeches, it would be invidious to particularize those which were pre-eminent in force of argument or power of expression, but we shall attempt to give a fair specimen of the discussion by presenting a summary of those speeches which expressed most characteristically the views of the various sections of the House on this important question. The Chancellor of the Exchequer began the debate by moving the second reading of the Bill. Premising that his former speech had been censured because it contained no substantial reasons for introducing the measure at this moment—an omission which, he said, if it existed, was

prompted by the desire of the Government to avoid any thing which would prematurely give the question the character of a party conflict—he reminded the House that he had then referred to the previous history of the question, and the various attempts which had been made to settle the question, to show that all parties were deeply committed to Reform. He referred again to these events, reminding Mr. Horsman that he had been one of those who strenuously pressed on the Government a piecemeal Reform like Mr. Locke King's Bill, and read a passage from Mr. Disraeli's speech in 1859 committing his Government to a reduction of the borough franchise. Pledges such as these, he contended, could not be retracted; they constituted an engagement between the people and the leading statesmen of the country, which must be fulfilled. He combated the delusion of the Conservative party that the Bill was adverse to their interests, regretting that they should have fallen into it, and created much amusement by reading a passage from the current "Quarterly Review" purporting to give an account of the secret motives of the introduction of this Bill, which, by an apt Shakspearian quotation, he characterized as a gross and palpable fiction. In justifying the decision of the Government to bring in a Bill, he pointed out that since 1832 Parliament had been engaged in constant efforts, by promoting education, fostering prudential habits, and unfettering the Press, to fit the people for political privileges, and asked the House whether it would refuse to complete the work which it had thus been long preparing. He next canvassed the arguments against the Bill, beginning with that which objected to the transfer of the government of the country to the class which did not bear the cost of it, asserting that the working classes, while they only possessed now one-seventh of electoral power, paid five-twelfths of the taxation. He denied that working men would act together as a class, appealing in proof to the working of the municipal franchise, and to the fact that eight boroughs in which they had now the majority returned five Liberal and nine Conservative members. Under this Bill he calculated that they would have the command of 120 seats against 538 elected by the other classes in the community, whereas before the Reform Bill of 1832 they had 130 seats; and from this he drew the conclusion that the Bill would not involve any transfer of power, and that it was not opposed to the interests of the Conservative party. He dealt next with the allegation that the working classes were being gradually admitted to the franchise by a kind of self-acting process, quoting statistics to show that of late years there had been a great slackening in the enlargement of the 10*l.* constituency. Having expressed an individual opinion that a further reduction of the franchise would not be dangerous, though he preferred to adhere to the Constitutional course of gradual progress, he explained that though the Government, in deference to the representations of some of their supporters, had agreed to explain their views on redistribution before the Com-

mittee, they would not proceed with any other part of the subject until the fate of this Bill was determined, and pointed out that, as the new electors could not get on the Register until June, 1867, there was ample time for the present constituencies to settle both branches of the question. After some remarks on Mr. Lowe's references to the working classes, he concluded by an impassioned appeal to the House not to delay a settlement of the question.

Lord Grosvenor then moved his amendment, affirming the inexpediency of considering this Bill until the House had before it the whole scheme for amending the representation. After referring to the personal attacks on himself, and the threats which had been held out to the dissentient Liberals by the organs of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, he justified the course he was taking by the example of Lord Russell in 1859, and by the concession which the Government had made within the last few days; and he quoted from former speeches of Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone against the separation of the two branches of the subject. He repudiated the charge of deserting his party, arguing that it rested rather with the Government, which, neglecting its natural supporters, had fashioned their Bill at the dictation of the party below the gangway, and predicted that no Bill would pass which was framed with such an utter disregard to the views of the Conservative and the Whig parties. He denied emphatically that the resolution had been drawn by a Tory hand, and, in dealing with the objections to the course proposed by the Government, pointed out that the present anomalies of the electoral system would be increased by the Bill, taken by itself, and lamented that it would delay the complete measure which he, in common with the majority of the House, desired to see passed. Differing from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he maintained that the working classes were gradually and silently finding their way into the electoral body—a process which, by the passing of this Bill, would be converted into a precipitate transfer of political power into the hands of one class. He advocated the withdrawal of the question from the domain of party, and expressed a strong conviction that, though many members might not be able to shake off their allegiance to their leaders on this occasion, his amendment had the sanction of the great bulk of the Liberal party.

Lord Stanley seconded the amendment, animadverting strongly on the distrust of the House of Commons shown by the Government in refusing to disclose their views on the redistribution of seats until they had pledged the House on the extension of the franchise, although they now allowed that the two branches must be considered together. He predicted that such a transparent device would not conciliate any opposition, and warned the House that, even if it saw the Government plan of redistribution before passing this Bill, there would be no security that the identical plan would be produced next year, or that this Parliament or this Government would be in existence to pass it. The course taken

by the Government, he argued, destroyed all guarantees that the same body would settle both branches of the question; and in referring to the abuse showered on the supporters of the amendment, which he treated with indifference, he drew a significant inference as to the amount of individual liberty of judgment which would be allowed under a Reform *régime*. Having shown the inconveniences which would be produced by the proposed enlargement of constituencies, and the difficulties the Bill would place in the way of redistributing seats, he asserted that the amendment did not involve any disapproval of Reform, nor of the provisions of this Bill, although the manner in which it was brought forward precluded any criticism or correction of its details, and he recommended that this Bill should be withdrawn, so that a comprehensive measure might be introduced at the very beginning of next Session.

Sir E. Bulwer Lytton commenced a speech of much brilliancy by drawing a distinction between the reforming and revolutionary provisions of a Bill of this character, complaining that of the first class the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not given the House a single glimpse, while he had vastly underrated the revolutionary effects of his Bill. While acknowledging to the fullest extent the social claims of the working classes, and recognizing the many virtues of Democracy—though he did not believe it fitted for a country like this—he stated with great force the objections to the preponderance in an electoral system of any one class, and proved by an elaborate argument that this Bill would give the upper hand to the working classes in our representative system, and must lead to the goal of Democracy. He dilated on the practical inconveniences in foreign policy and other matters of the predominance of the democratic element in a Chamber which possessed so much authority over the Executive as the House of Commons, showing that in foreign Legislatures elected by universal suffrage such questions were withdrawn from their control. Turning to the provisions of the Bill, he censured its incompleteness and its uniformity of suffrage, maintaining that its manner of dealing with the question deprived the House of any guarantee that the plan of redistribution which the Government were to submit before the next stage would be the plan submitted next year for actual adoption, and expressed a doubt whether, having by this Bill swamped or abolished the present constituencies, and having thus to some extent lost its representative character, the House would have a right to deal with the redistribution of seats. Addressing himself in the conclusion of his speech to the Liberal party, Sir B. Lytton turned on them Mr. Gladstone's advice "to be wise in time," and described in felicitous language the motives which ought to guide the decision of this question.

Mr. J. S. Mill described the upshot of the arguments for the amendment as amounting simply to an objection to allow the 7*l.* householders to influence the redistribution of seats, and made

light of the scruples which, while committing to them taxation and other functions of Government, feared to trust them with a revision of the representation. He welcomed this Bill, even unaccompanied by any other measure, as a valuable gain, and professed himself entirely uninfluenced by any terror of the admission of the working classes. He asserted that, so far from being a step towards Democracy, this was in fact a Conservative measure, as embodying a representation of classes rather than of numbers, and argued that the interests of the working men never had been, and never could be, fairly explained and discussed, unless they had a larger and more direct representation. Appealing to the example of the United States, he denied that it was a characteristic of Democracy to be obstinate or unteachable, expressing his belief that the working classes would correct their faults more readily than any other class when warned of them in a friendly and sincere spirit, and enumerated various measures for the repression of ignorance, disease, pauperism, and crime which a larger admission of working-class representation would enable the House of Commons to handle with greater effect.

Mr. Laing, advocating the views of what was called the "Adullamite" section of the Liberal party, denied that the amendment meant any thing but that Reform ought to be treated in a comprehensive spirit; and redistribution, he asserted, ought to be, and had on every previous occasion been, considered an indispensable portion of a Reform Bill. Though not attributing great weight to the pledges of which so much had been made, he allowed that the settlement of Reform was inevitable, and defined the problem to be to admit the working classes without giving them preponderance—the difficulty arising not from their want of morality or intelligence, but from their overwhelming numbers. This, he contended, the Government had made no attempt to solve. He quoted from Mr. Bright's speeches to illustrate the ulterior ends of the Democratic school, and, after a short digression in eulogy of the reformed Parliament, made a vigorous attack on the Bill, dwelling specially on its one-sidedness, its want of checks and balances, and the uniformity of its suffrage. After a careful analysis of Mr. Gladstone's statistics as to the income and taxation of the working classes, he predicted that under a Democratic Constitution the hard-won victories of Free Trade and non-intervention would not long be safe, and earnestly exhorted the moderate Liberals not to prefer party to their country's interests.

Sir Hugh Cairns delivered one of the ablest and most argumentative speeches from the Conservative side of the House. He applied himself mainly to the determination of the Constitutional principle of representation, concluding therefrom that the House of Commons was intended to be the mirror of the people, not according to numbers, but to classes and interests. From this he drew the inference that the spirit of the Constitution should be preserved by maintaining the balance of interests and classes,

and that the fitness of individuals formed no claim to representation. The admission of the great body of the working class, he contended, would disturb the balance of the Constitution; but all admitted they ought to have a fair representation, and as the statistics proved that they now possessed a substantial representation, the question was reduced to this, "Was this representation sufficient?" He reminded the House that Mr. Gladstone had justified the rejection of the 6*l.* franchise because it would put the working classes in a majority of the borough constituencies; and he said that Mr. Gladstone had, by a miscalculation, omitted 20,000 from the number of voters to be admitted to the franchise, and that the very contingency he shrank from,—the predominance of the working classes,—was secured by a 7*l.* franchise. He contended also that the Bill would give the working classes the representation of the majority of boroughs, and that in a balanced state of parties this would give them the command of the Legislature. While admitting that working men might differ in their politics like other classes, he believed that on questions affecting their special interests they would band together, and particularly whenever motions might be made for a further extension of the suffrage—in fact, the Bill was a measure for the attainment of universal suffrage by easy stages. The redistribution of seats, he maintained, was the key of the whole question, and the House could not understand the effect of what it might do in passing this Bill until they saw the interpretation which now with so much want of confidence was withheld from it. He pointed out that Mr. Mill's argument, that a constituency trusted with taxation and other functions of Government, might be trusted to redistribute the seats, begged the whole question; and that the issue to be feared was, that the constituency to be created by the Bill was not fit to be trusted with taxation and other important functions. He concluded by expressing his strong disapprobation of the tactics of the Ministers and their allies.

Lord Elcho, another leading member of the dissentient Liberal section, censured the precipitancy with which the Bill had been introduced, and the "wild sentimentalism" with which it was advocated, as well as the habit the supporters of the Bill had fallen into of endeavouring to damage the Opposition by all kinds of groundless accusations. In reference to his own position on this question he reminded the House that he had voted for Lord Derby's Reform Bill, when but for the great bulk of the Liberal party the question would have been settled; and, adverting to a remark of Lord Russell at the recent meeting of the Liberal party, he explained his motives for desiring to move for a Commission, denying that he was actuated by any hostility to the Government, and stating that he communicated his views at length to a member of the Cabinet soon after Lord Palmerston's death. Turning to the position of the question itself, he pointed out that the argument derived from its long agitation bore against the Bill, inas-

much as if there had been any real desire for Reform, not fourteen years, but fourteen months would have been sufficient to carry it; and denied that Parliament was pledged to Reform, quoting in proof Sir George Grey's speech last Session, Lord Palmerston's election address, and an analysis of the present Parliament in reference to Reform from the "Leeds Mercury." He objected to the Bill because it said one thing and would do another, and because it dealt only with one branch of the subject. It would, in the course of a few years, give the entire preponderance to the working classes, and this he objected to—not from any hostility to the working classes, which he earnestly repudiated, but because the balance of the Constitution would be endangered by the preponderance of any class. After showing by quotations from various manifestoes of the Reform League that this would not be accepted as a settlement of the question, he described the arguments in favour of the Bill to be simply three—defamation of opponents, fear of constituencies, and fealty to party. In noticing the abuse which had been showered on supporters of the amendment, he mentioned that he and Mr. Lowe, when in office together under Lord Aberdeen, had agreed to go out and vote against the 6*l.* franchise as soon as the Bill of that Government got into Committee; and in reference to the "Cave of Adullam" he assured the Government that the band congregated there was daily and hourly increasing, and would aid in delivering the House from the tyranny and oppression of "Saul (Mr. Gladstone) and his armour-bearer" (Mr. Bright). He contended that it was a false fealty to party which led a man to vote for the Bill against his conscience, asserting that the bulk of the Liberal party agreed in private with him, and would give but a sullen and compulsory allegiance to the Government, and that when they had made it all "square" with their constituents they would take every opportunity of tripping up the Bill in Committee. He read an effective quotation from Guizot on Liberal tyranny, predicted that the moderate Liberals would hereafter thank Lord Grosvenor for saving the party, and concluded by urging the House not to lend a hand in converting the liberty of our kingly commonwealth into a democratic tyranny.

Mr. Hughes supported the Bill as an honest attempt to extend the franchise—the most important part of Reform,—and because (according to the opinion of an influential man among them) it would admit a large body of the best of the working classes. He defended Trades Unions and their leaders from imputations which had been made against them, described the great results which had been achieved by co-operative societies, and argued that if the working classes had been more directly represented in the House, it would have been able to deal more effectually with such questions as the relations between workmen and employers, the improvement of dwellings, the restriction of noxious trades, and the like. He derided the notion that the working classes were not as much divided on political matters as any other class,

and urged the national importance of riveting their adherence to the Constitution by this concession.

Mr. Horsman said that his objection to the Bill was founded on the downward reduction of the franchise on the principle of government by numbers—a principle which led directly to universal suffrage. By numerous references to former speeches and Parliamentary conflicts of a similar character, he vindicated the consistency of the Liberal supporters of the amendment, and protested against any Government Bill being converted into a Reform test. He denied that he or his friends had ever advocated a comprehensive scheme of Reform; but now that the Government professed to be ready with such a scheme they asked to see it at once. Turning to the question of confidence, he denied that Lord Grosvenor's motion was intended as a vote of want of confidence. The Liberals who supported that motion had a general confidence in the Government, but they had no confidence in the Bill, still less in the means adopted to force it on the House; and in commenting on this point he censured in strong terms Mr. Gladstone's speeches in the provinces, and particularly the unprecedented spectacle he had offered of a Minister descending to the part of an agitator—disparaging the House of which he was the official leader. Referring to the words then used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the Government had "broken their bridges and burnt their boats," Mr. Horsman described them as beaten and desperate men.

Mr. Bright commenced by pointing out how perilous a thing it was that the heirs of two of the most powerful houses in the country should lead the opposition to this moderate measure, predicting that the success of such a coalition might dissociate the great body of the Whig nobility from the popular cause, and warning them that in a contest between the popular party on one side and the nobility on the other the first must surely win. He maintained that the speeches of Lord Grosvenor and Lord Stanley rested on an opposition to the extension of the suffrage; and of Lord Stanley's speech he observed that it showed an extraordinary distrust of the Government, of the House of Commons, and of the people, and that every thing that was true in it was unimportant, and every thing that was important was not true. Referring to the share attributed to him in the separation of the two branches of the question, he stated that some seven years ago, in conversing with Lord Russell, he had remarked that the best mode of dealing with the subject was to bring in a Franchise Bill, and a few months back he had repeated the advice at a meeting at Rochdale. His reason for this was that the gist of all the pledges made on this subject was not to redistribute seats, but that at an early day the working classes should be admitted in some fair numbers to the franchise. The question of redistribution did not affect any special class; the settlement of it was not necessary to do justice to any particular class, consequently, it was not so urgent as the extension of the franchise. Another reason was, that this course

lessened the chance of combining all classes of opposition to the Bill; and the best justification was, that, with one exception, no members for the small boroughs which were likely to be in Schedule A were spoken of as being likely to desert their party on this occasion. The very reason why the House was now called on to deal with Reform was the sense entertained in the country that the number of electors was too small for a fair representation of the people; and as another proof of the predominant importance of the extension of the franchise, he instanced Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill, which, though it admitted 500,000 new electors to the franchise, only redistributed fifteen seats, and quoted from the speeches of Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, condemning that Bill, as a warning to the Opposition that Mr. Disraeli and Lord Stanley were not safe guides in this matter. Turning to the Bill, he controverted the accuracy of the Government statistics as to the proportion of the working men now possessing the franchise, instancing the cases of Newark, Wakefield, and Stoke-upon-Trent. He calculated that the Bill would only admit 116,000 working men, and would give but one-fourth of the electoral power in the boroughs to the class which formed three-quarters of the people, and would leave 4,000,000 adult males entirely destitute of political power. He described the operations of the Rochdale co-operative societies, mentioning that not above half a dozen of the men connected with the management of those extensive institutions possessed the franchise; and in dwelling upon the present position of the question he referred to the public meetings and the petitions in favour of the Bill, arguing that if the middle classes had been of opinion that it would produce all the evils predicated of it, they would have met and petitioned against it. After dwelling with great force on the importance of passing a moderate measure in a time of tranquillity, and denying (in contradiction to Sir H. Cairns) that the House of Commons had ever been based on the representation of classes, he likened the position of the working classes to that of the negroes under recent legislation in the United States, and asked the House whether it was prepared for ever to keep the bolt in the door which excluded the people from constitutional rights. The Bill might be rejected, but the Opposition, he argued, could not deal satisfactorily with the question, and not to deal with it would increase their difficulties. There never was a question, he maintained, connected with the Liberal party which it was more the interest of the Opposition to settle; and in opposing this moderate scheme they were either misled by their leaders, or else had driven their leaders into a pernicious course. After an earnest and animated vindication of his own career, he concluded with an eloquent eulogium of the Bill as a truly Conservative measure.

Mr. Lowe delivered a speech of great argumentative power against the Bill, objecting *in toto* to any reduction of the franchise or alteration in the constitution of the House. His arguments

were greeted with vociferous cheers from the Opposition side. He began by referring to the inconsistent statements which had been made by the supporters of the Bill with respect to its objects and principle. The President of the Board of Trade said its principle was to reduce the franchise, and the Solicitor-General for Scotland said the principle of the Bill was to fill up the blanks with the figures "7" and "14;" but these were shady-coloured views, which did not answer the question at all, because the "principle" of a Bill did not mean its tenour, but the grounds or reasons on which it is based. Now he could only imagine two supposed grounds for such a Bill, viz., 1st, that the franchise was a thing which ought to be given for its own sake; 2nd, that it was a means of attaining an ulterior object. According to these views the giving of the franchise would be merely the payment of a debt, and its refusal a denial of justice. Now such propositions flew so high, or sank so low, that they could not be dealt with by argument. Those who proposed them might be great philosophers and inspired apostles of a new religion, but their doctrines did not come within the range of the science or art of politics. He held that in conferring the franchise regard should be had not only to the fitness of the person, but to the influence which he might exercise over the well-being of the community, and that care should be taken that the franchise was given so that no one class should swamp the others. If he could ascertain what the Bill would do, what were the number of people to be enfranchised by it, and how their numbers were to be distributed, he should then get data from which he could argue as to what was its principle. But here he was met with a difficulty which was created by the Government themselves, and this was, that it was impossible for him to guide his vote by reference either to the number of people who were to have the franchise or to the manner in which they would be distributed. Although Government had withheld the information necessary to enable this House to form an opinion, they nevertheless demanded their vote upon the measure. He believed that this information was kept back from mere wantonness, with the purpose of seeing whether the House of Commons could not be made to pass under the yoke. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer said at Liverpool that "he knew the sort of people whom he had to deal with," what did that mean but that the House of Commons at large were people better known than trusted? Why, the very object of their putting their Bill and their own existence as a Government in peril was to humiliate and degrade the House in the eyes of the country. He had heard that one more concession was to be offered to the House. If they would only vote the second reading of the Bill in the dark to please the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then he would undertake that the two measures respecting the franchise and the redistribution of seats should go into committee and proceed *pari passu*, and that one should not pass without the other. That course might remove some objections, but it would not show that the House were

treated properly by the Government, and it would not remove any of the solid objections to the course that had been adopted. On the clearest grounds of self-respect and honour the House ought never to allow a Government to attempt any thing of the kind. As to the Bill, if it were passed, its immediate effect would be to transfer the election of the majority of the representatives of the boroughs in England and Wales to the working classes. In proposing this measure this House had throughout been treated more like condemned criminals than "friends in council." The right hon. gentlemen ought to have given his reasons for bringing in the Bill to the House in the first instance, instead of going down to Liverpool, stating them at the Philharmonic Hall, and then coming back to the House of Commons and giving them a languid *réchauffé* on the second reading. Referring to the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer founded upon the theory of the working classes being their fellow Christians and their own flesh and blood, he observed that there was not a person in the country who would not "profess and call himself Christian." That, therefore, was an argument for the admission of persons of both sexes to the franchise. And as to the "flesh and blood" argument, that might be used for constituting a Parliament of beasts. In short, the Bill was not founded on calculated results, but on a broad sweeping principle, originating in the doctrine of the rights of man, which, if it meant any thing, meant universal suffrage. He inferred, from the sweeping nature of the Bill, from the manner in which it had been forced on the House, the treatment the House had received, and the arguments by which the Bill had been supported, that it was founded upon the principle that the franchise was due to every one whom they could show was fit for it, and that the House were bound to shut their eyes to all consequences, disregard all considerations of expediency, and leave the constituencies so appointed to take care of themselves. Any thing more dangerous than this, could not be conceived. In reply to Mr. Mill's argument, that the working classes were not sufficiently represented, he cited passages from Mr. Mill's writings to show that he then considered those classes not sufficiently educated to be invested with the franchise. He pointed out the danger arising from the power of the working classes to combine for the accomplishment of their objects, and the ease with which trades unions might be converted into political organizations. Trades unions were far more unions against the best, most skilful, industrious, men themselves, than against the masters. They made war upon all superiority and skilled industry, and made them the slaves of clumsiness, idleness, and ignorance. And see what a tremendous machinery they would have if they only allowed them to possess the one thing they wanted—the parliamentary vote. Adopt this Bill, and there was no saying where they would stop in the downward direction of Democracy. Among the consequences which might be anticipated from it were the profession of politics as a last resource when every other had failed,

a disposition to war, opposition to Free Trade, and the concentration of power. Democratize the House of Commons, and it would not rest until it had swept away the institutions which now stood between it and the Throne, and supplied their places by other institutions deriving their origin directly from the people, and not having the *quasi* independence which those corporations and privileged classes now enjoyed. When that was done, they would have face to face, with nothing to break the shock between them, the Monarch for the time being and a great Democracy; and history had taught us little if we thought that those two powers would go on harmoniously.

Mr. Childers defended the Australian colonists against the charge of Mr. Lowe, that they were influenced by democratic tendencies. Speaking from personal experience, the result of a long residence in a colony, he awarded them the praise of loyalty and patriotism, and declared that such of their representatives in the Legislature as were Protectionists were returned by the country districts. To fix on Mr. Lowe the imputation of inconsistency, Mr. Childers also read extracts from speeches delivered by the right hon. member for Calne, containing sentiments the utterance of which he condemned in Mr. Bright, and in which he lauded the example of America, and described the British Parliament as blind, ignorant, and besottedly stupid.

Lord Cranborne repelled the charges made against the opponents of the Bill, and said that if Mr. Gladstone had any cause for imputing improper motives to them, he should have done so only on the floor of that House. Instead of that, however, he went to Liverpool, and there, before a select company, admitted by ticket, he said that the working classes were looked upon as an invading army. That was not consistent with the obligations which the leader of the House of Commons ought to accept. The odious charge made was, that the opponents of the Ministers wished to exclude the working classes from all share in political government. But the Government, having nothing to say in support of their own policy, found it convenient to throw dirt upon their opponents. In his opinion the House had heard a great deal too much about the working men, as if they were different from other Englishmen. In his view there were two classes of persons to whom the franchise had a money value—these who did not care about public affairs, and those who had an interest in promoting class or unjust legislation. If the franchise were entrusted to those who did not take an interest in public affairs, they would be liable to the temptation of treating it as a saleable commodity; whilst the others would regard it as especially adapted to enable them to carry out their peculiar political theories. The question of fitness was not to be assumed without proof; and it required careful consideration before the proposition was accepted that, because certain persons lay between two strata of the population, therefore they were fit for the franchise. But the House, he complained, were kept in ignorance of what the

new constituency was really to be; and, from what was known of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's opinions, they had little ground for confiding absolutely in him as to the supplementary measures he was likely to bring in to complete the entire scheme. It was said, however, that the House was pledged to Reform. What, he asked, was that pledge? If it had been made, surely it would be found in some document. But what were the grounds on which it was urged that the pledge had been given? True, there were a certain number of Queen's Speeches in which the question was referred to; but the House was not to be bound by them. Several Bills also had been introduced; but they had been either rejected or passed over; and it would be rather alarming to be told that, because a measure was passed over, therefore the House was pledged to the principle of that measure. In the concealment which had been preserved with regard to the remaining portions of the scheme there was something highly suspicious. He believed if the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have told them of schedules which would have recommended the measure to the House, he would have done so long ago. That concealment proved to him that there was matter behind, that would cause the majority of the House to recoil from it. He was not prepared, then, to follow a guide who said he was going into an unexplored region, but declined to state what he knew of its nature and its inhabitants, and would give no other information than that he had burnt his boats and broken down the bridges.

Mr. Disraeli said, before referring to Earl Grosvenor's amendment he would make one remark on the alleged reasons for the introduction of the Government measure. They were twofold,—Parliamentary pledges and Ministerial promises; the first must be fulfilled, the second have been violated. As to the first, he contended that no Parliament could be bound by the acts of its predecessors, except so far as they took the form of law, and even then it had the privilege of revision and amendment. But was Parliament pledged on this question? If ever there was one less pledged, it was the present Parliament. Its course, therefore, was perfectly free. Then, as to Ministerial promises, Lord Russell, as representative of the Whig party, had not only fulfilled his promises, but had done so at a great sacrifice. Thus, the charge of broken vows by Parliament and the Ministry was completely dissipated. Both Lord Russell and Lord Derby were animated by the same views and objects in battling against piecemeal reforms; but the curious thing was that Lord Russell, being now again Prime Minister, had himself introduced a measure of piecemeal reform. The origin of the present state of affairs was this—that sixteen or eighteen months ago, on a summer morning when the House was discussing the dreary subject of a reduction in the franchise, the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down and made a remarkable speech, in which he established the suffrage on the rights of man, and at the same time announced his conviction that the working classes possessed only an infinitesimal share of the franchise. This

declaration had been seized upon, and worked for their particular objects by the advanced party of reformers; and the result had been the measure before the House—a measure of piecemeal reform, to which he should give his opposition. His great objection to the Bill was, that he could not understand it, calculate its consequences, or fathom what might be the effect of its provisions, unless he saw the further measures that were said to have been promised. It would lead to such a confusion, that if it became the duty of Ministers to advise a dissolution of Parliament, they would have to hold an autumn session for the purpose of revising and modifying the Bill before they could dissolve. If passed alone, it would not only perpetuate the existing anomalies in the county representation, but augment them. He was perfectly ready to consider the question of extending the county franchise; but then it must be a county franchise—a suffrage exercised by those who had a natural relation to the property and industry of the county, and who would be members of the local community, not strangers. What security, however, had they, if they consented to the second reading of this Bill, that the subsequent measures which were necessary to enable them to understand the Bill would be proposed also? If they proceeded with this Bill without having the scheme of redistribution before them it would be impossible to come to any sensible and satisfactory decision as to the amount at which the county franchise should stand. He did not deny that, if this measure were passed, the country would have a great Parliament, containing the principal landed proprietors, manufacturers, and some merchants; but they would soon discover that they were losing their hold on the Executive. In proportion as their command over the Executive was diminished, the great proprietors and manufacturers would cease to belong to the House. Then they would be told that the House of Commons was no longer what it was. The franchise would again be extended; all command over the Executive would cease; and when that was the state of things they would have a hall of selfish and obsure mediocrities, incapable of anything but mischief, and that mischief devised and regulated by the raging demagogue of the hour. The question before the House was, not whether the working men should be introduced to the franchise, but whether the working of the English Constitution could be improved; and he was convinced that, although it was the opinion of the thoughtful, portion of the community that the choicest members of the working classes should form a part, and no unimportant part, of the estate of the Commons, they recoiled from attaining that result by an undistinguishing reduction of the franchise. He did not say that the working classes had their full share of the franchise; but before proceeding to invest them with it, the House ought to obtain accurate information; and above all, they should legislate in the spirit of the English Constitution, so that this House should remain a House of Commons, and not the house of the people

or of an indiscriminate multitude. In voting for this Bill they would act, not in the spirit of the British Constitution, but in the spirit of the Constitution of America. He denied the charges made by Mr. Bright against the Tory party, that they would plunge the country into war. On the contrary, theirs was a policy of peace, and he claimed for them the credit of having promoted measures for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes in the mine, the colliery, and the factory, when they were opposed with all his energy by the member for Birmingham. That gentleman was entitled to admiration for his indomitable energy, plain outspokenness, and candour, and he had a confederate on the Treasury Bench in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who did not display the like candour in that House, but went down to Liverpool and professed American principles in the widest acceptation of the term. It was because he wished to avert the calamities which must ensue from the establishment of our institutions upon such principles, that he should vote for the amendment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then rose, and in one of the most powerful speeches in which his eloquence was ever exhibited, replied to the various assaults which in the course of the eight nights' discussion had been made against the Government and their policy. "At last," he said, "we have obtained a declaration from an authoritative source, that a Bill which, in a country with 5,000,000 of adult males, proposes to add to a limited constituency 200,000 of the middle class and 200,000 of the working class, is, in the judgment of the leader of the Tory party, a Bill to reconstruct the Constitution upon American principles. Before proceeding further, I must clear away some misapprehensions which the right hon. gentleman has assisted to propagate. It has been asserted by some supporters of the amendment that they honour the memory of Lord Palmerston by describing him as the enemy of that which constitutes the essence of this Bill—the reduction of the franchise. I will read a few words which Lord Palmerston used when he spoke upon the Reform Bill of 1860. He said: 'That there were fundamental principles in that Bill which they could not consent to have infringed, or they would destroy the Bill altogether, and one main principle of the Bill was the reduction of the borough franchise.' It has been supposed that the life of Lord Palmerston was a security against the introduction of a measure of Reform. I think it not less due to Lord Palmerston than to his colleagues to say that, as far as I am aware, —and I presume that the right hon. gentleman will admit that if mischief had been brewing in the Cabinet on the subject I probably should have known it,—as far as I am aware, there never was a difference of opinion between Lord Palmerston and his colleagues upon the question of Reform. Lord Palmerston, a little while before his death, in a conversation with one of his colleagues, looking forward to the dissolution of Parliament, stated his opinion, 'that within a limited time it would be right for the Government

again to introduce the subject of Reform.'" Adverting to the charge that the Government had identified themselves with Mr. Bright, and that, whilst they were the responsible Ministers of the Crown, the member for Birmingham was their irresponsible adviser, the right hon. gentleman said that he should make no reply to that, except that the persons who were disposed to admit it must have minds, he would not say inaccessible to reason, but to any observations which he could make. It was no discredit to the Government that they should consult with the great organs of the different sections of the Liberal party. On the contrary, had they not done so, they would have been greatly culpable. The right hon. gentleman then replied to the observations of Mr. Lowe, insinuating that when he (Mr. Gladstone) had, at a public meeting, spoken of "the persons with whom he had to deal," he meant to disparage the members of this House. These words had no such meaning. "They referred," said the right hon. gentleman, "not to the House of Commons, but to certain depraved and crooked little men. I frankly own that I was speaking first and foremost of my right hon. friend Mr. Lowe. We knew we had to deal with my right hon. friend, especially upon this question. We knew he was opposed to the extension of the borough franchise—that he was opposed to Reform in every shape. Nevertheless, though so opposed, we cannot get my right hon. friend to say so by his vote. He will not consent to vote directly against the second reading of this Bill; but, contending that the Bill is a bad Bill, he desires to vote for the amendment, on the ground that, though he thinks it is a bad Bill, we ought, in his opinion, to have added to it another bad Bill." The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to reply to the charge made by Mr. Disraeli, that he (Mr. Gladstone) had changed his politics, and said he was bred under the shadow of the name of Canning, and under that of the still greater name of Burke, and his then youthful mind and imagination were then impressed just as the now matured mind of Mr. Disraeli was now impressed. He then proceeded to review the arguments used against the Bill, and said: "The wealth of the country is rapidly progressing, and its vast increase has been almost entirely in the upper and middle classes, and yet the number of electors does not keep pace with the population. I hope, therefore, I shall hear no more of this absorption of the working classes into the franchise. I am justified, then, in stating the working classes are not represented in this House, either according to their numbers or their wealth. I think they are not represented in proportion to their intelligence, their virtue, or their loyalty. They are less represented now than they were thirty-six years ago, when they were less competent to exercise the franchise. A greater amount of representation, with a less amount of fitness, was not found to be injurious, but wholesome for the State; and now, when, as you admit, there is a greater amount of fitness, and, as you must grant, a less amount of representation, you are not disposed

to accede to a measure of enfranchisement. If these are not good reasons for extending the suffrage at the present, how do hon. gentlemen regard the future? My right hon. friend the member for Calne has prophesied to us in the most emphatic manner the ruin of the British Constitution, and his prophecies were very beautiful, so far as the language is concerned. But many prophecies quite as good may be found in the pages of Burke and other distinguished men. They now form a capital subject of declamation for schoolboys, and capital exercises to be translated into Greek. The prophecies of my right hon. friend, like those of even greater men than he, may, some thirty years hence, serve a similar purpose. They may, for the beauty and force of their language, be selected by teachers at colleges and schools as exercises for their pupils, and my right hon. friend will have his reward in the knowledge—'ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.' My right hon. friend says we know nothing about the labouring classes. Is not one single word a sufficient reply, and that word is 'Lancashire,' associated with the sufferings of the last four years, so painful and bitter, but so nobly and gloriously borne? The qualities then exhibited were the qualities, not of select men here and there among a depraved multitude, but of the masses. For my own part, I cannot believe that the men who exhibited those qualities were only a sample of the people, and that the rest would not have done the same had occasion arisen. I cannot see what argument could be found for some wise and temperate experiment of the extension of civil rights among such people, if the experience of the past few years does not afford it. Let us consider the enormous and silent changes which have been going forward among the labouring population. May I use the words to hon. and right hon. gentlemen once used by way of exhortation by Sir R. Peel, 'Elevate your vision'? Let us try and raise our views above the fears, suspicions, jealousies, attacks, and recriminations of this place. Let us look onward to the time of our children and our children's children. Let us think what preparation should be made for that time. Is there or is there not a steady movement of the labouring classes, and is or is not that movement onwards and upwards? I do not say you can see it; for, like all great processes, it is unobservable in detail, but solid and unassailable in character. It is like those movements of the earth's crust, which science tells us are even now going on in certain portions of the globe, which sailors sail over and the traveller by land treads upon without being conscious of them; but science tells you that the changes are taking place, and that things are not as they were. Has my right hon. friend ever considered the astonishing phenomena connected with some portion of the conduct of the labouring classes, and especially in the Lancashire distress? Has he considered what an amount of self-denial was exhibited by these men in respect to the American war? Could any man have believed that a conduct so still, so calm, so firm, so energetic, could

have planted itself in the minds of a population without becoming a known patent fact throughout the whole country? And yet when the day of trial came, we saw that noble sympathy on their part with the people of the North—that determination that, be their sufferings what they might, no word should proceed from them that would damage a cause so just. On one side, there was a magnificent moral spectacle; on the other side, there was a great lesson to us all, to teach us that, in their minds, by a process of quiet instillation, opinions and sentiments were gradually forming themselves, of which we for a long time remain unaware, but, that when at last they make their appearance, are found mature, solid, and irresistible. Now, then, I ask my noble friend what he is going to do with the little family who adopt this amendment? There ought to be some unity of purpose among those friends and associates who have linked themselves together on this question. I will state a portion of the contradictions that are to be gathered out of this debate on one side only." The right hon. gentleman here detailed the different views stated by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Lowe, and other members, as to the course which Government ought to have pursued in regard to Reform, each of which views was different from the others, and then proceeded to say:—"May I say to hon. gentlemen opposite, as some of them have addressed advice to gentlemen on this side of the House, 'Will you not consider, before you embark in this new crusade, whether the results of the others in which you have engaged have been so satisfactory?' Great battles you have fought, and fought them manfully. The battle of maintaining civil disabilities on account of religious belief, the battle of resisting the first Reform Act, the battle of Protection,—all these battles have been fought by the great party that I see opposite; and, as to some of them, I admit my own share of the responsibility. But have their results been such as that you should be disposed to renew these conflicts again? Certainly those who sit on this side have no reason or title to find fault. The effect of your course has been to give them for five out of six, or for six out of seven years, the conduct and management of public affairs. The effect has been to lower, to reduce, and contract your just influence in the country, and to abridge your share in the administration of the Government. It is good for the public interest that you should be strong; but if you are to be strong, you can only be so by showing, as well as the kindness and the personal generosity which I am sure you feel towards the people, a public trust and confidence in them. What I now say can hardly be said with an evil motive. But, Sir, we are assailed; this Bill is in a state of crisis and of peril, and the Government along with it. We stand or fall with it, as has been declared by my noble friend. We stand with it now; we may fall with it a short time hence, but if we do we shall rise with it hereafter. I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed in the coming struggle. Perhaps the great division

of to-night is not the last that must take place in the struggle. You may possibly succeed at some point of the contest. You may drive us from our seats. You may bury the Bill that we have introduced; but for its epitaph we will write upon its gravestone this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

'Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.'

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on our side; and the banner which we now carry, though, perhaps, at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not distant victory."

Mr. Gladstone concluded his speech at three o'clock in the morning, and the division was taken under circumstances of extraordinary excitement. The House was densely crowded, and the feelings of those present were wound up to the highest pitch. When the Speaker put the question, the voices which responded "Aye" or "No" were heard far beyond the precincts of the House. The division was as follows:—

For the second reading . .	318
Against it	313
Majority . .	5

Both sides of the House hailed this result with loud acclamations. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he would declare what course the Government proposed to take on the Monday following, the 30th of April.

When the House met again on that day, great anxiety prevailed to know what course the Ministers had determined to adopt. Rumours of various kinds had been circulated as to the probable resignation of the Cabinet and other contingencies; but these were set at rest when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and stated, amid loud cheers from the Ministerial benches, that the Government did not see in the division any reason or warning against persisting in the effort they were engaged in, to amend the representation of the people. Passing over for the moment the small numerical difference between the majority and the minority, he defined the situation, as understood by the Government, to be this—that one moiety of the House was ready to consider the Franchise Bill on the understanding which existed before the second reading—that the Bills for the redistribution of seats, and the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills, should be produced before going into committee; and the other moiety, while not unwilling to consider the

Franchise Bill,—for the second reading, when it became the main question, was acquiesced in without a dissentient voice,—interposed the condition that it should have before it the whole plan of Reform. Under the circumstances, the Government deemed it to be their duty to lose no time in producing the redistribution scheme and the Bills for Scotland and Ireland; and leave would be asked to introduce them on that day week. He would fix the committal of the Franchise Bill for that day, not with a view of proceeding with that stage, but because before that date the Government would not be in a position to state when they would ask the House to go into committee. Mr. Gladstone added, that the Government would give the House ample time to consider the redistribution scheme before going on with the Franchise Bill.

Mr. Bouverie made some general remarks on the present position of the subject, approving the course taken by the Government, and expressing an opinion, that, as both sides of the House had agreed to the principle of a reduction of the franchise, a favourable opportunity was afforded of settling the question, if the redistribution scheme should turn out to be fair and well considered, and did justice to the claims not only of the unrepresented towns, but also of the under-represented counties. No doubt, apprehensions on this point had prompted a great part of the resistance to the Franchise Bill, and, while reminding the Government that no measure could pass which did not conciliate a portion at least of the Opposition, he exhorted the Conservative party to embrace this opportunity of settling the question, and not leave it longer in the hands of the Liberals, as a stick to beat them with at any convenient opportunity. He thought that the Government had originally made a mistake, and pointed out that, by the Standing Orders, both Bills could be referred to the same Committee, or could be welded into one Bill.

Mr. White expressed his surprise that, after the celebrated "stand or fall" declaration, so miserable a majority should not have produced a resignation. After the decision of the Government on this point, and after some expressions in Mr. Gladstone's speech, he pressed for an understanding whether, if any important alteration were made in Committee—if the 7*l.* franchise, for instance, were raised to 8*l.*—the Government would deem it fatal to the Bill.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that by "standing or falling," the Government meant, that while the Bill stood they stood, and when it fell they would fall; adding, that as yet the Bill had not fallen. He denied that in any part of his speech he had conveyed an intimation as to what would happen if an alteration were made in the Bill, and protested against any inference being drawn.

On the day appointed, May 7th, the Chancellor of the Exchequer produced to the House of Commons the Bill of the Government for the redistribution of seats. In moving for leave to bring it

in, the right hon. gentleman said that the ground upon which he took his stand was, that there were large and important communities, many of them growing communities, whilst others were stationary, but both having this feature in common, that they were not now represented in the House of Commons in proportion to their just demands. In searching for means to make their representation more adequate, it was clear that these were to be equitably obtained only by resorting to a restraint upon the superabundant representation of small boroughs which still prevailed in this country. This being the case, the object of the Government was to consider in what way they could most justly apply this principle to the small boroughs; and they had come to the conclusion that it would be most agreeable to the equity of the case that no borough should be absolutely extinguished, but that, in lieu thereof, recourse should be had to the system which answered so well in Scotland, that of grouping such boroughs. Thirty years' experience of the Reform Act went to show that if any one class of boroughs was entitled to be selected for the praise of comparative purity, it was the grouped boroughs. Consequently, this would be a measure of Reform in the sense of its tending to purify elections from what was beyond all doubt a grievous national evil. The number of seats, which it was proposed to obtain for redistribution by the Bill was 49. And this would be done by a double operation. He proposed, first, to withdraw one member from every borough having a population under 8,000, by which thirty seats would be placed at the disposal of Parliament, and these boroughs be still left in possession of one member each. The second part of the proposal was to group as many of these boroughs as could be joined together with geographical convenience. The population of the groups would differ, and with respect to that difference he proposed to assign one or two representatives, as the case might be. Where the population of a group was less than 15,000, there would be one member; and where it was above 15,000, there would be two members for the group. The lowest in population of the groups would be a little under 10,000, and the highest of them 20,000 or 21,000. The right hon. gentleman then read a list of the proposed groups as follows:—

1. Woodstock, Wallingford, and Abingdon—two members.
2. Liskeard, Bodmin, and Launceston—two members.
3. Totnes, Dartmouth, and Ashburton—one member.
4. Bridport, Honiton, and Lyme—one member.
5. Dorchester and Wareham—one member.
6. Maldon and Harwich—one member.
7. Tewkesbury, Cirencester, and Evesham—two members.
8. Andover and Leamington—one member.
9. Ludlow and Leominster—one member.
10. Eye and Thetford—one member.
11. Horsham, Petersfield, Midhurst, and Arundel—two members.

12. Chippenham, Malmesbury, and Calne—two members.
13. Westbury and Wells—one member.
14. Devizes and Marlborough—one member.
15. Ripon, Knaresborough, and Thirsk—two members.
16. Richmond and Northallerton—one member.

Besides these there were eight towns with a population under 8,000, which, owing to local circumstances and geographical convenience, could not be brought within the limits of any group. There were Bridgenorth, Buckingham, Cockermouth, Lichfield, Stamford, Stafford, Wenlock, and Newport. A considerable portion of the seats liberated by disfranchisement had in all former cases been assigned to divisions of counties, and there had been a just tendency to increase the number of seats so assigned. Here, besides counties, there were the claims of towns to be considered, and these under two heads—those of the large communities which had either reached such a point as to make it expedient to divide them, or which had a claim for some addition to the actual number of their representatives, and those new and growing towns whose progress was so rapid as to be continually assuming an increased magnitude. He proposed to give twenty-six seats to counties in England; first, by dividing the southern division of Lancashire, and giving to each division three members. Then, taking every county or division of a county, with one exception only, not now having a population above 150,000, and not having three members already, he proposed to give each of them an additional member, so as to raise the number of their representatives to three. This arrangement would absorb twenty-three seats. He excepted Middlesex from the scheme, because, upon the whole, that county ought to be regarded as having an affinity to the metropolis rather than to the rest of the country. Further, he proposed to give a third member to four boroughs having a population exceeding 200,000 each. These were Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds; and a second member to Salford, which had a population of 100,000. He would next divide the borough of the Tower Hamlets into two sections, each to return two members; and unite Chelsea and Kensington into one borough, with two members. He proposed, likewise, to give one member to each of all unrepresented municipal boroughs having a population exceeding 18,000 These were Burnley, Stalybridge, Gravesend, Hartlepool, Middlesborough, and Dewsbury. By these arrangements forty-one seats out of the forty-nine were disposed of. The forty-second seat he proposed to confer upon the University of London. Forty-two seats being thus distributed, he turned now to consider the important and irrefutable claims of Scotland. The Government had to consider whether the demand of Scotland should be met by a transfer of seats from England, or an addition to the number of members of this House; and, believing that the House would be disinclined to increase its numbers, they had resolved that the remaining seven seats should be transferred to Scotland. An addi-

tional member would, therefore, be given to each of three counties—Ayr, Lanark, and Aberdeen—a third member to the city of Glasgow, a third to the city of Edinburgh, a second to Dundee, and one member to the Scottish Universities. So far as the Welsh constituencies were concerned, he did not propose to interfere with the existing arrangements, the boroughs there being grouped, and the system working satisfactorily. With regard to the question of the boundaries of boroughs, the Bill proposed that the parliamentary boundary should be coequal with the municipal, and that the Enclosure Commissioners should consider the proper boundaries for the newly-enfranchised towns, and the limits which should divide the two sections of the Tower Hamlets. As to the course of proceeding on these Bills, when the two measures relating to Scotland and Ireland had been introduced there would be four Bills upon the table affecting the representation of the people. Thus the whole scheme of the Government would be before the House. The noble lord the member for King's Lynn had suggested that there should be some guarantee that the two questions of an extension of the franchise and the redistribution of seats should be dealt with by the same Parliament. This he was willing to concede; but he was not prepared to agree to the loss of a whole year by postponing the subject. His intention, therefore, was to persevere with the proposals he had made; and the Government would not advise a prorogation of Parliament until the whole subject—meaning by that the questions of the franchise and redistribution—had been disposed of.

Mr. Disraeli expressed his astonishment that Mr. Gladstone had not indicated the mode in which he intended to ask the opinion of the House on this important measure, and the time at which he would deem it convenient to do so. He put it to the Government not to shrink from the performance of that which was one of their principal duties, but inform the House on what day and in what manner they would take the opinion of the House on the subject.

Mr. Bouverie said the redistribution of seats was the pinch of the problem. The difficulty was, how to extend the power of mere numbers, so as not to affect the due influence of property, or increase the opportunities for the exercise of corruption, and to improve generally the representation of the people; and this could not be done in a perfunctory way. For his part he was desirous of having as large a sweep of the small boroughs as was consistent with securing the success of the measure; and as regarded the substance of the scheme of the Government, he thought it would be acceptable to the country and to the bulk of the House.

General Peel believed there were many persons who ought to have the franchise who did not now possess it, and he was as anxious as any one to see the question settled; but to this Bill he should offer his strenuous opposition at every opportunity that presented itself.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer denied that the Government were justly chargeable with abdicating their duty, and stated that he should propose that the Bill for the redistribution of seats be read a second time on that day week.

Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

The Scotch Bill.—The Lord-Advocate then asked leave to bring in a Bill to amend the representation in Scotland, which was based on the same principle as the English Franchise Bill, viz., a qualification of 7*l.* in boroughs and 14*l.* in counties. It would increase the borough constituencies by 26,000 electors, of whom 17,100 would be of the working classes. The Bill would also reduce the property franchise in counties from 10*l.* to 5*l.*, with the condition, however, of personal residence. Amongst the new seats an additional seat would be given to Edinburgh, and a member would be given to the Scotch Universities.

A smart discussion ensued, Sir J. Fergusson contending that the Bill would in many instances transfer the voting power from the rural to the urban population; Sir S. Maxwell urging that a larger representation ought to be conferred upon the northern Universities; Mr. M'Laren complaining that the Bill did not create a forty-shilling freehold franchise; Mr. H. Baillie that it did not provide for a redistribution of seats; and many other gentlemen advocating the claims of their respective constituencies to special consideration and favour.

The Irish Bill.—Mr. Fortescue then asked leave to bring in this Bill. He said that it was not of an extensive nature, as the question had been dealt with in 1850 by Sir W. Somerville. The borough constituencies had greatly diminished in numbers since that date. He proposed to reduce the rating occupation franchise from 8*l.* to 6*l.*, the effect of which would be to add about 5,500 persons to the borough register. The Bill also contained a clause creating a lodger franchise, also a clause creating a savings bank franchise, on the model of that in the English Bill. There were only three cases so peculiar as to justify a transfer of seats, and an additional member would be given to Dublin city and Cork county; and the Queen's University would be placed on the same footing as the London University, and have a right to return one member to the House. To provide these three seats, six smaller boroughs would be thus grouped: Bandon with Kinsale, Portarlington with Athlone, and Dungannon with Enniskillen. There were also seven boroughs, with a population less than 8,000 each, which would be united to other places, and so raise a number of grouped boroughs with large populations, and more respectable and numerous constituencies.

Sir H. Cairns, Mr. Whiteside, General Dunne, Lord C. Hamilton, and other members opposed, and Sir C. O'Loghlen, The O'Connor Don, Mr. Cogan, Sir H. M. Barron, and other members supported the Bill.

Leave was given to introduce both Bills.

The second reading of the Redistribution of Seats Bill was

moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 14th of May, but meanwhile two important notices were put upon the order book of the House of Commons; one of them, given by Mr. Bouverie, was to this effect, that the Representation of the People Bill and the Redistribution of Seats Bill be referred to the same committee; and that it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to consolidate the said Bills into one Bill. The other was given by Capt. Hayter, and was as follows: "As an amendment to Mr. Bouverie's instruction on going into committee on Representation of the People Bill, to move, that this House, although desirous that the subjects of the franchise and of the redistribution of seats should be considered together, is of opinion that the system of grouping proposed in the present Bill for the redistribution of seats is neither convenient nor equitable, and that the scheme of Her Majesty's Government is not sufficiently matured to form the basis of a satisfactory measure."

The second reading of the Redistribution Bill was not formally opposed, but Mr. Disraeli availed himself of the opportunity to enter into a statement of his views upon the subject. He said it was important for the House to reflect on the important consequences which were involved in the manner in which it was proposed to deal with the small boroughs. He presumed that the real object of the various Reform Bills which had been produced since the Act of 1832 was to render the House of Commons a more competent representation of the country and its various attributes—the landed, manufacturing, and commercial interests, and the interests of our colonial and Indian empire. For this purpose the small boroughs had been and were a most useful and efficient instrument. But by the scheme of the Government the very boroughs which had returned to the House representatives of the commercial, financial, colonial, and Indian interests, were to be virtually disfranchised, and the House was called upon to attack about half of the whole number of boroughs in the country. In his opinion the proposition for grouping places already represented would be to realize a grave anomaly by a process of wanton injustice, and would produce a feeble and imperfect local representation. The system was one which would prove a complete failure, and which ought not to receive the sanction of the House. The grouping of unrepresented places would on the other hand introduce popular and vigorous elements. The fact appeared to him to be that the House and the country were in ignorance as to how it should proceed, and ignorance never could settle any thing. They were in a scrape, and he would despair of a solution of the difficulty were it not that he had unlimited confidence in the kindness and good sense of the House of Commons. The House ought to come forward and help the Government, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to recross the Rubicon, build up his bridges, and reconstruct his boats. There was no reason why he should be deterred by a false sentiment of honour from retreating from the

position he had assumed; neither ought he to sacrifice his country, his party, and his own honoured name to a feeling of pique. He was supported by a majority in the House, and he could afford to accept advice. The far better course would be to withdraw the Bill, and to give instructions for the preparation of carefully prepared electoral statistics of the borough and county franchise, and then in the ensuing Session to come down to the House and submit a measure which would command the sympathy of the country and receive the sanction of Parliament.

Mr. Cardwell declined, on the part of the Government, to accept the advice which the right hon. gentleman had tendered. His object was, clearly, not to relegate the measure to the next Session, but to have it postponed indefinitely. The Bill of the Government was a measure of sound and constitutional Reform, while the course which the leader of the Opposition invited the House to take would be retrograde and unworthy. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, could not with honour adopt it. He also reminded the right hon. gentleman that the measure, as proposed by the Government, was in many respects akin to that which the Government of Lord Derby had themselves proposed in 1859. Adverting to the mode of grouping suggested, he argued that it would have the effect of lessening the cost of elections and prevent corrupt practices. If they wished to throw over Reform altogether, there would be no surer means of doing so than that of proposing to group with existing boroughs communities that were not now represented.

Several members expressed their disapproval of the proposed arrangements for the grouping of boroughs.

Sir S. Northcote called attention to the circumstance that Mr. Bouverie had given notice of his intention to move that the Bill be referred to the same committee as that on the Representation of the People Bill, with a view to both measures being amalgamated. He asked, Were Government prepared to give their assent?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government were quite willing to consult the House in that matter.

The Bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

The Whitsun holidays now intervened; but on the 28th, being the first night at the disposal of the Government after their termination, the proceedings on the Reform question were resumed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to questions, said the Government would not oppose Mr. Bouverie's instruction for the fusion of the two Bills into one; and they would be anxious to give every facility for the discussion of Captain Hayter's motion on the principle of grouping, which went to the root of the redistribution scheme, but which, by the rules of the House, could not be put, as proposed, by way of an amendment to Mr. Bouverie's motion.

The order of the day to go into committee was then read, and

Mr. Bouverie's motion, that the Representation of the People Bill and the Redistribution of Seats Bill be referred to the same committee, was agreed to without discussion, as was also a motion to consolidate the said Bills into one.

Sir R. Knightley now introduced a new element into the discussion by moving that it be an instruction to the committee to make provision for the better prevention of bribery and corruption at elections.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer objected to dealing with this question, except in a measure separate from the subject of Parliamentary Reform. He granted that the law was grievously defective, but before proceeding to legislate respecting it more experience was necessary, and the House ought first to have in its hands the reports of the Royal Commissions about to be appointed to inquire into cases of bribery and corruption at the last general election.

Mr. B. Osborne was grateful to Sir R. Knightley for having been the first member on either side of the House to point attention to a matter which required more reform than even the franchise or the redistribution of seats. It was all very well for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that more experience was wanted; but, what experience did they want if they had not enough already? It was notorious that the plague-spot upon the Constitution was the bribery and corruption which had characterized, not only the last, but previous elections. Instead, therefore, of following the mischievous advice of Mr. Bouverie, to mix up the paltry Redistribution of Seats Bill with the Franchise Bill, the Government had better have boldly grappled with this question of corrupt practices at elections; and if the House would get rid of the former Bill and deal with that which was a much more pressing question, they would be doing something which would be useful to the country.

Sir G. Grey admitted that bribery was extensively practised, but penalties had not been carried to their utmost limit, and the inefficiency of the law had been assumed without adequate reason. Moreover, it would uselessly encumber this Bill to agree to the proposed instruction without having before them the particular provisions which were contemplated.

Sir H. Cairns said it was the province of the instruction merely to empower the committee to deal with the subject, and in order that proposals might be made for the alteration of the law. There were four Royal Commissions to be appointed; but he believed that no report they could agree upon would have the effect of changing the opinion which was universally entertained on both sides of the House, that new provision were necessary, in some shape or other, to prevent bribery at elections.

The Attorney-General argued that the present was not the proper time to consider the question with the view of bringing it to a practical settlement. If the instruction meant any thing, it was to throw over the question of Reform altogether.

Mr. Bright taunted the Opposition with their new-born zeal in favour of purity at elections, and condemned the motion as really aimed at the destruction of the Bill. In his opinion, the only way of curing bribery was to greatly enlarge the constituencies, and give them the protection of the ballot. Outside of the House, when the debates of that night came to be read, every member who insisted upon adding to the Bill matter that did not properly come within the scope either of an extension of the franchise or a redistribution of seats, would be regarded as putting an obstacle in the path of Reform, and embarrassing a Government whose difficulties, all admitted, were at least sufficient for the time.

Mr. Disraeli flung back the taunt of Mr. Bright by reminding him of the recent cases of Huddersfield and Wakefield, and expressed his confidence that the House would come to a decision without any fear of the threatened "reign of terror." They would not be frightened by the letter written to the Primrose-hill meeting, and he was sure they would not be deterred on the present occasion from doing their duty by voting for the proposed instruction to the committee. He hoped, however, the Government would relieve the House from the trouble of going to a division.

Mr. Gibson said that if the subject of bribery had been introduced into the Bill the Government would have been justly chargeable with departing from precedent. The motion was a most effective mode of materially lessening the chance of carrying the Bill, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not be acting as a true friend to his own proposals if he gave his assent to the motion.

The House divided, and Sir R. Knightley's motion was carried by 248 votes against 238—majority against Government 10. The announcement was received with great cheering from the Opposition.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in moving that the Speaker should leave the chair, said that of course Ministers would wait for the production of the scheme, which no doubt Sir R. Knightley had formed, though he had not communicated it to the House, for dealing with bribery and corruption. When they had gone through those parts of the Bill which were legitimate portions of it, and they had the clauses relating to bribery before them, it would be their duty to give them a dispassionate consideration; and if the hon. gentleman's proposal would succeed in dealing with that which was a great evil, the Government would be glad to give him every assistance in their power. But they would not, so far as depended upon them, recede from the determination to prosecute the Bill during the present Session.

Captain Hayter, pursuant to notice, moved, "That in the opinion of this House the system of grouping proposed by Government is neither convenient nor equitable, nor sufficiently matured to form the basis of a satisfactory measure."

Upon the question thus raised a debate took place, which was

continued for four nights by adjournments. Several speeches of marked ability were delivered, but most of the arguments were little else but a repetition of what had been produced in the former debates. Our space will permit only a limited selection from the speeches of the more prominent members. Mr. Göschen said that the objections to the Government measure came with an ill grace from members whose boroughs had been grouped, for they had been leniently treated in not being disfranchised altogether. Since the Redistribution Bill had been before the House, nothing had been heard of the combined effect of the lowering of the franchise and the distribution of seats; but the arguments had been all local and personal, and relating only to the distribution of seats; no question of principle had been raised in any of the amendments of which notice had been given; and the Opposition, without originating, supported any amendment containing negative criticisms like that of Captain Hayter. He urged that now that the House had obtained its wish in having the whole scheme of Reform before it, the Liberal party ought not to assist in defeating the principle of the measures on merely local and personal grounds.

Sir J. Pakington wished to hear some independent member say, now that the whole Reform scheme was before the House, that he considered it worthy of acceptance as an improvement of the representation; but no such member had spoken in its favour. He himself was most desirous to settle the question this Session, but the Government had rendered that impossible by having precipitately produced a vague and immature measure. They had called for electoral statistics, for which they did not wait before they produced their Bill. They should have carefully considered the whole question, and then presented a mature measure to Parliament next year. The statistics produced showed that a large proportion of the working classes already possessed the franchise; that the reduction of the franchise to 7*l.* would add 200,000 of that class to the registry; this would render that class half the electors in boroughs, and would give them a preponderance over the other half, which represented property, and to this he objected. It had been laid down in the works of Mr. J. S. Mill, that according to the law of necessity the Conservative party were the stupidest in the State, but what did that hon. member think now? The hon. member had also laid down this: "No lover of improvement could desire that the predominating power should be given over to persons in the mental and moral condition of the English working classes." That sentiment was quite opposite to those which Mr. Mill had expressed in that House, and he asked him to explain this inconsistency. After some further remarks, the right hon. baronet concluded by urging the House not to submit to be dictated to by the Government in regard to sitting till October in order to pass these Bills. He was of opinion that the whole question of Parliamentary Reform might be advantageously

considered by Royal Commission, with a view to enable the Government of the day to found a measure on the result of its inquiry. He thought it premature and useless to send these Bills to committee.

Mr. Mill responded to the request made, that he would reconcile what he had written with what he had said. No doubt it was very flattering to hear one's own writings quoted, but that feeling was lessened on finding that gentlemen's knowledge of his writings was strictly limited to the passages which they had quoted. No doubt they found his works too dull to proceed further. Amongst other matters, he had suggested a plurality of votes; but he never required such checks against a 7*l.* franchise. The hon. member then explained his views upon the subject of the franchise; and in reference to the allegation that he had called the Conservatives the stupidest of parties, he said 'I never meant to say that the Conservatives are generally stupid. I meant to say that stupid persons are generally Conservative. I believe that is so obviously and universally admitted a principle, that I hardly think any gentleman will deny it. Suppose any party, in addition to whatever share it may possess of the ability of the community, has nearly the whole of its stupidity, that party must, by the law of its constitution, be the stupidest party; and I don't see why hon. gentlemen should see that position at all offensive to them, for it ensures their being always an extremely powerful party. I know I am liable to a retort, and an obvious one enough; and as I do not wish to allow any hon. gentleman the credit of making it, I make it myself. It may be said that if stupidity has a tendency to Conservatism, sciolism, or half knowledge, has a tendency to Liberalism. Something might be said for that, but it is not at all so clear as the other. There is an uncertainty about sciolists; we cannot count upon them; and therefore they are a less dangerous class. But there is so much dense, solid force in sheer stupidity, that any body of able men with that force pressing behind them may ensure victory in many a struggle; and many a victory the Conservative party has gained through that power.'

Mr. Lowe said he had to complain that the Government was always bringing in measures subversive of the Constitution, without ever stating the principle on which they acted. The principle of the first Reform Bill was disfranchisement; but the principle of all others which had been introduced had been that of enfranchisement. There was one principle which ought not to be acted on in the Redistribution Bill, and that was an abstract right of equality of representation, as that would lead to the predominance of numbers. This Bill did not attempt to abate any practical evil. A Redistribution Bill ought to provide for diminishing the huge expense of elections, the cost of some of which ranged last year from 5000*l.* to 20,000*l.* The right hon. gentleman then criticized the manner in which the proposed "grouping" was to be carried out, and said that by grouping several boroughs, and giving them

one member in the gross, expenses would be increased, for each constituency would expect from the one general member as much as each of them had received from its individual member. It was like asking a man to marry several wives; nay, worse, it was asking him to marry several widows. When men set about to correct anomalies, and ended by creating anomalies worse than those they sought to correct, neither gods nor men could stand it, nor ought to stand it. He also objected to the proposal to add a third member to counties and some large towns. The counties to which these members were given were, in reality, groups of towns, and the effect would be a total change in the character of the representation of those counties, while he could see no principle on which such a system was founded, unless it was the principle of numbers applied to members.

The Attorney-General said that after the admiration which the speeches of Mr. Lowe must always excite had subsided, the question always arose, what it was he wanted to have done; what was his practical object? His argument resolved itself into this, that we should stand on things as they are, because they are, and without showing any reason why they are. The hon. and learned gentleman, setting aside details, proceeded to argue in favour of the principle on which the measures were founded, which, he contended, was the same as that on which the existing franchise was established.

Sir H. Cairns said that this Bill was framed in direct variance with the great landmarks of the Constitution. The system of grouping boroughs was wholly new in England. It was disfranchisement in reality, and vicious in effect. It was disfranchisement, because it destroyed the existence and identity of constituencies; and it was unnatural, because there was not only no harmony in the boroughs to be grouped together, but in many cases a positive antagonism between them. He then pointed out in detail the unfairness of the manner in which it was proposed to distribute the representation entirely in the interest of the Liberal party. He next examined the provisions as to the boundaries, and arguing that the meaning of the Constitution was that, as far as practicable, there should be a separate borough and a separate county constituency, objected to the mixing up of town and county constituencies. He granted that a complete sharp line of demarcation could not be drawn between the two, but the difference was clearly understood, and he believed Liberal members would be the first to condemn the fusion of rural constituencies with those of places like Manchester and Birmingham, as this Bill fused town constituencies with those of counties. Discussing the question whether the measure should go into committee for the purpose of considering the system of grouping, the arrangement for the appropriation of seats, and the subject of boundaries, he contended that these were all matters of principle, and that the duty of a committee of the House was not construction, but the amendment of a Bill, the

principle and general outline of which the House approved. On this important subject they had a right to have a complete measure before them of which they approved. They had also a right to have ample time for dealing with it during that period of the year which was usually devoted to the transaction of the ordinary business of the country. But what the Government had done was to produce a measure that was imperfect in itself, at so late a period as to make it impossible to fully consider the details; and he warned the House that it would commit a very great mistake if it permitted itself to be driven into passing a hasty and immature measure merely to escape the reproach of doing nothing. The Bill, if passed, could not come into operation until after the month of June, 1867. And what, in that case, would be the position of the House for the whole of next Session? Seventy-nine seats would be affected by the measure, and to that extent the existing constituencies would be condemned. Supposing, then, that circumstances might render new taxation necessary, respecting which there was a strong feeling in the country, was it possible that the House, condemned as it would be, could legislate upon the question? Parliament, nevertheless, could not be dissolved, because the new constituencies would not come into operation until after June. The result would be that Parliament would be paralyzed, and the country virtually deprived of a Parliament for six months. Meanwhile a dissolution twelve months hence would have been announced, and all that time allowed for canvassing.

The Lord-Advocate, after remarking on the trivial issues on which it was sought to dispose of this great question, proceeded to reply to Sir H. Cairns's arguments *seriatim*. It was plain, he said, that the small boroughs could not remain as they were, and he defended the system of grouping by the example of Scotland, affirming that groups were first formed there at the time of the Union to restrict the number of representatives. In the same way, by reference to the example of the Scotch groups, he defended the geographical arrangements of the scheme, maintaining that a system of traditionary bribery never could flourish in groups; and to the argument as to drawing the line at 8000 he replied that in previous Reform Bills it had been drawn lower, and that the higher it was drawn the more Liberal seats it would disturb. Mr. Disraeli's plan of eliminating the urban element from rural constituencies was contrary to the theory of the Constitution; and with regard to the third member, he denied that the proposal would lead to electoral expenses, that it would lead to contests, or diminish the safeguards for the representation of minorities. Passing to the Franchise Bill, he defended the 7*l.* suffrage as a moderate extension, maintaining that household suffrage, which had been proposed by Lord Grey in 1797, and warmly defended by Mr. Fox, was the old constitutional test, and that the House of Commons was the embodiment of Democracy.

Lord Grosvenor, though thinking the Franchise Bill bad, and

the redistribution scheme unsatisfactory, and intending to oppose much of both in committee "tooth and nail," advised Captain Hayter to withdraw his amendment, as its success must lead to the fall, not merely of the Bill, but of the Government; and though he had not much confidence in them on this question, in the present state of European politics, and in the present condition of our finances, it would be a great misfortune if they (particularly Lord Clarendon) were compelled to quit office. At one time, Lord Grosvenor said, he had cherished hopes of a compromise, but, owing to the manner in which the Government had handled the question, that was now impossible; and, believing that the weight of opinion both in and out of the House was against the Bill, he appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ward off a disaster which might be fatal to the Government by a retreat, with a view to further inquiry.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after replying to some of the imputations made against the Government, vindicated them from the charge of delay, and traced the history of the two Bills from the beginning, contending that as the early part of the Session had been occupied in disposing of necessary business, no time had been lost, and that in every step which they had taken the Government had been actuated by a disposition to conciliate and to meet the wishes of the House. With regard to the redistribution scheme, he denied that it had been prepared with precipitation, asserting that the Government had forty-five days to consider it; and, while not disposed to complain of the criticisms of the threatened members, he assured them that the principle of grouping was adopted in mercy, and was intended to mitigate the severity of the sacrifice the public good demanded of them. Adverting to the authority of Sir William Hayter, quoted by his son, he reminded him that Sir William had acquiesced in the Bill of 1854, which disfranchised Wells altogether; and after some remarks on the inflamed and exaggerated tone of Mr. Lowe's speech, he defended the Bill from the charge of creating anomalies, pointing out that it simply mitigated those which it found in existence, and passed on to consider Mr. Disraeli's scheme. As to his defence of small boroughs, he disputed its accuracy, showing that they did not offer any particular facilities either to merchants, old Indians, or returned colonial functionaries, and pointed out that by his boundary scheme and his enfranchisement of new towns, he would take about 2,000,000 out of the county constituencies, and make them mere collections of landlords and tenants, adding that such a scheme never would be passed by any House of Commons. With regard to the opposition to the Bill, he asserted that its grounds were not good in themselves; that presuming them to be good, they were not sufficient to prevent the House going into committee, and he complained of the form and terms of the motion. Not a single objection, he maintained, had been made which went to the root of the Bill, and which could not be dealt with in com-

mittee; and after examining the objections to groups, founded on the distances and the want of identity in the towns selected, he reminded the House that the Government had at no time stated the principle of grouping to be vital to the Bill. The addition to the Franchise Bill of the Seats Bill—in which the Government, placing themselves in the hands of the House, had acquiesced against their will—had undoubtedly added very greatly to the mass of details which had to be dealt with, and he admitted that a large portion of the redistribution scheme remained open for discussion. The first object, in the opinion of the Government, was the enfranchisement of a large mass of our fellow-countrymen; and this subject they had hoped all parties would approach in a spirit of conciliation. He criticized severely the language and form of the amendment, and protested indignantly against this indirect mode of seeking to defeat the Bill, which was a violation of Lord Derby's pledge that it should receive fair play; and in an eloquent prerоration he protested that this Bill was only the application of the principles of 1832, and warned the Opposition that any triumph which they might gain now would recoil with tenfold force on themselves.

Mr. Disraeli, vindicating the Opposition from the charge of factious obstruction, pointed out that of the three motions by which the progress of the Bill had been delayed, two had been made from the Ministerial benches, that the principles of two of them had been accepted by the Government—Mr. Gladstone having just abandoned grouping—and the principle of the third (Sir R. Knightley's) had been accepted by Lord J. Russell at the last Reform Bill in 1860. Without going further into a defence of small boroughs, he repeated that they afforded to many valuable members a means of entering the House, and afforded some compensation for the inadequate representation of the counties. He calculated that eighty-four of these small borough seats might be said to be supplementary to the representation of the landed interest, and, added to the present number of county members, 162, they made the county members 246 and the borough members 250. Of these eighty-four seats, forty-two were disfranchised by the Bill. As to the charge of wishing to eliminate the urban elements from the counties, he pointed out that of the 11,500,000 of the county inhabitants, only 1,000,000 lived in the unenfranchised towns, so that there would still remain a population of 10,000,000 to be dealt with, of which only 2,000,000 were farmers and farmers' labourers. As the Government seemed entirely ignorant of these and other similar facts, he agreed with Lord Grosvenor that they ought to withdraw the Bill, to afford themselves time for obtaining further information; and in commenting on Lord Grosvenor's chief reasons for not supporting the amendments—confidence in Lord Clarendon—he criticized with great severity Lord Clarendon's conduct before and during the Crimean War and at the Conference of Paris.

Captain Hayter announced that as the object of his motion had been virtually conceded by the Government, and as there was little doubt now that the Bill would be withdrawn, he should not persevere with his amendment. Lord Elcho expressed his approval of that course.

The Speaker put the usual question, "Is it your pleasure that the motion be withdrawn?" to which there was a loud response of "No," and then proceeded to put the amendment, upon which the great mass of the Opposition hastened out of the House to avoid a division, amid the laughter and ironical cheering of the Ministerialists. Strangers were ordered to withdraw, and the doors were closed in the usual manner, but on the Speaker putting the question a second time, the amendmont was negatived without a dissentient voice. No opposition was offered to the motion that the Speaker leave the chair, and the House went into Committee on the Bill.

Mr. Gladstone moved that "the Chairman do report progress," and the question being put by the Chairman, he declared that the "Ayes have it." This decision was challenged by some members, so as to necessitate a division, when there appeared,—

For the motion	403
Against it	2
Majority	401

Some controversy took place as to the regularity of these proceedings; but the Speaker declared that all had been done in conformity with the practice of the House.

The combined Bills had now reached the stage of committal, and a new phase of controversy was entered upon, in which clause by clause was discussed in detail, and fought point by point with great earnestness and pertinacity on both sides. At this period, Mr. Walpole gave notice of an important amendment with reference to the county occupation franchise, which he proposed to fix at 20*l.* instead of 14*l.*, as specified in the Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the committee arrived at the 4th Section, which defined the county franchise, intimated that he was willing to withdraw the proposal to give votes to leaseholders in boroughs; but to Mr. Walpole's amendment he would give a determined opposition. He pointed out that a 10*l.* franchise had been frequently sanctioned by the House, and had been embodied in the Reform Bills of 1854 and 1859, and in fixing the figure at 14*l.* the Government had run some risk of offending the Reform party, with the view of conciliating the other side and of settling the question. If the amendment were accepted, the virtual engagement with the Reforming party would be at an end. After intimating that on the subject of boundaries the Government had not formed any foregone conclusion, he argued at length in favour of the 14*l.* franchise, asserting that it was a completion of middle-

class enfranchisement; that it had been found to work well in Ireland; and that it would admit 171,000 new voters, mostly of the middle class, and dependent on the land, while a 20*l.* franchise would only admit 115,000.

A new turn was given to the debate by Lord Stanley rising to move the postponement of the clause, with the object of delaying all the franchise clauses until the redistribution scheme had been disposed of. His motive, he explained, was to obtain a guarantee that all the branches of the subject should be settled together and as a whole; he feared that at this period of the Session the Government, when they got through the franchise clauses, might revert to their original position, and drop the Redistribution Bill altogether. The franchise was a simple matter comparatively, which might be settled in a couple of nights' debate, and it would be wiser to deal with the more complex part of the scheme while the House was fresh. He contended, moreover, that the House could not decide satisfactorily on the franchise until they had settled what the constituencies should be, and by proceeding with the franchise first they would be working in the dark.

Mr. E. Egerton seconded the motion.

Mr. Bright strongly denounced it as intended to delay the Bill, and asserted that no man could support it who wished the Bill, or any part of it, to become law this Session. It was another proof that, notwithstanding their fair and plausible language, the Opposition were determined not to allow any Bill to pass this Session if they could prevent it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with some warmth, complimented the Opposition on their skill in ambush-fighting. The motion was a repetition of that made by Lord Lyndhurst in 1832, and its object was to evade a decision on the great issues now before the House by involving it in the labyrinths of Redistribution. Amid loud cheers from his supporters, he declared that the Government would never consent to the degradation of having the conduct of the measure taken out of their hands by such a motion. The object they had in view was the enfranchisement of the people, and to that they would adhere as long as they retained the support of the House.

On a division the motion was rejected by 287 to 260.

The amendment of Lord Stanley having been moved without notice, occasioned some unfavourable comments and probably had a prejudicial effect upon that which was next moved by Mr. Walpole, for the purpose of substituting a 20*l.* occupation franchise for 14*l.* in counties. In support of the motion, he argued that, according to "the old lines of the Constitution," property had always been predominant in the county representation, and that if the present occupation franchise were to be reduced, no better resting-place could be chosen than 20*l.*, which was the jury qualification and the point at which the house tax commenced. He dwelt on the importance of keeping up a dis-

tinction between borough and county constituencies, to preserve the varied character of the House of Commons, and, referring to a remark of Mr. Gladstone, asked for some explanation of the nature of the compact between the Government and the Reforming party.

Sir G. Grey remarked on the dilatory character of the opposition; and in defending the clause he asserted that though in some manufacturing counties the infusion of the urban element by a 14*l.* franchise might be large, in others it would be small, and would be of such character as would tend to strengthen the Conservative party. He showed that most of Mr. Walpole's arguments against the Bill applied with even greater force against Lord Derby's Bill, which disturbed the balance between the urban and rural elements more violently, and destroyed all distinction between the town and county franchise. To enfranchise the unrepresented towns about which the Opposition were now so anxious, though Lord Derby's Bill did not deal with them, would require a much larger measure of disfranchisement, which they might propose in Committee if they chose. Sir George concluded by denying that there was any compact between the Government and the advanced Reformers.

Mr. Disraeli maintained that the first thing to be done in this question was to ascertain the general character of the county population, and, so far from consisting simply of farmers and farm labourers, it would be found that, after all the unrepresented towns over 5000 inhabitants were eliminated, there was a village population in the counties equal to all the population of the represented towns. That part of the population—half of the nation, ought to be secured the fair and legitimate exercise of its suffrages, without the interference of a strange element which had no interest in common with it, and if that could be done by a 10*l.* franchise he should be perfectly willing to consent to such an extension. But he maintained that until they knew what were the intentions of the Government as to the regulation of boundaries, and the enfranchisement of the great unrepresented towns, it was impossible to deal with the question, except in a hurried manner. After considerable further discussion, Mr. Walpole's amendment was negatived by a majority of 14—the numbers being 297 against, and 283 for, the motion.

The next controversy which arose in committee was with respect to the basis of value according to which the franchise was to be fixed. The Bill of the Government proposed to adopt the rental as the standard of value, but the Opposition party desired that rating should be made the basis. Mr. Hunt proposed an amendment to the clause defining the county franchise, by which rating would be substituted for rental, and Lord Dunkellin gave notice of a similar amendment with respect to the borough franchise. Mr. Hunt's motion was first debated. The advocates of the amendment dwelt on the advantage of making the rate-book

the register, on the security it would afford against collusion, and on the successful example of the rating franchise in Ireland. The opponents contended that the question had been virtually decided by the vote of the House on Mr. Walpole's amendment; that the rating, which varied greatly in different places, would be a very fallacious test; and that the clause as it stood afforded ample security to the landed interest. Mr. Hunt's motion was eventually rejected by 280 to 273.

Mr. B. Stanhope then moved the omission of the provision that the qualifying premises must comprise a house, and that where they consist of a house and land, the house must be either the dwelling-house of the voter or must be of a clear annual value of 6*l.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer signified his readiness to omit the provision if the Opposition would concur in devising some security against abuses by the multiplication of joint tenancies, something akin to that in the Bill of 1859.

This concession to the Opposition was however received with much dissatisfaction by many of the supporters of the Government.

The amendment of Lord Dunkellin relative to the borough franchise, which was next proposed, was more vital, and proved to be pregnant with very important consequences. The noble lord explained, that though he personally preferred a lower figure than 7*l.*, he supported the principle of rating rather than rental, without reference to any precise figure. He proposed it because it was a convenient, inexpensive, and constitutional mode of fixing the franchise, and referred to the admirable manner in which it had worked in Ireland. No one, he maintained, should give a vote who did not contribute to the taxation of the country, and there could be no better guarantee of this than the payment of poor-rates, which, under the present arrangement of local taxation, meant not only payments for the relief of the poor, but for borough improvements and other purposes. It had in its favour the analogy of the ancient scot and lot franchise, the authority of Mr. Fox, of Mr. Bright, speaking at Birmingham in 1859, of Lord Russell's Reform Bills of 1852 and 1854, and of various Acts of Parliament; the innovators therefore were those who proposed this Bill. No doubt there might be inequalities in the rating, but the operation of the Union Assessment Act would correct them; and whatever they were, the inequalities of rental were even greater. A 6*l.* rating clause, he believed, would admit as many to the franchise as a 7*l.* rental; and one great recommendation of a rating franchise was, that it would prevent a descent to universal suffrage.

Mr. Cave seconded the amendment. A warm debate ensued.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer strenuously opposed the motion. He divided the question at issue into two parts, political and practical; and with regard to the first, which involved a limitation of the franchise, he declared that the Government would not depart one jot from the very moderate

amount of enfranchisement they had proposed. The Bill as it stood would enfranchse 200,000 men in the boroughs—140,000 by the 7*l.* franchise, and 60,000 by the provisions as to payment of rates and compound householders; and a 7*l.* or 6*l.*, or even 5*l.* rating franchise, he showed, would not admit so many. The practical part of the case involved two propositions—that the rateable value was the best test, and that the Revising Barristers' jurisdiction ought to be ousted. With regard to the first, he argued that the true basis of the political franchise was a man's capacity to pay, and the amount which stood against his name in the rateable value column had nothing to do with his vote. Rateable value was a test merely for local taxation, which was borne by property, and had nothing to do with an occupancy franchise. No doubt, owing to the varying system of deductions, there were great inequalities in the "gross estimated rental" column, but they would be carried on to and aggravated in the rateable value column; and it would be impossible to obtain absolute equality in the rateable value column except by resorting to a central authority. Moreover, he argued that for local purposes certain inequalities ought to be preserved; and on the whole the inequalities in the rateable value must always be greater and more ineradicable than in the gross estimated rental. He pointed out, too, that the amendment would disfranchise such persons as owners of mines, which were not rated at all; and denied that there was any analogy between the Irish system and that which Lord Dunkellin's amendment sought to establish, or that the old scot and lot franchise was a precedent for any thing but household suffrage. With regard to ousting the Revising Barrister, he showed at length that the assessment committees would have the decision of all the points hitherto settled in the Registration Court —in other words, that rural guardians would fix who were to exercise the franchise in towns; and he pointed out the opportunities and the great inducements assessment committees might have to tamper with assessments for political purposes. The Government were as anxious as any one to sweep away the expenses of the Registration Courts, and one effectual way was to accept the clause which went straight to the rate book, and took the most settled and certain test of "gross estimated rental."

Mr. Henley pointed out that one great recommendation of a rating test was, that it could be appealed against, whereas a rental test could not be; and he ridiculed the idea of rural guardians being so hardy or so foolish as to under-assess their town neighbours for political purposes. The rateable column, he maintained, was that on which the money was paid, and it furnished therefore the best test of a man's capacity to pay.

Mr. W. E. Forster maintained that in four-fifths of the towns of the country gross estimated rental was the best test of clear annual value and the actual rent paid; and taking the twenty-two boroughs beginning with the letter B, he showed that the deduc-

tions usual in them fluctuated from ten to twenty-five per cent., and that in ten of them this amendment would keep out the *élite* of the working classes. He discussed the constitution of the assessment committees, and contended that it was not fair that they should have the making up of the borough lists.

Sir R. Peel admitted that the amendment raised a vital issue, but insisted that it was the duty of the committee to decide it, not according to what might be the desire of a particular Minister, but by the public interest. With regard to the Bill, he remarked that there was a growing dislike to it in the country, pointing out that all the important amendments had proceeded hitherto from the Liberal side, which he attributed to Mr. Gladstone's treatment of many of his followers; and he asserted that on no great question in our time had there been so little resort by the Opposition to the arts of Parliamentary tactics. Believing that the framing of the electoral lists ought to be withdrawn as much as possible from political bias, and that the rate-book would be the most convenient and uniform basis, he intended to support the amendment; and pointing out that time was against the passing of the Bill this year, he advised Mr. Gladstone to listen to the opinion of many of those who acted with him, and withdraw it for the present.

Mr. Bright asserted that the real object of the amendment and the real reason for its unanimous support by the Opposition was to substitute 9*l.* for 7*l.*, and that there was nothing in the old Constitution to show that rateable value had ever been employed to determine the number and quality of the electors. If the amendment were carried, and if 5*l.* were not substituted for 7*l.*, the great aim and object of this Bill would be defeated, and the practical effect would be to limit the reduction of the franchise to 9*l.* householders; and he illustrated this by showing how a reduction of the franchise to 7*l.*, 6*l.*, and 5*l.*, rating and rental respectively, would effect the managers of the Rochdale Co-operative Society. It was on this clause, he urged, that the attention of the working classes was chiefly fixed; and, passing to the general question of reduction of the franchise, after deploring the persistent efforts of the Opposition to dig an impassable gulf between the working and the middle classes, he warned them that the war which had been referred to as a reason for not proceeding with the Bill, might end in a fever of revolution in Germany, and that every interest in this country would be safer and happier for the introduction of some 200,000 of the working classes to the electoral franchise. If the amendment were carried, and the Government ejected from office, the question would not be disposed of; it would rise up again, and break up every Government until it was settled; and he put it to the Opposition whether it would not be wiser to accept this moderate measure frankly, and show a confidence in the people, which would be repaid by increased loyalty and obedience to the law.

Sir H. Cairns urged that, as the burden of local taxation was calculated on rateable value, the advantage of the vote ought to be

placed on the same basis, and he entered into an elaborate argument to show the fallacy of Mr. Gladstone's notions of deductions and inequalities. He denied that the rateable value was ascertained from the gross estimated rental; on the contrary, in the London parishes the process was exactly the reverse—the rateable value was the real column, and the other was merely fictitious, made up at hazard. No Act, he contended, had been passed for thirty years relating to borough taxation and borough voting, which did not go upon the principle of rateable value; and after contrasting the tribunal which would be created by the amendment with the Revising Barrister's Court, greatly to the advantage of the former, he concluded by protesting against Mr. Gladstone's habit of resisting every alteration proposed in the details of the Bill, which, he contended, reduced the proceedings of the committee to a mere matter of form.

Mr. Osborne admitted that the rating franchise worked well in Ireland, but maintained that it could not be introduced into England without the interposition of Government valuators, to which no borough would submit. Differing from Sir R. Peel in his estimate of the Opposition tactics, he denounced the amendment as an attempt, under a specious pretext, to get rid of the Bill and the Government.

Mr. Villiers explained the objects with which the Union Assessment Act was passed, and asserted that the "gross estimated rental" column was carefully prepared, and was really the only standard looked to in practice. The confusion and the inequalities in making up the rateable value column were so great that no reliance could be placed on them. Mr. Villiers argued that the real object of the amendment was to get rid of the Bill.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in replying to a remark of Sir H. Cairns, denied that he had refused beforehand to accept any amendment in the clause. He had simply refused, on the part of the Government, to be a party to any curtailment of the enfranchisement proposed by the Bill; and as all the arguments by which the amendment had been supported went to restrict the extension of the suffrage, he declined now to accept it or to regard the carrying of it in any other sense but as incompatible with the progress of the Bill.

At a quarter past one o'clock in the morning the House, amidst great excitement, came to a division which showed the following result:—

For the amendment	315
Against it	304
Majority against the Government . . .	11

The result was received with great demonstrations of joy by the Opposition. The important consequences to which it led will appear in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

CONSEQUENCE of the defeat of Ministers on Lord Dunkellin's motion—Resignation of Earl Russell's Cabinet—Statements of the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the reasons of their retirement—Formation of a new Government by the Earl of Derby—Overtures made to some members of the Liberal party but without success—Composition of the Conservative Cabinet—Speeches of Mr. Disraeli at Aylesbury, and of Lord Stanley at King's Lynn on their re-election after taking office—The Earl of Derby in the House of Lords states the principles on which his Government has been formed, and the policy they will pursue—Remarks of Earl Russell on that occasion—Little business, except of a formal kind, done during the remainder of the Session—Viscount Cranborne, the new Secretary of State for India, makes his financial statement—Remarks on various points of Indian policy. The Hyde-park Riots—Discussions in the two Houses upon those disturbances and the measures adopted by the Government to suppress them—Mr. Walpole, the Secretary for the Home Department, justifies the course taken by the authorities—Mr. H. Berkley's motion on the Ballot rejected—Termination of the Session on the 10th of August—Parliament prorogued by Commission—The Royal Speech—Character of the Session—Obstruction of useful legislation by the Reform question—Retrospect of the year 1866—Its eventful and unprosperous character—Fenianism in Ireland—The Cattle Plague—The Cholera—The Financial Crisis—Effect of these adverse events, and their alleviating circumstances—Prosperous state of the revenue, and continued increase of our foreign commerce—Deficiency of the harvest and its result on the price of commodities—Prospects of the ensuing year—Conclusion.

THE division upon Lord Dunkellin's motion, recorded in the last chapter, was decisive of the fate of the Reform Bill and of the Government. On the following day it was generally known that the Administration of Earl Russell was at an end. When the two Houses met on the evening of the 19th, the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the members of each, that in consequence of what had taken place on the previous night, the Ministers had made a communication to Her Majesty, and motions of adjournment to the following Monday, the 25th of June, were put and agreed to. On that day Earl Russell acquainted the House of Lords that in consequence of the vote on Lord Dunkellin's amendment, which the Ministers considered equivalent to a vote of want of confidence on the part of the House of Commons, the Ministers had tendered their resignation to Her Majesty. He had received in answer a communication to the effect that Her Majesty hesitated to accept the resignation of her Ministers, especially in the present state of affairs on the Continent, and that Her Majesty hoped that they would not persist in tendering their resignation. He had since had a further communication from Her Majesty, but it was necessary that there should be a personal conference between the Ministers and Her Majesty, who had fixed the following morning, at Windsor, to have that conference. He therefore proposed to their Lordships that he should make a statement on the following day as to what had passed between the

Queen and her Cabinet. A similar communication was made to the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone.

The next day Lord Russell stated to the House of Lords that at an interview with Her Majesty that afternoon the resignations of the Government had been accepted, and therefore he invited the House to suspend any progress with public business for the present. Lord Russell then entered into a history of the various propositions for Parliamentary Reform which had engaged the attention of the Legislature during the last seven years, and remarking that, in his opinion, the Government was pledged to some definite action, justified the measure recently introduced, as a moderate and just compromise which had been met by opposition upon points of detail only with a view to prevent or evade any settlement of the question. In support of this imputation he referred to the declaration of Lord Derby at the commencement of the Session, that he would consider fairly and would not factiously oppose any Reform Bill introduced by the Government; notwithstanding which declaration various meetings of members of the party in opposition in the other House had been held, at which Lord Derby attended and spoke in condemnation of the measure. A majority having been obtained against one portion of the Bill, it was useless for the Government to attempt to proceed in the face of such determined resistance; and therefore, as honourable men, the Ministry had no other course open to them than that which they had adopted.

Lord Derby, not having desired to speak upon this occasion, regretted that he should be compelled to do so in consequence of the rather personal attack made upon him. He admitted the inconvenience of a change of Government at this moment; but the difficulty had arisen, not from the conduct of the Opposition, but from the conduct of the Ministry. He had pledged himself to offer no unfair opposition to the Government measure, presuming that it would be one that could honourably be accepted by the Conservative party, and that pledge had been scrupulously observed. As to his attendance at meetings of the members of the party which honoured him by its confidence, he admitted and justified the fact as consistent with all precedents, but reminded the Prime Minister that nearly all the important amendments to the Reform Bill moved in the House of Commons had proceeded from the Ministerial side. Criticizing the various steps taken by the Government in the present Session in relation to Reform, Lord Derby condemned their conduct as hasty and inconsiderate, and concluded by reiterating a denial of any factious opposition to the Reform Bill either by himself or his friends in the House of Commons.

Lord Granville disputed the candour and fairness of the opposition that had been offered to the Government measure, pointing out that several vital amendments had emanated from the Opposition side in the House of Commons.

Lord Grey agreed that, after repeated declarations, the Government was bound to bring in a Reform Bill, but he condemned their doing so hastily and without due deliberation. Such a measure should have been prepared with a view to avoid excitee ment of party feeling; and a measure simply altering the franchis- did not possess that character, especially as it was believed to have been drawn up or approved by Mr. Bright. After referring to the denunciations passed upon the opponents of the Bill by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his provincial speeches, Lord Grey expressed his opinion that the measure, as proposed to Parliament, was crude and unfair, and that the Government had acted unwisely in making their retention of office dependent upon its passing.

The House then adjourned.

In the House of Commons on the same evening much excitement prevailed, and the House was crowded in every part by members and strangers anxious to hear the disclosures about to be made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. gentleman rose amidst much cheering, and addressed the House in a calm tone and in the following terms:—"Sir, the suspense which the House yesterday so kindly consented to prolong is at an end, and Her Majesty has been pleased to accept the resignation of their offices which was last week tendered by the Government. The House is aware that Her Majesty thought fit in her wisdom to postpone the acceptance of that tender when the tender itself was first made. It appeared to Her Majesty that upon the first aspect of the vote which led to the tender of our resignation, it might perhaps be considered as a matter of mere machinery and detail, susceptible of adjustment, rather than as one which tended to break up the framework of the Bill; and Her Majesty also felt—and I think the House and the country, without distinction of party, will agree in that sentiment—that in the present state of affairs on the Continent of Europe, there is necessarily a disadvantage in a change of Government. Without the slightest approach to any invidious preference or distinction, it may truly be said that at such a moment it is not easy for any incoming Administration to step at once into the exact conditions of relations with Governments and Ministers abroad which was enjoyed by their predecessors; and the amount of that difficulty, whatever it may be, is in itself a public disadvantage. Her Majesty upon these grounds thought fit to postpone the acceptance of our resignation, as the House has been informed, until she had had the opportunity of personal conference with my noble friend at the head of the Government. This day I accompanied my noble friend to Windsor, and the opportunity was given to him of tendering those explanations which appeared to us to warrant the course we have pursued, and of laying before Her Majesty the full circumstances of the case. Upon receiving these explanations, the tender which had been postponed was accepted, and we now, by Her Majesty's

gracious command, only retain the seals of our offices until the time when our successors shall have been appointed. I think it is due from the Government to the House that they should not confine themselves to a dry recital of the results arrived at in the communication with Her Majesty, but that, in endeavouring to avoid contested and controverted grounds, I should make some explanations to the House of a nature to show that in the step we have taken we have not acted unadvisedly or without deliberation. Sir, after the division which took place on the 18th inst., and during the interval which has since occurred, the alternative which the Government had to consider was, whether it was their duty at once to resign their offices, or whether, on the other hand, they ought to accept the vote which had been arrived at on the motion of my noble friend (Lord Dunkellin), and to endeavour if they could to adapt that vote and the operation of it to the framework of their measure and the attainment of its essential object. Now, sir, let me state briefly the views which we took of the nature and effect of that vote. We did carefully examine it, in order to see whether it was in our power to effect such an adaptation as I have described. At the close of the debate, the words which I ventured to use on the part of the Government did not amount to an absolute statement that if the vote was carried against us we should feel it impossible to conduct the Government of the country; but they did express the difficulty in which we found ourselves with respect to the possible consequences of such a vote, and I was obliged to say that we could enter into no engagement in the event of an adverse division, but must be free to take such a course as the public interests should appear to us to require. Now, sir, when we came to examine the effect of the motion, and to consider whether it was possible for us to adopt it, we were struck with these difficulties. In the first place, the inequality of its operation in the different boroughs; in the second place, the inequalities of its operation in the same boroughs; and in the third place, the almost insurmountable difficulty of choosing any formal figure of enfranchisement relative to rating which would express faithfully and exactly, and without material deviation on one side or the other, the scale of enfranchisement which we had contemplated and submitted to the House, and which we thought ourselves, not by any pedantic view of the case, but by considerations for the public interest, bound to adhere to. We found this to be the case as to the operation of a 6*l.* rating franchise, because that was the sum indicated by the noble mover of the amendment. With regard to the inequalities in different boroughs, the figures which I now give can be tested by any gentleman for himself, for he has no more to do than to refer to the Blue-book which has been laid upon the table of the House. We had stated to the House a plan by which a certain number of male occupiers would be enfranchised by an occupation franchise of 7*l.* in boroughs. We asked our-

selves, in the case of each borough, what amount of rating franchise would give the same numbers as would have been given by the occupation franchise which we proposed. We found these were the results:—In sixteen boroughs a number at least equal to what we proposed would have been enfranchised by taking a rateable franchise on the basis of 6*l.* In thirty-nine boroughs we should have required to take not merely those above a 6*l.* rating but those of 6*l.* and upwards. In 112 boroughs we must have taken 5*l.* and upwards, in twenty-one boroughs 4*l.* and upwards, and in five boroughs we should have been obliged to take those even under 4*l.* to have the number of electors equal to what would have been given by our 7*l.* occupation franchise. I mention this as being the simple result of the sum. It is not for me to judge what weight that may have on the mind of others, but on ours it had considerable. We then considered a matter on which I need not dwell, because it was dealt with in the debate, but which we felt acutely, viz., the difficulties in which we should be involved from the establishment of different rates of franchise in the same boroughs, owing to the great and frequent differences of rating which prevailed in different parts of the same town where those parts happened to belong to different people. Lastly, we had to consider, if we proposed a 6*l.* rating franchise, whether it involved on the whole a diminution of the franchise which in our view was inadmissible. If, on the other hand, we proposed a 5*l.* franchise, we should have been exposed to the taunts and objections of which I do not stop to estimate the value, but which undoubtedly would have led to the statement that we had departed materially from the original framework and standard of our Bill. These difficulties led us to the conclusion that the vote given on the motion of Lord Dunkellin went to break up the framework of the measure. But this was not the whole, nor nearly the whole, of our difficulty. We had to consider our position as a whole. We had to consider the previous history of the Bill. And undoubtedly, in our particular case, the issue was additionally grave and anxious, because of the pledge we had given in various forms, and of which we have been reminded from time to time in the course of the debate—our pledge, viz., to stand or fall by our measure. Now these pledges, if they seemed to some to have been conveyed in rhetorical or inflated forms, were nevertheless advisedly and deliberately given. In my opinion, and in the opinion of the Cabinet, the pledge to stand or fall by a particular measure is a pledge which should rarely be given. It is the last weapon in the armoury of the Government. It should not be lightly taken down from the wall, and if it is taken down, it should not be replaced until it has served the purposes for which it was intended. That pledge was given by us under the deepest conviction, whether erroneous or not, of public duty. We looked back over fifteen years, and we considered what was the history of this question. We did not forget its inconvenient and its mischievous operation during many of

those years upon the character of public men, upon the character of parties, and, permit me to say more, upon the character of Parliament as a representative institution. We felt that the stake was a stake of the highest order; that the responsibility was great, and that it was our duty to use every effort in our power to avoid offence and conciliate support, and to unite instead of distracting the minds of men. We thought, however, at the same time, that it was our duty firmly and resolutely to adhere to whatever plan we might adopt, and that there is no such thing as firm and resolute progress with subjects of importance and magnitude such as that, except by attaching the life of the Administration to the life of the measures they propose. Such, therefore, was the course we took, advisedly and deliberately—not for our own sakes, but for the sake of far higher and deeper interests, involving that which is the first condition of good government in this or any country, viz., the confidence of the public in those by whom they are ruled. Along with that anxiety to pursue such a course, we also, as I have said, evinced a most earnest and sincere disposition to conciliate the minds of men—to conciliate those who were fastidious, or who might possibly be opposed to Reform, at the expense of those by whom Reform was ardently supported. Now, what are the facts? In 1860 a measure was proposed involving, as a basis, a 10*l.* and 6*l.* franchise, which would have brought about an extension of the suffrage of no less than 460,000 persons. For that 10*l.* and 6*l.* franchise we substituted franchises of 7*l.* and 14*l.*, the effect of which was to bring down the figure of 460,000 to about 300,000, or to sacrifice about one-third of the enfranchisement which the Bill of 1860 would have effected. We thought that that was a very large concession. We thought it better to make it early than late; but having made it, it is impossible not to see that it became our duty to give a stricter interpretation to the pledges we had given, to stand or fall by the Bill. And, sir, I may be permitted to say likewise—I say it without reproach to any one—that, in our own view, we likewise adopted and did act upon this intention, that no secondary difficulty or consideration should be allowed to interfere with our making progress with the Bill. We accordingly consented to make changes in our mode of procedure upon the Bill, as much as could be made in any Government measure introduced and deliberately persevered with by the Government. We agreed to produce a Bill for the redistribution of seats; we agreed that that Bill should be united with our own Bill, conceding in both these points to the desire of the majority of the House, and waiving our own convictions regarding them. We deemed that, however just we might think our own opinion, it did not warrant the serious public evil of a conflict with the House of Commons upon the question of the representation of the people, especially after what had happened with regard to that representation in former years. In the same manner, when provisions of the Bill which appeared to us

valuable, and yet capable of being parted with, were objected to, we agreed to withdraw them. We agreed to withdraw the clause respecting leasehold votes for boroughs in counties, and we also agreed to modify the fourth clause in a point which was deemed of importance. These modifications were acceded to at the instance of gentlemen opposite, and the last of them excited lively expostulation from a large number of gentlemen on our own side of the House, who thought it their duty to give expression to their sentiments by a division. There remained then but one difficulty with regard to procedure, and that was our desire to pass some measure during the present Session. With respect to that desire, when challenged to repeat in strong terms our expression of it, we deliberately waived any expression, because we felt it would be invidious, and might be disrespectful, to flourish such a declaration in the face of the House of Commons; and we covered even that subject by a general declaration, made by me in words authorized expressly by my colleagues, that we should be loth to quarrel with the House, or that portion of the House which agreed with us, upon any question of procedure as to the Bill. However, we found ourselves met with these proceedings on the Bill:—On the 27th of April my noble friend, Earl Grosvenor, made a motion as an amendment, on the second reading, the effect of which would have been that we should have been compelled to produce the Seats Bill before the House had given any opinion whatever on the Franchise Bill. That motion was rejected, in a House unprecedentedly large, by a majority of five, the numbers being 318 as against 323. The next step was, that on the 2nd of May the hon. baronet the member for Northamptonshire made a motion to instruct the committee to include in the Bill clauses for the repression of bribery and corruption. Our difficulty already was, that we had an overweighted measure, and that it was almost impossible to find time to consider it. We remonstrated; but the House thought fit to overrule the view of the Government, and by a majority of ten the hon. baronet carried his motion. I do not say now whether he was right or wrong. I speak only of the amount of obstacles which we found besetting us on our road to the end which we had in view. On the 4th of June another motion was made by the member for Wells, which certainly ended without a division, but which was debated for three nights, and which evidently must have had, and was intended to have, the effect of putting aside the consideration of the Bill for this year. On the 7th of June Lord Stanley moved to postpone the enfranchising clauses to the clauses relating to the redistribution of seats. That motion was made without any public notice whatever. But it was within the knowledge of the Government at a subsequent period, that, through channels which I am not able to point out, information had been conveyed, that either that motion or some such motion would be made on that day and at that hour; such information, however, being conveyed exclusively to certain

gentlemen on this side of the House whose votes appeared likely to be favourable to the motion. Notwithstanding that information, the motion was negatived by 287 against 260. We were then met by the motion of the right hon. the member for Cambridge University, who proposed to raise the county franchise to 20*l.*, and thereby to maim in our view—at all events greatly to alter—one of the fundamental clauses in the Bill. That motion was rejected by a very small majority of only fourteen; and then came in another form a motion which was admitted to have for one of its objects the raising of the county franchise—I mean the motion of the member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Hunt). That motion was rejected only by a majority of seven. Then came the motion of my noble friend the member for Galway, raising the very same point for the boroughs which had been rejected by only seven for the counties, and applying that principle to the boroughs which had been refused for the counties, although it was within the knowledge of us all that whatever difficulty was connected with rateable value would be greater in the boroughs than in the counties. That motion was carried by a majority of eleven, and it was upon a deliberate review of this series of facts, from the recital of which I have endeavoured to exclude every qualifying epithet—it was on a deliberate review of this series of facts, combining that review of previous divisions and debates with what I have already stated as to the nature of the motion itself, that we arrived at the conclusion that effectual progress with the Bill—progress such as would leave the relation and standing ground of the House of Commons relatively to the Bill sensibly different at the end of our labours from what they had been in the beginning—that such progress was impossible, and that consequently between the alternatives of accepting alterations or resignation, our duty was in the first instance to offer, and finally, having had, through the gracious kindness of Her Majesty, an interview, to persevere in, the tender of our resignation. I hope that in conveying to the House the motives which acted on our minds, I have been fortunate enough to make it understood that my sole desire was to present the subject matter with which I have dealt simply as we viewed it, and that I was not using it as a reproach or even an argument. It is the duty of a Government, especially in regard to questions of gravity, to place the House of Commons in possession, as far as the public interest will allow, of the motives and considerations by which Ministers have been guided; and I trust, therefore, the House will excuse me for the time I have occupied its attention. I have no more to say than simply this, that we hold our offices simply and solely until our successors are appointed." The right hon. gentleman then moved the adjournment of the House for a few days, in order to give time to complete the arrangements for a new Ministry.

The Earl of Derby now undertook the duty of submitting to the Queen the programme of an Administration. The task was by no

means an easy one. The Conservative party in the House of Commons, though believed to be compact and unanimous, was yet in a considerable minority as to numbers. Unless, therefore, they could rely upon some extrinsic assistance or support from a section of the Liberal side, there appeared to be but little hope of their being able to form a Government capable of conducting the affairs of the country. Fully conscious of this difficulty the chiefs of the new Cabinet endeavoured to obtain some adherents from among that section of the Liberal members who had differed from the late Government on the question of Reform and had combined with the Conservatives to defeat the Bill. The overtures thus made to the "Adullamite" party, as they were called, met with no success; and Lord Derby found it necessary to construct his Administration out of pure Conservative elements, some of the principal offices being assigned to the same individuals who had held appointments in his former Ministry in 1859. The principal offices were distributed as follows:—

THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Derby.
Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli.
Home Secretary, Mr. Walpole.
Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Stanley.
Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Carnarvon.
Secretary for War, General Peel.
Secretary for India, Lord Cranborne.
First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir J. Pakington.
Lord Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford.
President of the Council, Duke of Buckingham.
Lord Privy Seal, Lord Malmesbury.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Earl of Devon.
Chief Commissioner of Works, Lord J. Manners.
President of Poor-law Board, Mr. Gathorne Hardy.
President of Board of Trade, Sir S. Northcote.
Postmaster-General, Duke of Montrose.
Junior Lords of the Treasury: Hon. G. Noel, Mr. Whitmore, Sir Graham Montgomery.
Joint Secretaries to the Treasury: Colonel Taylor, Mr. G. W. Hunt.
Under Secretaries: Home Department, Lord Belmore; Foreign Affairs, Mr. Egerton; Colonies, Mr. Adderley; War, Lord Longford; India, Sir J. Fergusson.
Junior Lords of the Admiralty: Mr. Du Cane, Sir J. Hay, Admiral Dacres, Admiral G. H. Seymour, Admiral Milne.
Secretary to the Admiralty, Lord H. Lennox.
Attorney-General, Sir H. Cairns.
Solicitor-General, Mr. Bovill.
Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Mr. S. Cave.

Judge-Advocate-General, Mr. Mowbray.
Secretary to the Poor-law Board, Mr. R. Earle.
Vice-President of the Council, Mr. Corry.
Ireland: Lord Lieutenant, Marquis of Abercorn; Chief Secretary, Lord Naas; Lord Chancellor, Mr. Blackburne; Attorney-General, Mr. John E. Walsh; Solicitor-General, Mr. Morris.
Scotland: Lord-Advocate, Mr. Patton; Solicitor-General, Mr. S. Gordon.
The Household: Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Bradford; Lord High Steward, Duke of Marlborough; Vice-Chamberlain, Lord Claud Hamilton; Comptroller, Lord Royston; Treasurer, Lord Burghley; Master of the Horse, Duke of Beaufort; Master of the Buckhounds, Lord Colville.

New writs having been moved in the House of Commons for the seats vacated by the members who had taken office, they obtained their re-election without difficulty. Some of the new Ministry, in addressing their constituencies on these occasions, entered rather fully into a statement of the views and principles with which the Administration came into office. Among these were the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli, in Buckinghamshire, and Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at King's Lynn. The former, in a speech of considerable length, declared his views upon most of the prominent questions of the day. He said the new Ministers had accepted their high position at a time when the affairs of Europe were in a critical state, almost every nation being either in arms or in a condition menacing hostilities; but there was no symptom of England being called upon to abandon her declared principle of non-interference. This doctrine he proceeded to explain and limit as follows:—

"The abstention of England from any unnecessary interference in the affairs of Europe is the consequence, not of her decline of power, but of her increased strength. England is no longer a mere European Power, she is the metropolis of a great maritime empire, extending to the boundaries of the furthest ocean. It is not that England has taken refuge in a state of apathy, that she now almost systematically declines to interfere in the affairs of the Continent of Europe. England is as ready and as willing to interfere as in old days, when the necessity of her position requires it. There is no power indeed that interferes more than England. She interferes in Asia, because she is really more an Asiatic Power than an European. She interferes in Australia, in Africa, and New Zealand, where she carries on war often on a great scale. Therefore it is not because England does not recognize her duty to interfere in the affairs of the Continent of Europe that persons are justified in declaring that she has relinquished her imperial position, and has taken refuge in the *otium cum dignitate* which agrees with the decline of life, of power, and of prosperity. On the contrary, she has a greater sphere of action than any European

Power, and she has duties devolving upon her on a much larger scale. Not that we can ever look with indifference upon what takes place on the Continent. We are interested in the peace and prosperity of Europe, and I do not say that there may not be occasions in which it may be the duty of England to interfere in European wars."

The relations of England with the United States he described as being most cordial. Turning to the subject of Ireland, and the measures which had been found necessary to repress the Fenian Insurrection, Mr. Disraeli expressed his conviction of the necessity of measures the general tendency of which would be, without violating the great principles of political science, to check the excessive emigration now going on, which he regarded as a political and social calamity to that country. Turning next to the subject of Parliamentary Reform, he proceeded to say:—"I hear very often, or perhaps I should say I read very often, that the subject of Parliamentary Reform is the great difficulty of the present Ministry, and will be their stumbling-block. I am quite of a different opinion. I see no difficulty in the subject at all; and if we stumble, rest assured we shall not stumble over the subject of Parliamentary Reform. If Parliamentary Reform is to be dealt with, I consider that the present Government have as good a right to deal with it as any body of statesmen in existence. The great Reform Bill of 1832 was mainly devised by Lord Derby, and was entirely carried by his energy; and, with regard to the only measure since the great Reform Bill on the subject of Parliamentary Reform ever mentioned with respect, why I myself brought it in. I have remarked during the recent campaign in the House of Commons, that every division that took place, and every strong manifestation of opinion which was expressed, ratified the principle upon which the Bill of 1859 was founded. And, night after night, sitting in that House opposite to me, distinguished Liberals of all hues rose, and in a tone of courteous penitence publicly avowed how much they regretted they had voted against the Bill of 1859. Gentlemen, I want to know, under such circumstances, what is to prevent us, if the question is to be dealt with, dealing with it in as efficient a manner as any other body of public men? We understand it, or, at least, we ought to understand it better than several who have dealt with it. I cannot, therefore, at all agree that the subject of Parliamentary Reform will be a source of trouble to the present Ministry, or that it will be one of the causes of their downfall, if it ever occur. Having said this, I frankly tell you that I am not going to give any pledge on the part of Her Majesty's Government that when Parliament meets next year we are going to deal with the question of Parliamentary Reform. We hold ourselves perfectly free to do that which is best for the country. I see no downcast or disconsolate faces in consequence of this announcement. At the same time, it is my duty to assure you that if we do deal with the subject at any time, we shall deal with

it in the spirit of the English Constitution. We shall not attempt to remodel the institutions of the country upon any foreign type whatever, whether it be American or whether it be French. I attribute the failure of the late Government in dealing with this subject to the confusion of ideas which prevailed amongst them upon the very principles on which they ought to legislate. It was impossible clearly to understand whether their measure was founded on the rights of man or the rights of numbers. We who opposed their views do not recognize that the rights of man should prevail in our legislation, or that a numerical majority should dictate to an ancient nation of various political orders and classes like the present. What we want to see is, whenever any increase in the electoral constituency of this country takes place, that it should take place in unison with the Constitution of the country. What we wish is, that the electoral power should be deposited with the best men of all classes, and that is the principle upon which, if called upon, we shall propose to legislate."

In conclusion Mr. Disraeli said:—"We are sometimes taunted with not having a policy. Persons who say that are generally eccentric individuals, who are peculiarly interested in some fantastic scheme in which they think are involved and invested all the causes of national prosperity and popular greatness. Gentlemen, we do not pretend to have a policy, if that is a definition of a policy. But our policy, to our minds, is definite and distinct; it is to uphold our Constitution in Church and State. It is to bring in all those measures and to pursue in every respect that policy which will secure to this country the continuance of prosperity and peace. That appears to me to be the policy which ought to be pursued by an English Ministry; and if it be pursued in spirit and in truth it will entitle them to, and will obtain for them, the confidence and the respect of their fellow countrymen."

The speech of Lord Stanley to the electors of King's Lynn, was somewhat different in tone from the foregoing. The noble lord said that he felt he owed his constituents some explanation when standing in a position which, twelve months ago, he never dreamed to occupy, and which had come unsought, and even undesired; because, although it brought honour enough to satisfy a more aspiring ambition than his, it was, in the present state of the world, a position of difficulty, of anxiety, and of responsibility—more than enough to try the firmest courage and to damp the most overweening confidence. Since the last election, Parliament had been almost wholly occupied with only one subject, that of Parliamentary Reform, and all now knew the result. To what was that result due? That was a question which he would endeavour to treat as impartially as if it were, what in some sense it already was, a matter of merely historical interest. In the first place the Government measure went further, as regarded the franchise, than the majority of the House of Commons was prepared to follow. That House was elected to support Lord Palmerston, who, although

he had given his consent to several Reform Bills, was nevertheless looked upon as not very eager to deal with that question—rather as disliking it than otherwise. The Liberal, or rather the Palmerstonian majority with which the Session commenced, by no means exclusively represented those who desired a large extension of the franchise. Still, the Bill, with some modifications, might have passed, had not intimations been repeatedly given that no proposal would be accepted which would affect the number to be admitted to the franchise. If it was understood that the late Cabinet would have accepted a 20*l.* rental in counties, and 8*l.* in boroughs, that compromise would have been adopted, not by the whole, but by a large majority of the Conservative party. But it became obvious that nothing of that kind was possible; and those who thought that the Bill went too far, and that it was a hasty, ill-considered measure, had no practical alternative but to oppose it altogether. There were other minor causes of misunderstanding. The plan of keeping back one-half of the proposition till another Session, was from the first unpopular in the House, and it was at length reluctantly abandoned. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer—of whom he (Lord Stanley) would ever speak with the respect due to his splendid ability and eloquence, seldom surpassed in Parliament—seemed to feel from the first that the House did not favour the proposition, and he seemed to desire to bring popular pressure on their deliberations. That was a most unfavourable course to pursue, for if the leader of the House of Commons shows distrust of that body, the House will return the compliment, and show its distrust of him." Lord Stanley then addressed himself to the question which had been often asked,—"Why had Lord Derby assumed the Government, he not possessing a majority in the House of Commons?" "To that," said the noble lord, "my answer is twofold. In the first place it is very hard to say, in the actual state of things, that any Minister or any Government possesses an assured majority in the present House of Commons. In the next place, we thought that in honour and in duty no other course was open to us than that which we took. If we had shrunk from the task—if we had allowed the late Cabinet to come back to the posts which they had just vacated—they would have come back, as it seemed to us, with a moral right to call upon the House to reverse its deliberate decision. They would have said, 'We come back as the only possible Ministry; if you take us, you must take us upon our own terms; if you take us, you must take our Bill with us; you must surrender your right of criticism; because, if you do not take that Bill as it stands, we shall resign again, and then the whole business of the country will be at a standstill.' Now, gentlemen, we thought that was not a position in which the House of Commons, or a majority of the House, ought to be placed. We have not desired to form our Administration upon any narrow party basis. There are many of the Whig party whose sympathies are well known to be

with us, whose support in debate and divisions we have no doubt of receiving, and whose official co-operation, where it has been asked, has only been withheld, not on account of any real or wide difference of political opinion, but rather from that natural and honourable scruple which makes men shrink from the appearance of changing their party—of walking, as the phrase is, across the floor of the House—under circumstances where they may possibly appear to be personal gainers by the change. As to the future, he would be a bold man who would undertake to prophesy. Next year is a long way off; and as for the rest of the present Session, I do not think you will see any very exciting debates; nor do I hope that the incoming Government will be able to do more than to wind up the necessary business of routine. I speak of what seems to be probable; but if any member of the House of Commons thinks that we, as a Government, are where we ought not to be, there is a very simple manner of bringing the question to issue. Let him move a vote of want of confidence; that is a fair, constitutional proceeding. Whether it is carried or whether it fails, we shall equally know where we stand. And if no such vote is moved, we have a fair right to assume that a majority of the House of Commons, although they may not be absolutely pledged to support either the Ministry or the measures which it brings forward, are nevertheless satisfied that ours is the Government which ought at the present time to be in power." Lord Stanley proceeded to vindicate the Conservative party against the imputation of being favourable to a war policy; he thought the risk of war much more likely to arise from democratic sympathy than from Conservative prejudice. He then explained his views as to the doctrine of non-intervention in foreign affairs. "Mere selfishness does not pay—we all find that out sooner or later: and selfishness does not alter its character, whether it is that of a nation or that of an individual. The justification of a policy of abstinence from warlike interference in Continental disputes lies deeper. It lies partly in our vast Indian and colonial interests, making the British Empire, as it were, a world apart, throwing upon us duties and responsibilities with which Continental states have nothing to do, and which are in themselves a burden heavy enough for any nation to bear; it lies partly in the duty which we owe to our own poorer classes at home, for whom we are trustees, whose condition, whatever improvements may have taken place in it, is certainly not what we should desire to see it, and upon whom an increase of debt, and consequently of taxation, must fall with crushing weight; it lies partly in the just conviction which we entertain, that example is worth more than precept, and that by simply existing as we do as a free, prosperous, self-governed nation, we are doing more than could be done by a thousand despatches, or even by many campaigns, to protest in practice against both a policy of despotism and a policy of revolution; and it lies also in our experience and recollection of past mistakes—in the lesson which our own history

teaches—how often in old days we have fought for objects which, after all, we did not secure, and which, if we had secured them, were not worth the price we paid."

The noble lord then referred to our intimate and friendly connexions with France and with the United States, and to the effective repression by the United States of the Fenian attack upon Canada; and, in alluding to the war then proceeding on the Continent, said:—

"We have witnessed the new spectacle of the fate of the three great countries being decided—if it be decided—in a ten days' campaign. We do not yet know what the settlement may be, but we know that our sole interest lies in the return of a peace which shall not be a mere truce, but a peace that shall rest upon a lasting basis, and the consequence of which will be the comparative disarmament of Europe."

The first important Parliamentary appearance of the new Government was on the 9th of July, when the Earl of Derby, in the House of Lords, made a statement respecting the principles on which his Government had been formed, and the views of policy by which it would be actuated. He expressed the reluctance with which, actuated by a sense of public duty in acceding to the invitation of his Sovereign, he had undertaken a task to which his health was unequal. He regretted that his efforts to secure the services of some gentlemen connected with the late Government had not succeeded. The result was, that the new Government consisted entirely of members of the Conservative party. That party had since 1859, and down to the death of Lord Palmerston, been content to give to that wise and prudent Minister a useful support, and to enable him to check and restrain the more impatient and extreme of his supporters. He (Lord Derby) had been informed that Lord Palmerston, shortly before his death, told his colleagues that it would be most imprudent to propose a Reform Bill in the first Session of a new Parliament, before he could ascertain the pulse of Parliament or of his own party to an extent which would enable him to judge of what support he would receive in proposing a large measure of Reform. But Earl Russell was deceived by the majority of seventy returned at the last general election in favour of a Liberal Ministry; and he fell into the mistake of not considering how much of that support was given to Lord Palmerston personally, and how much of it would be withdrawn on the introduction of an extensive Reform Bill. The noble lord then criticized and condemned the Bill recently introduced, and proceeded to comment on the difficulties which he (Lord Derby) had to encounter in his efforts to form a new Ministry. He had asked the co-operation of the Earl of Clarendon, of Earl Grosvenor, and of the late Marquis of Lansdowne, but they had declined the offer: and Earl Grosvenor told him that it was the unanimous opinion of some members whom he had consulted that they ought not to accept office, but that they were prepared to give

him (Lord Derby) an independent support. The noble Earl then proceeded to consider the objections that were urged to a Conservative Government, and first, that it was necessarily warlike, and he scouted the idea as absurd, for the Conservative party had the greatest stake in the country, and was most interested in its peace and prosperity. It was, therefore, least likely to be carried away by the popular enthusiasm which might drive even the most prudent Government into making war; and if there were a party in the State that was free from the imputation, it was the Conservative party. His earnest desire, indeed, was the preservation of peace; and to this end it was the first duty of every Government to keep on terms of good-will with surrounding nations, and not to entangle itself with any individual alliances. Above all, it should not needlessly and vexatiously interfere with the internal affairs of foreign countries, or volunteer unasked-for advice, and should scrupulously abstain from menace when it was not intended to follow up menace with action. It would be the height of impolicy if he were to say any thing at that moment on Continental affairs. In the objects and interests of the war then raging in Germany and Italy this country was not concerned, and the conduct of the Government with regard to that war would be to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality between the contending parties; whilst ready at any time, when there was the slightest gleam of hope that their good offices might lead to a termination of the struggle and the restoration of peace, to place those good offices at the disposal of the other neutral Powers, and to use their influence with the view of putting a stop to the horrors of war, staying the effusion of blood, and restoring to Europe the blessings of peace. The noble Earl next spoke in terms of congratulation on the cessation of hostilities in the United States, and expressed an earnest hope that with the return of tranquillity and the wise course which the President was taking, all ill-feeling on the part of the citizens of the United States towards Great Britain would terminate, and relations of perfect harmony be established between England and the great Republic. The stedfast loyalty of the inhabitants of the British American provinces in resisting the Fenian invasion also elicited from Lord Derby the language of strong approval, and he further acknowledged with the utmost gratitude the decided measures adopted by the United States Government in regard to the absurd and mischievous conspiracy called Fenianism. With respect to the question of Parliamentary Reform, Lord Derby said he held himself and his colleagues entirely free and unpledged, and should carefully consider the wise maxim which had been laid down by Earl Russell himself, that no Government would be justified in bringing in a Reform Bill without a fair prospect of being able to carry it, and without an understanding between the two great political parties in the State. He did not deny, however, that there were practical anomalies in our representative system which it was

desirable to redress, and that there were persons now excluded from the franchise who had a fair claim to be admitted to it. Nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see a large increase in the number of electors, and a considerable infusion of persons who were now excluded from the representation; but he feared that that portion of the community who were most clamorous for a Reform Bill were not those who would be satisfied with any measure that was likely to be concurred in by the two great political parties. He should rejoice, however, at any prospect of passing a safe and moderate measure. The subjects which would receive the first consideration of the Government would be the amendment of the Poor Law, and especially its administration in workhouses. The Ministry might possibly have to ask for a renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, their determination being to put down turbulence and violation of the law from whatever quarter it might proceed—to discourage any thing that tended to political or religious animosity, to deal impartial justice to all, and to call to their councils, without discrimination as to religious creed, all who were willing to co-operate in the good government of the country and the preservation of the public peace.

Earl Russell, commenting upon the speech of the Premier, vindicated the foreign policy of the late Government, arguing that they had never needlessly interfered in the affairs of other countries, or been guilty of uttering empty menace. Referring to the favourable condition in which the late Government had left the country, especially in regard to its finances (which, he said, was owing chiefly to the great ability and industry of Mr. Gladstone), the noble Earl observed, with respect to the question of Reform, that the time was opportune for a measure, and that the scheme of the late Government was a fair and moderate one, well calculated to settle the question for a considerable length of time. It had, he said, failed only through the obstructive course adopted by those who were themselves quite as much pledged to Reform as he and his colleagues had been.

Coming into office as they did at so late a period of the Session, it could not of course be expected of the Government that they should initiate any measures of importance or do more than carry to their completion those routine matters of legislation which are annually demanded of Parliament. All questions not falling within this category were of necessity postponed to the ensuing year. The financial arrangements of the Session, which were fortunately neither complex nor extensive, had been brought to a successful close by the outgoing Government. The annual statement of the finances of India only remained to be made, and this onerous duty devolved at a very early stage of his official career on the new Secretary of State for India, Viscount Cranborne. The noble lord, however, fearlessly undertook the task, and discharged it on the 19th of July, much to the satisfaction of the House of Commons, and in a manner which proved the great ability and

assiduity which he had brought to bear upon the heavy responsibilities of his new position. After a few preliminary remarks, the noble lord entered upon the details of his statement.

He said that it was the practice, in treating Indian finance, to deal with three years. With respect to the first of the three, 1864-5, the gross revenue was 45,653,000*l.* and the gross expenditure 45,846,000*l.*, showing a deficit of 193,000*l.*, and a difference of more than 800,000*l.* from the estimate. In regard to the year 1865-6 the gross revenue was 47,041,000*l.* and the gross expenditure was 47,020,000*l*, In that year there was an increase generally in the land and forest revenue, though the net profit from the latter was at present but small. The excise yielded 2,291,000*l.* being a gain of over 47,000*l.* on the previous year. The income-tax had been repealed, principally because it had been a complete failure in India, though at 10*d.* in the pound, never producing more than two millions a year. The salt-tax had experienced a considerable loss, about 167,000*l.* The customs showed a gain of 88,000*l.*, while opium gave 8,638,000*l.*, or 1,277,000*l.* more than in the previous year. The public works realized 1,016,000*l.* Turning to expenditure, he spoke of the enormous cost of the collection of the revenue, it being 8,776,000*l.*, though there was last year a diminution of over 200,000*l.* The army cost 13,468,000*l.*, being nearly the same as in the previous year, which was about the average expenditure. The expenditure for public works was 5,352,000*l.*, law and justice 2,439,000*l.*, and police 2,398,000*l.*; each item being an increase. The estimate of the revenue of the year 1866-7 showed a deficit of 72,800*l.* The opium-tax was estimated at 8,500,000*l.*, but that was a high and exceptional estimate; and he feared that too much reliance was placed on this source of revenue. This was the more to be regretted, as the percentage of other sources of Indian revenue had decreased rather than increased; and thus opium had become the essential element in Eastern finance. For the current year more than 6,000,000*l.* was spent on public works, which was a heavy item of expenditure, but it was in fact a large surplus which was invested in remunerative works. The cash balances at the close of the year would not be more than 10,000,000*l.* The railway expenditure had been a source of enormous success, for the repayment of the outlay was going on with extraordinary rapidity. The Great Indian Peninsula line paid 7 per cent. on its capital, and the East Indian nearly 5 per cent., though neither of them was fully and thoroughly opened. In consequence of a very full and able report on the general moral and material condition of India, which had been presented to the House, it was not necessary for him to say more than that education was progressing; public works—particularly of irrigation—were going on; railways advancing; the Ganges Canal had been rendered more fitted for its great purposes; and there was much evidence of prosperity. The shortness of his tenure of office must be an apology for his not speaking of the policy of the Govern-

ment in regard to India, but it was quite in his power to say that that policy was peace, public works, and an avoidance of the old aggressive system of annexation.

Mr. Laing entered into an elaborate examination of the Budgets for the last few years, maintaining that they showed a steady and natural increase in the revenue of about 1,000,000*l.* a year, which was balanced by a corresponding increase in the expenditure, though some portion of this last increase was only temporary. He discussed also the opium revenue, arguing that it was as reliable a source of revenue as the spirit duties here; and after pointing out that but for the charging of public works to revenue there would be an actual surplus, he indicated various quarters in which 20,000,000*l.* or more might be advantageously spent on railways, and concluded with a decided opinion that the general state of our Indian finances was not unsatisfactory.

Mr. Stansfeld entirely approved of the expenditure upon public works, and expressed the hope that, under the new policy of peace, the gradual reduction of army expenditure might be effected. If they were determined to abandon the old policy, and pursue that which would produce a civilizing influence, he thought no one could doubt that they must look forward to an increase in the civil expenditure, which meant more money for law, justice, and education. He was delighted to think that such would be the policy of the noble lord; and he was sure the present Viceroy and all the civil servants of India would be ready to assist him in that policy.

Mr. Crawford expressed a general approval of the Budget, and asked questions as to the introduction of a gold currency and the expediency of remitting home the accumulations of gold in the Indian treasuries; and Lord W. Hay insisted on the importance of improving our military defences in India, defended the annexation policy, and drew attention to the cost of the police force and the harm done by the numerous European paupers wandering about India.

Sir James Fergusson gave some explanations as to the cost and constitution of the new police force, and read from a Parliamentary paper just presented interesting details as to the progress and importance of various public works.

The resolutions moved by Lord Cranborne were then adopted by the House.

The remaining Parliamentary proceedings of the Session were of secondary importance. The renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act until the beginning of the next year has been already noticed. Mr. Berkeley's annual motion in favour of the Ballot was again brought forward, but with no more favourable result than in former years. The majority against it was 197 to 110. Some rather animated discussions originated out of the Hyde-park Riots, of which an account has been given in another part of this volume [1].

[1] See "Chronicle" for July.

The conduct of the Government, and especially of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, underwent some unfavourable criticism in reference to these transactions. On the day after the riot which resulted in the destruction of the park railings and the forcible occupation of the park by the mob, questions were addressed to the Government in both Houses as to the course adopted by the authorities, and the unfortunate results of the exclusion of the public by closing the gates of the park. Earl Granville asked the Prime Minister whether he would order to be laid before Parliament a copy of the instructions issued to the military and the police, and also inquired what measures had been taken to prevent a repetition of the recent disorders.

The Earl of Derby said the only satisfactory circumstance connected with these lamentable events was, that there had been, as yet, no actual loss of life, although severe injuries had been inflicted. While acquitting the leaders of the movement of all intention to disturb the peace, he thought they were censurable for inviting tens of thousands of persons to meet under the pretence of discussion (which would have been impossible), but really to overawe Parliament by a physical-force demonstration. The right of the Crown over the parks had never been disputed; and without saying whether or not the course pursued was the most prudent one, there could be no doubt that the object of closing the gates was to avoid a collision between the crowds and the police. The riots that took place after the leaders of the movement had withdrawn commenced by the breaking down of the park railings, and the conduct of the police and the military had been remarkably forbearing. Later in the night some mischief to windows in the neighbourhood was done (his own among the number), but it was hoped there would be no repetition of such disgraceful scenes. If, however, the spirit of mischief should still prevail, it might become necessary to invite the aid of special constables. He was unable to say whether the instructions could be produced, but he knew that the Secretary of State had been in communication with Sir R. Mayne and with the Commander-in-Chief.

Earl Granville, while fully admitting the right of public meetings, agreed with Lord Derby that in such large gatherings discussion and deliberation were impossible. The right of the Crown to regulate the use of the parks had always been admitted, but he was not prepared to say whether it was desirable to have called in the aid of the military. He, however, assured the Government that they would receive the co-operation, not only of that House, but of the public in general, in the maintenance of the public peace.

In the other House Mr. B. Osborne addressed a similar question to Mr. Walpole; and Mr. Ayrton strongly inculpated the Home Secretary for the course which he had adopted. He thought that instead of appealing at once to force, the Home Secretary ought to have met the people in a conciliatory spirit on the matter of right,

and should have issued a temperate notification explaining how the case really stood. Instead of that, he issued a most improper notification, containing what he called a "false suggestion" that a breach of the peace was about to be committed, and to it might be traced the disastrous consequences which had ensued.

Mr. Walpole warmly disclaimed any disposition to make a difference in the treatment of different classes in regard to the parks, as he had acted throughout with the sole desire to preserve the parks for the use of all classes alike. The question of right, he asserted, was perfectly well ascertained, for it was fully investigated by a commission appointed after the Sunday trading riots in 1855; and he read, from their report, the opinion of the law officers, Sir A. Cockburn, Sir R. Bethell, and Mr. Willes, that the Crown had a right to close the gates and to exclude the public. He explained that, as the parks were placed at the disposal of all for the benefit of all, he had issued the notification to close the gates, believing that to hold political or religious meetings there was an interference with the general enjoyment of them; he repudiated all desire to resort unnecessarily to coercive authority, or to prevent public meetings being held on political subjects at the proper time and place, and disclaimed any responsibility for what had occurred in consequence of those who got up the meeting setting his notification at defiance. Having described the instructions which had been issued to the police, he denied that the military had been sent for until riotous proceedings had taken place, and justified the propriety of the particular measure of locking the park gates, which he believed had been done on a former occasion. He acknowledged that the great body of the people—the working classes proper—were orderly and good-tempered, and after explaining the measures which had been taken to preserve the peace, concluded by claiming the support of all right-minded men and friends of order.

Mr. Layard having spoken in severe censure of the conduct of the authorities, Sir G. Grey recounted the measures he had taken when in office, in reference to the Trafalgar-square meeting, and mentioned that when he first heard of the intention to hold a meeting in Hyde-park, he had directed Sir R. Mayne to inform Mr. Beales that it would not be allowed, believing, with Mr. Walpole, that such meetings were incompatible with the primary object of maintaining the parks as a place of recreation for all classes. From his long experience of them he had no doubt that the police had discharged their duty with patience and temper; and though not prepared to give any opinion as to the expediency of all the measures taken by Mr. Walpole, he gave him the fullest credit for having done what he expected would be most effectual for the preservation of the peace.

Mr. Mill asserted that if the people had not a right to meet in the parks (which many eminent lawyers believed they had), they ought to have it, and permission ought to be given them when they

asked it, particularly under the circumstances of the time. As the Government seemed inclined to enrol their names on the list of those who could do more mischief in an hour than others could repair in years, he exhorted them to consider seriously the gravity of what they had done on this occasion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that Sir G. Grey and Mr. Walpole had shown that the parks were unfit places for political meetings, and it was a standing rule that no political meetings should be held in the public parks opened of late years near various provincial towns. As to the "notification" which had been so much blamed, it had never entered the minds of Ministers that the real working man, whose general orderly conduct he cordially acknowledged, would commit acts of riot, but they believed that the scum of this great city would take advantage of such an assemblage, and the justice of their apprehensions was proved by the event. So far from having an objection to public meetings on any subject, he believed them to be a valuable political safety-valve, and should rather encourage them when held at proper times and places.

The necessary business of the Session having been brought to a close on the 10th of August, the Prorogation of Parliament took place by Commission, the Royal Speech being read by the Lord Chancellor, in the following terms:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—

"We are commanded by Her Majesty, in releasing you from the labours of a protracted Session, to convey to you Her Majesty's acknowledgments for the zeal and assiduity with which you have applied yourselves to your Parliamentary duties.

"Her Majesty has much satisfaction in informing you that her relations with all foreign Powers are on the most friendly footing.

"Her Majesty has watched with anxious interest the progress of the war which has recently convulsed a great portion of the continent of Europe. Her Majesty cannot have been an indifferent spectator of events which have seriously affected the positions of Sovereigns and Princes with whom Her Majesty is connected by the closest ties of relationship and friendship; but Her Majesty has not deemed it expedient to take part in a contest in which neither the honour of her crown nor the interests of her people demanded any active intervention on her part. Her Majesty can only express an earnest hope that negotiations now in progress between the belligerent Powers may lead to such an arrangement as may lay the foundations of a secure and lasting peace.

"A wide-spread treasonable conspiracy, having for its objects the subversion of Her Majesty's authority in Ireland, the confiscation of property, and the establishment of a Republic, having its seat in Ireland, but deriving its principal support from naturalized citizens of a foreign and friendly State, compelled Her Majesty at the commencement of the present Session to assent to a measure, recommended by her representative in Ireland, for the temporary

suspension in that part of Her Majesty's dominions of the Habeas Corpus Act. That measure, firmly but temperately acted on by the Irish Executive, had the effect of repressing any outward manifestations of treasonable intentions, and of causing the withdrawal from Ireland of the greater portion of those foreign agents by whom the conspiracy was mainly fostered.

"The leaders, however, of this movement were not deterred from prosecuting their criminal designs beyond the limits of Her Majesty's dominions. They even attempted from the territories of the United States of America an inroad upon the peaceful subjects of Her Majesty in her North American Provinces. That attempted inroad, however, only served to manifest in the strongest manner the loyalty and devotion of Her Majesty's subjects in those provinces, who, without exception of creed or origin, united in defence of their Sovereign and their country. It served also to show the good faith and scrupulous attention to international rights displayed by the Government of the United States, whose active interference, by checking any attempted invasion of a friendly State, mainly contributed to protect Her Majesty's dominions against the evils of a predatory inroad.

"Her Majesty would have been rejoiced at the close of the present Session to be enabled to put an end to the exceptional legislation which she was compelled to sanction at its commencement; but the protection which Her Majesty owes to her loyal subjects leaves her no alternative but that of assenting to the advice of her Parliament to continue till their next meeting the provisions of the existing law. Her Majesty looks anxiously forward to the time when she may be enabled to revert to the ordinary provisions of the law.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—

"Her Majesty commands us to thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the public service, and for the naval and military defences of the country.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—

"Her Majesty has seen with great concern the monetary pressure which, for a period of unprecedented duration, has weighed upon the interests of the country. The consequent embarrassment appeared at one moment to be aggravated by so general a feeling of distrust and of alarm that Her Majesty, in order to restore confidence, authorized her Ministers to recommend to the directors of the Bank of England a course of proceeding suited to the emergency.

"This, though justifiable under the circumstances, might have led to an infringement of the law, but Her Majesty has the satisfaction of being able to inform you that no such infringement has taken place, and that, although the monetary pressure is not yet sensibly mitigated, alarm is subsiding, and the state of trade being

sound, and the condition of the people generally prosperous, Her Majesty entertains a sanguine hope that confidence will soon be restored.

"Her Majesty has observed with satisfaction, and with deep gratitude to Almighty God, that He has so far favoured the measures which have been adopted for staying the fearful pestilence which has visited our herds and flocks, that its destructive effects have been in a great measure checked, and that there is reason to hope for its entire extinction at no distant period. In the meantime Her Majesty has given her willing assent to a measure which has been introduced for the relief of those districts which have suffered the most severely from its visitation.

"Her Majesty regrets that this country has at length been subjected to the fearful visitation of cholera which has prevailed in other European countries, but from which it has hitherto been happily exempt. Her Majesty has directed that a form of prayer to Almighty God, suitable to the present exigency, should be offered up in all the churches of this realm; and Her Majesty has given her cordial approval to legislative measures sanctioning the adoption, by local authorities, of such steps as science and experience have shown to be most effectual for the check of this fearful malady.

"Her Majesty hopes that those in whose hands so large and beneficial an authority is left will not be slow to execute the powers entrusted to them, and that they will be seconded in their endeavours by all who have at heart the safety and well-being of her people. In connexion with this subject, Her Majesty hopes that a Bill, to which she has given her ready assent, for improving the navigation of the River Thames, may incidentally be conducive to the public health.

"Her Majesty has great satisfaction in congratulating the country, and the world at large, on the successful accomplishment of the great design of connecting Europe and America by the means of an electric telegraph. It is hardly possible to anticipate the full extent of the benefits which may be conferred on the human race by this signal triumph of scientific enterprise; and Her Majesty has pleasure in expressing her deep sense of what is due to the private energy which, in spite of repeated failure and discouragement, has at length, for the second time, succeeded in establishing direct communication between the two continents. Her Majesty trusts that no impediment may occur to interrupt the success of this great undertaking, calculated, as it undoubtedly is, to cement yet closer the ties which bind Her Majesty's North American colonies to their mother country, and to promote the unrestricted intercourse and friendly feeling which it is most desirable should subsist between Her Majesty's dominions and the great republic of the United States.

"Her Majesty is aware that, in returning to your respective homes, many of you have duties to perform hardly less important

than those which belong to you in your legislative capacity. Her Majesty places full reliance on the loyalty and devotion with which you will discharge those duties; and Her Majesty earnestly prays that your influence and efforts may, under the blessings of Divine Providence, tend to the general welfare, prosperity, and contentment of her people."

This terminated the first Session of the New Parliament. It was one marked by important incidents and memorable contentions, yet unusually barren of legislative results. Scarcely any measures of more than secondary importance were added to the Statute Book during its progress. In fact the interest of the Reform question absorbed all other topics and stopped the way of practical legislation. Its result upon the position of parties was remarkable. When it commenced, the Liberal party was to all appearance strong and united, numbering a majority of adherents in the House of Commons which seemed fatal to any hopes on the part of the Opposition; ere it ended, that powerful combination was scattered and disorganized, and a Conservative Ministry installed in power, which, though inferior in numerical strength, derived no inconsiderable support from the known and acknowledged division in the ranks of its adversaries. Any one who, at the beginning of the year, had predicted that the Session would close under the Administration of Lord Derby, would have been regarded as a visionary; but the result proves the vanity of political predictions.

If we turn from the Parliamentary campaign to the general character and events of the year we cannot describe it otherwise than as a gloomy and unprosperous period. A smouldering insurrection in Ireland, repressed to all appearance for a time, but breaking out again at intervals, and indicating a chronic state of disaffection and insecurity in that country, gave cause of painful reflection to all thoughtful politicians. During the earlier half of the year the cattle disease continued its ravages and was regarded with much anxiety; but happily, as time went on, the stringent precautions which had been adopted produced the wished-for effect, the cases showed a progressive reduction in number, and by the end of the year the plague, though not extinct, was in a material degree abated. In the south-eastern and south-western counties, the loss of cattle was comparatively small, and Wales continued almost wholly exempt from the disease, but in the north-western counties it kept its hold more tenaciously, and in the dairy farms of Cheshire many ancient pastures were given up in despair to the plough. The stoppage of fairs and markets, however, and the restrictions on the passage of cattle across the boundaries of counties, were generally allowed to be relaxed after the winter began. Still the total loss of the year, from this visitation, was very considerable. It has been computed at not less than 3,500,000*l.* in money.

Another scourge of which great apprehensions were entertained, though it did not leave our population scatheless, yet happily

passed over this country much more lightly than it affected some of our continental neighbours. The deaths from cholera did not materially affect the returns of mortality for the year. In the eastern parts of London and some contiguous parts of the Metropolitan District the disease assumed rather an alarming appearance in the autumn. It was promptly met, however, by all the resources which medical skill and sanitary precaution could supply, and the charity of the public responded with laudable promptitude to the call made upon it. A committee was formed early in August at the Mansion House, headed by the Lord Mayor, for the relief and assistance of the sufferers. An appeal was made to the public for contributions of money. Before a week had passed, the funds were in excess of the want. The money had come in at the rate of 1000*l.* a day, while the action of the committee was signally accompanied by a decline of the disease. The plague had swiftly culminated in the fortnight between the 21st of July and the 4th of August. Then all at once it began to subside; and so cheering was the prospect, that before the month of August had passed, the Lord Mayor was enabled to suggest a large appropriation of the funds in hand to the assistance or support of those who had been left orphans by the epidemic. Within a few weeks the total amount subscribed amounted to at least 70,000*l.* About 20,000*l.* was disbursed by the Mansion House Committee to cholera-stricken districts for present use, 7000*l.* to orphans and widows, and 2000*l.* to convalescents. The returns furnished to the local committees of the deaths, during the period of this visitation, amounted to 4396 from cholera, and 646 from diarrhœa. It is believed, however, that this statement does not represent the total mortality, which was computed to be not far short of 8000; but even on that assumption the immunity enjoyed by our population is very striking indeed. As great a mortality has fallen on more than one little German town. In Austria it is computed that at least 100,000 lives have been lost, and there was hardly a week in which the deaths in London were not exceeded by those in some continental city with scarce a tenth of our population. That much of this exemption is due, under Providence, to our recent sanitary improvements cannot be doubted, and, indeed, if we read the Lord Mayor's Report, and observe the social miseries and mischiefs in spite of which we have attained all this success, we shall be almost led to conclude that the final extirpation of epidemic diseases is not beyond our power. What the Cholera Committees did during the three months of this visitation, does but represent what ought to be done always; or, rather, what ought not, in our generation, to require doing at all. Impurities in the water supply and disregard of the most essential sanitary conditions were obvious aggravations, if not direct provocatives, of the disease.

But a more fruitful source of suffering than even these calamities of nature or disturbances of the political system, was that widespread financial collapse which in the spring of this year spread

embarrassment and distress among thousands of families, and cast a gloom over the surface of society. It was the inevitable reaction from the speculative mania and inflated commercial transactions of the preceding year, which had launched so many shallow and fallacious schemes upon the world, seducing thousands of unwary persons into liabilities utterly beyond their power to meet. The panic of 1866 followed after an unusually short interval from the last preceding collapse, and it was accompanied with an amount of discredit more profound and lasting than has perhaps ever been experienced on similar occasions. During the early part of the year a high rate of interest indicated unusual pressure; but it was commonly asserted that trade was healthy, and the failure of one or two country banks was attributed to local causes. In April the greater part of the ordinary stock of a notoriously speculative Railway Company was advertised for sale at an apparently ruinous discount, and it was known that several railway contractors were unable to obtain a continuance of the advances on which their solvency depended. The first week of May was marked by increased disquiet and anxiety, and on the tenth of that month the stoppage of the great discount establishment of Overend and Gurney produced universal consternation. This business had been transferred only a year before by the partners of the well-known firm to a limited joint-stock company; and shareholders and customers had relied with equal confidence on the solvency and prosperity of the undertaking. At the time of the suspension the engagements of the Company amounted to 19,000,000*l.*, and traders and speculators depended on its resources for a proportionate supply of accommodation. No single bankruptcy, perhaps, ever caused so great a shock to credit. The following day produced the wildest agitation which has ever been known in the City, and the Government was compelled, as in 1847 and 1857, to authorize the Bank of England to issue notes beyond the legal limit. It was rumoured that the strongest joint-stock banks were almost drained of ready money; nor can it be doubted that a slight increase of distrust on the part of the depositors might have produced mischievous results. Two or three banks, including the Agra and Masterman's Limited Company, failed within the week, and several of the new credit companies, framed on the French model, were summarily crushed. The rate of 10 per cent. discount imposed on the Bank of England by Government as a condition of the additional power of issue, lasted from the 11th of May to the 17th of August; and although the rate afterwards declined rapidly from 8 per cent. to 6, to 5, and to 4 per cent., the price of the Funds and of shares in railway and joint-stock companies scarcely rose at all. For some months after the panic English credit fell into entire disrepute on the Continent; and a circular from the Foreign Office, containing an accurate explanation of the distinction between scarcity of money and insolvency, appeared only to aggravate the prevailing suspicion. At home, one im-

portant class of securities was additionally discredited by the exposure of scandalous irregularities in the financial conduct of some of the railway companies. The most prosperous and solvent undertakings suffer from the doubts thrown by unscrupulous directors and managers on the reality of their profits, and more especially on the security of their debentures. But the financial disasters of the year admit of another explanation than the diminished value of railway investments. The principal cause of the crisis was probably the rapid expansion of trade, unsecured by the provision of an adequate pecuniary reserve. The joint-stock banks retain within immediate reach only a small percentage of their deposits, and the prudent administration of the Bank of England supplies no sufficient power of meeting sudden and extraneous demands for assistance. The new system of limited liability had tempted large numbers of small and inexperienced capitalists to invest their money in speculative undertakings. As they were for the most part liable to calls on a large proportion of their shares, painful experience taught them that the limitation of their responsibility was little more than nominal.

In consequence of the disasters now described, numbers of families found themselves reduced from affluence to poverty, many had to descend to a lower position in society, and an extensive contraction of expenditure took place, the effects of which were felt through all the channels of trade and especially by those who minister to the amusements and luxuries of the affluent. Travelling was checked, places of public amusement were less resorted to, and a sensible deficiency in the receipts of railways, especially of those which depend on "pleasure traffic," did not contribute to alleviate the difficulties which other causes had brought upon those undertakings. And although before the close of the year money became comparatively abundant in the market, and the Bank rate of discount was lowered to 3½ per cent., the elasticity usually attributed to credit in this country showed little symptom of existence, the shock given to confidence had been so severe, the distrust both of individuals and undertakings, however apparently solid and responsible, so deeply rooted.

But although the collapse of private fortunes was so great and the pressure on the resources of individuals so painful, the sources of public wealth were happily untouched, and the commercial transactions of the country indicated no re-action. The returns of the Revenue continued to show the same irrepressible buoyancy which had characterized for many years our financial system, and exemplified the facility with which the decrease of taxation brings about increase of income. For the year the total revenue was 68,785,662*l.* against 69,196,478*l.* in 1865. There was thus a net decrease of 410,816*l.* For this the property tax and stamps were wholly chargeable. We had in truth realized the full effect of the fourpenny income-tax, and the reduction on fire insurances. Mr. Gladstone, in his Budget, estimated the income-tax for the year

ending April 1867, at 67,575,000*l.*; but he made reductions of taxation which he estimated might reduce this sum by 562,000*l.* It will thus be seen that there was actual excess over his estimate, so far as the twelve months just ended was concerned, of close upon a million and three quarters. The official tables of the exports and imports testified at the same time to the continued expansion of our foreign trade. The Board of Trade Returns for the year showed the total value of our exportations to have been 188,827,785*l.*, being an increase of nearly 14 per cent. on the preceding year, and of 18 per cent. on 1865. The shipments of cotton yarns exhibited an increase of 32 per cent. in value and 34 per cent. in quantity, and of cotton manufactures 30 per cent. in value and 28 per cent in quantity. The total value of cotton yarns and manufactures was 74,565,426*l.*, or about 40 per cent. of our entire trade. As regards imported articles, the arrivals of cotton were 12,295,803 cwts, against 8,731,949 in 1865, the proportion from America being 4,643,370 against 1,212,790 in 1865. Of wheat, the importations were 23,156,329 cwts., an increase of rather more than 10 per cent. on the importations of the preceding year, but almost exactly the same as those of 1864. Of flour the quantity was 4,972,280 cwts., an increase of about 27 per cent. Of Indian corn the importations were exactly double those of 1865, and of barley, oats, pease, and beans, the quantities brought in also exhibited a considerable augmentation.

It seems not improbable that the imports of the ensuing year will exhibit a still further increase in the articles of corn and flour, for to the unfavourable circumstances of the year whose events we are now recording, must be added that of a deficient harvest. In the critical months of August and September the weather was unusually wet and stormy, to a degree which greatly impeded the operations of the farmers: the wheat crops suffered much from this cause. A great deal of corn was housed in bad condition, and no inconsiderable portion wasted or spoiled. The result was a yield decidedly below the average, and the prices of grain were in consequence much enhanced. The prices of other necessaries were also raised; that of meat continued, as it had been throughout the year, very high. These circumstances, combined with a contraction of the demand for labour, arising from commercial failures and discredit, made the winter of 1866-7 a period of considerable suffering to the poorer classes.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE.

Opening of the French Chambers—Speech of the Emperor—Circular of the Minister of the Interior about Public Meetings—Policy of France with regard to Rome and Mexico—Finance Budget—Addresses of the *Corps Législatif* and Senate—Answers of the Emperor—Policy of France in the impending conflict between Austria, Prussia, and Italy—Speech of the Emperor at Auxerre—Abortive attempts to summon a Conference at Paris—Letter from the Emperor on the prospect of War in Germany—Senatus-Consultum with respect to the Constitution—Speech of M. Rouher in supporting it—Claim of France to an extension of frontier—Manifesto of the French Government on the results of the war in Germany—Withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome—Resignation of M. Drouyn de Lhuys as Foreign Minister—Reply of the Pope to the parting address of the French Commandant at Rome—Report of M. Fould on the finances of France.

Nothing occurred during the present year to disturb the tranquillity of France. She remained at peace with all her neighbours, and the efforts of the French Emperor were directed, but unhappily in vain, to preserve peace in Europe. The war in which Germany and Italy were involved seemed likely to draw into its vortex the other great Powers, but the growing disinclination of the French nation to incur the burdens which a passion for military glory necessarily imposes, rendered it a comparatively easy task for Napoleon III. to stand aloof from the quarrel, and the other Continental States were wise enough to take no part in the conflict.

The Session of the French Chambers was opened by the Emperor on the 22nd of January, and he delivered the following speech:—

"Messieurs les Sénateurs,
"Messieurs les Députés,—

"The opening of the Legislative Session enables me periodically to lay before you the situation of the Empire, and to express to you my views. As in previous years, I will examine with you the principal questions which interest our country. Abroad, peace

seems everywhere assured, for everywhere there is a desire to seek the means of solving difficulties amicably, instead of cutting them by the sword. The re-union of the English and French fleets in the same ports, has shown that the relations formed on fields of battle have not been weakened—that time has only cemented the good understanding of the two countries. With regard to Germany, my intention is to continue to observe a policy of neutrality which, without preventing us occasionally feeling regret or pleasure, nevertheless leaves us strangers to questions in which our interests are not directly engaged.

Italy, recognized by nearly all the European Powers, has asserted her unity by inaugurating her capital in the centre of the peninsula. We have reason to rely upon the scrupulous execution of the Treaty of the 15th of September, and upon the indispensable maintenance of the power of the Holy Father.

The bonds which attach us to Spain and to Portugal have been further strengthened by my late interviews with the Sovereigns of those two kingdoms.

You have shared with me the general indignation which was produced by the assassination of President Lincoln; and recently, the death of the King of the Belgians has caused universal regrets.

In Mexico, the Government founded by the will of the people is becoming consolidated. The malcontents, vanquished and dispersed, have no longer any chief. The national troops have shown valour, and the country has found guarantees of order and security, which have developed its resources and raised its commerce with France alone from 21 millions to 77 millions. Thus, as I expressed last year the hope, the expedition approaches its termination. I am arranging with the Emperor Maximilian to fix the time for the recall of our troops, in order that their return may be effected without compromising the French interests which we went to defend in that distant country.

The Northern parts of America having emerged victorious from a terrible conflict, have re-established the ancient Union, and have solemnly proclaimed the abolition of slavery. France, which forgets no noble page of her history, sincerely prays for the prosperity of the great American Republic, and for the maintenance of the friendly relations which will soon have reached their centenary. The uneasiness produced in the United States by the presence of our army on Mexican soil will be appeased by the frankness of our declarations. The American people will comprehend that our expedition, in which we invited them to take a part, was not opposed to their interests. Two nations equally jealous of their independence ought to avoid any step which would implicate their dignity and their honour.

At home, the tranquillity which has prevailed has enabled me to visit Algeria, where my presence, I hope, will not have been unavailing to secure interests, and to produce harmony among the

races. My absence from France has moreover proved that I could be replaced by a firm heart and an elevated mind. It is in the midst of populations satisfied and confiding that our institutions are working. The municipal elections have taken place with the utmost order and the most entire liberty. The Maire being in the commune the representative of the central powers, the Constitution has conferred upon me the right of selecting those officers from all the citizens, but the election of intelligent and devoted men has enabled me, in nearly all cases, to choose the Maire from among the members of the municipal councils. The law on coalitions which had given rise to some apprehensions, has been put in force with great impartiality by the Government and with moderation on the part of those interested. The working class, so intelligent, has comprehended that the greater the facilities which are given to it to discuss its interests, the more it is bound to respect the liberty of each and the security of all. The inquiry into co-operative societies has resulted in showing how just were the bases of the law which has been presented to you on this important subject. That law will permit the establishment of numerous associations to the advantage of labour and prudence. To encourage their development I have decided that the permission to combine shall be granted to all those who, apart from politics, desire to deliberate on their industrial interests as men of business. This permission will only be limited by the guarantees which public order requires.

"The state of our finances will show you that while the receipts continue their progressive increase, the expenditure has a tendency to diminish. In the new budget the accidental or extraordinary resources have been replaced by normal and permanent resources. The law upon the sinking fund, which will be submitted to you, shows the institution of a certain revenue and offers fresh securities to the creditors of the State. The equilibrium of the Budget is assured by an excess of receipts. In order to arrive at this result savings have had to be effected in the greater part of the public services, and among others, in the War Department. The army being on a peace footing there were but the alternatives of reducing the *cadres* or the effectives. This last measure was impracticable, for the regiments scarcely reckoned the necessary number of soldiers. The good of the service counselled even an augmentation. By suppressing the skeletons (*cadres*) of 220 companies, 46 squadrons, and 40 batteries, but at the same time turning over the soldiers to the companies and squadrons still kept on foot, we have rather strengthened than weakened our regiments. The natural guardian of the interests of the army, I should not have consented to those reductions if they had been likely to impair our military organization, or to deprive of the means of existence those whose services and devotion I have had an opportunity of appreciating. The maintenance hereafter of all officers without troops compromises no future; and the admis-

sion into administrative careers of officers and sub-officers who are approaching the period when they would be entitled to retire on half-pay, will soon restore the regular movement of promotion. All interests will thus be secured and the country will not have shown herself ungrateful towards those who shed their blood for her.

"The Budget of Public Works, and that of Public Instruction, have not undergone any diminution. It was desirable to preserve to the great enterprises of the State their fruitful activity, and to maintain the energetic impulse of public instruction. In the space of a few months, thanks to the devotedness of the schoolmasters, 13,000 new classes for adults have been opened in the communes of the Empire.

"Agriculture has made great progress since 1852. At this moment it is suffering from a depreciation of price in respect of cereals. This depreciation is the inevitable consequence of the extreme abundance of the harvests, and is not the result of the abolition of the sliding scale. Economic changes develope the general prosperity, but they cannot prevent partial hardships. I have considered that it would be useful to institute inquiry into the state and into the wants of agriculture. That inquiry will, I am convinced, confirm the principles of commercial liberty, and will facilitate the study of the proper means either of relieving local suffering or of realizing further progress. The extent of our international transactions has not been diminished, and the general commerce, which last year was upwards of seven milliards, has increased by seven hundred millions. In the midst of this constantly increasing prosperity, some uneasy minds, under the pretext of hastening the liberal progress of the Government, have sought to impede that progress by depriving it of all force and all initiative. They lay hold of a word borrowed by me from the Emperor Napoleon I. and confound instability with progress. The Emperor, in declaring the necessity for the progressive improvement of human institutions, meant that the only lasting changes were those which are the work of time, brought about by the improvement of public manners. Those improvements flow from the moderation of passions, and not from unseasonable modifications of our fundamental laws. What advantage would there be in resuming on one day that which we had rejected the day before? The Constitution of 1852, submitted to the acceptance of the people, has undertaken to found a system reasonable and wisely based upon a just equilibrium of the different powers of the State. It keeps at an equal distance from two extreme situations. With one Chamber holding within itself the fate of Ministers, the Executive is without authority and without spirit. Again, it is without control if the Elective Chamber is not independent and in possession of legitimate prerogatives. Our constitutional forms, which have a certain analogy with those of the United States, are not defective simply because they differ from those of England. Each people should

have institutions which are conformable to its genius and to its traditions. It is true that every Government has its defects; but in glancing over the past, I am rejoiced, at the end of fourteen years, to find France respected abroad and tranquil at home, without political captives in her prisons, without exiles beyond her frontiers. The nation has during eighty years sufficiently discussed theories of government. Is it not now more useful to seek practical means for improving the moral and material condition of the people? Let us then employ ourselves in spreading abroad sound economical doctrines—the love of good and religious principles. Let us seek to resolve, by the freedom of transactions, the difficult problem of the just distribution of productive forces; and let us endeavour to improve the conditions of labour in our fields and in our workshops. When all Frenchmen, now invested with political rights, shall have been enlightened by education, they will discern the truth without difficulty, and will not allow themselves to be seduced by deceptive theories; when all those who live by their daily toil shall be convinced of the increasing benefits which are procured by assiduous labour, they will be the firm supporters of a society which ensures their well being and their dignity. Finally, when all shall have received from their childhood those principles of faith and morality which elevate man in his own eyes, they will know that above all human intelligence, above the efforts of science and of reason, there exists a Supreme Will which regulates the destinies of individuals, as it does those of nations."

With reference to the paragraph in the Emperor's Speech about public meetings, the Minister of the Interior, M. Lavalette addressed a circular to the Prefects of Departments, in which he said:—

"The Emperor, in his Speech at the opening of the Legislative Session, said, 'I have decided that the authorization to meet shall be accorded to all who, apart from politics, shall wish to deliberate on their manufacturing or commercial interests. That faculty shall be limited only by the guarantees required for public order.' When applied to for permission, you will have only to inquire into the reality of the object of the meeting, and as to the danger to public order and tranquillity which the assembly may cause. If the purpose is not political, and the meeting is not of a nature to provoke disorder, your duty will be to grant the authorization. In case you should feel any hesitation as to the decision to be come to, you may refer to me. It is essential that the administrative jurisprudence on those delicate questions should be uniform throughout France. The Emperor desires, in authorizing those meetings, to facilitate the settlement of economic relations between masters and workmen, and to favour the development of the industrial and commercial interests of the country."

The intended withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome was thus alluded to in the official report of the state of the Empire

which was, as usual, presented to the Chambers in the beginning of the Session:

"The execution of the September Convention is running its regular course. The Pope displays a disposition to profit by the guarantees offered, and the removal of the seat of Government to Florence has been effected. Public opinion in Italy is favourable to the Convention, and the sense of loyalty and honour of Italian statesmen is a pledge for its fulfilment. The French troops at Rome are gradually being withdrawn. We have offered the Pope our assistance to facilitate the recruitment and organization of his military forces. As regards the Pontifical debt, we hope soon to arrive at an understanding with the Italian Cabinet which the Holy See may accept without sacrificing its dignity."

On the subject of Mexico, the report said:—

"The French Government, on undertaking the expedition to Mexico, placed before it an aim to which it has rendered subordinate its conduct, and on which its decisions are still depending. We went to Mexico to obtain redress, not to proselytize for the cause of Monarchy. Our soldiers are not in Mexico with the object of intervention. The Imperial Government has constantly repelled that doctrine as contrary to the fundamental principles of our rights. Mexico is at present ruled by a regular Government, anxious to fulfil the engagements it has made in respect both to the persons and properties of foreigners. When the necessary arrangements are concluded with the Emperor Maximilian, we shall be so far from repudiating the results of our principles as regards intervention that we shall, on the contrary, accept them as the guiding rule for all Powers, and it will then be easy to foretell the time when we shall be able to effect the return of the expeditionary army."

Early in the year the Minister of Finance, M. Achille Fould, presented to the Chambers his "Budget of 1867," of which the items of chief interest were the following:—

"The economy practised by the Government and the increase of the public revenue enable us to satisfy this year a wish often expressed by the Chambers, that of devoting certain real resources to the redemption of the Public Debt. The arrangement of the ordinary Budget for 1867 is closely connected with the new measures laid before you with that view. Certain receipts are, from their previous destination or their peculiar character, detached from the ordinary Budget and carried to that of the Sinking Fund, which, on the other hand, is charged with the provision of certain temporary disbursements. Though the financial year 1865 is not yet closed, it is sufficiently advanced to appreciate the probable results. The report of the Minister of Finance announced that the Budget of 1865 would attain an equilibrium. The notable increase in the receipts during the month of December confirms that anticipation. The receipts will surpass by 8,000,000f. the estimate of the rectificative Budget, which you voted in the month

of June last. It is therefore very probable that not only will the Budget of 1865 reach an equilibrium, but perhaps show a surplus. The financial year 1866 has only just commenced; it will profit in part by the savings which have recently been operated in the Budgets of War, Marine, and Finance. On the other side, the increase of the revenue which has taken place in the last months of 1865 leaves room to hope that the estimates of the returns for 1866 will be sensibly exceeded. The Budget of 1866 therefore appears under satisfactory conditions. You will be able to appreciate them in a more complete and precise manner in examining the different rectificative elements of the Budget of that year. The floating debt has continued to decrease during the past year. You may remember that on the 1st of January, 1864, it stood at 934,000,000f., whereas at the commencement of 1865 it was not more than 808,000,000f. Although subject now to the consequences of the *découvert* of 1864, it has been reduced on the 1st of January, 1866, to 760,000,000f. Brought back to these normal conditions, in presence of the favourable results of the Budget of 1865, it ought to be retained there.

"EXPENSES.

"The ordinary expenditure of the Budget of 1867 amounts to the sum of 1,524,383,181f. Art. 1 of the Bill proposes to open to the Ministers, for the necessities of the public service, credits, which are divided in the following manner:—

Public debt and endowments	503,931,772f.
General service of the Ministers	778,635,991f.
Cost of Government manufactories, collection of the taxes and public revenues	231,291,918f.
Repayments and restitutions	10,523,500f.
	1,524,383,181f.

The credits voted to the ordinary Budget of 1866 were 1,691,321,614f. The credits required in 1867 show a reduction on those of 1866 of 166,938,433f. . . . .

"The balance between the expenditure and receipts of the ordinary Budget may be thus stated:—Receipts, 1,622,856,877f.; expenditure, 1,524,383,181f.; excess of receipts, 98,473,696f. But this excess represents only a portion of the improvements obtained. To perceive the whole, it is necessary to add to the ordinary Budget certain receipts and expenses from the Budget of the Sinking Fund. The receipts detached from the ordinary Budget to be appended to the Sinking Fund Budget amount to 63,146,000f. —viz., net proceeds from the forests, 32,748,000f.; produce of the tax of one-tenth, 27,398,000f.; and profits of the Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations, 3,000,000f. The expenses which are attributed to the Sinking Fund and diminish the burden of the Budget of the State include,—divers annuities for 12,923,889f.

and guarantees of interest for 31,000,000f., making together 43,923,889f. By adding to the Budget these items of receipt and expenditure we find the following result:—Receipts of the ordinary Budget, including the ordinary receipts of the Sinking Fund, 1,686,002,877f., while the expenditure, including that of the Sinking Fund, is 1,568,302,070f., leaving a total surplus of receipts amounting to 117,700,807f. This surplus of receipts is divided in the following manner between the Ordinary Budget, of which it forms the balance, the Extraordinary Budget, of which it is the principal resource, and the Budget of the Sinking Fund, of which it secures the beneficial and regular working:—Ordinary Budget, 10,473,696f.; Extraordinary Budget, 88,000,000f.; Sinking Fund Budget, 19,227,111f. The progress of the surpluses of receipts in the ordinary Budget is owing at once to an increase in the public revenues and to economies realized in the expenditure. The improvement in the Budgets of 1864, 1865, and 1866 had been continuous, without being rapid. In the Budget of 1867 it assumes a real significance. The Government is happy to be able to lay before the Legislative Body a Budget which, after providing for the dotation of the Sinking Fund and of extraordinary public works, still presents surplus receipts of more than 10,000,000f."

Count Walewski took his seat as President of the *Corps Législatif* in the place of the late Duc de Morny, whose death was mentioned in our last volume; and there was considerable discussion on the various paragraphs of the Address, but none of interest or importance. The most noticeable feature was the increase in the number of the Opposition; and one amendment on the question of public liberty was signed by no fewer than 36 Deputies who generally voted in favour of the Government. It was thus worded:—

"France, firmly attached to the dynasty which guarantees order, is not less attached to the liberty which she believes necessary for the accomplishment of her destinies. The Legislative Corps is convinced that it faithfully expresses public opinion by bringing to the foot of the Throne the prayer that your Majesty shall give to the great Act of 1860 (the liberal decree of the 24th of November) the extension which is its consequence. The experience of five years seems to us to have sufficiently demonstrated that that extension is proper and opportune. The nation, more intimately associated by your liberal initiative to the conduct of its own affairs, may then regard the future with entire confidence."

The Address of the *Corps Législatif* in reply to the Emperor's Speech, contained the following passages:—

"We are happy to state that the relations of France with foreign Powers are of a pacific character. We still entertain hopes of a reconciliation between Italy and the Papacy. This reconciliation is necessary for their interests, for the peace of Europe, and for the tranquillity of consciences. The September Convention, honestly carried out, will be a fresh guarantee of the

Pope's temporal Sovereignty, the maintenance of which is indispensable to the independent exercise of the spiritual power. The country has received with satisfaction the assurance that our expedition to Mexico is drawing to a close."

And with reference to the United States it declared that that Government "ought not to take umbrage at the presence of our troops in Mexico. To render their recall dependent upon any other than our own convenience would be to attack our rights and our honour, which your Majesty guards with a solicitude worthy of France and of the name of Napoleon."

The Address of the Senate also alluded to the same subject in similar terms.

"Your Majesty informs us that the memorable expedition to Mexico approaches its termination. This is announcing to satisfied France that the protection of her commercial interests is assured in a vast and wealthy market now restored to security. As regards the United States, if, from misconception, the presence of the French flag in America appeared to them less opportune than at a previous and most illustrious period of their history, the firm tone of the communications made by your Majesty's Government has demonstrated that haughty and menacing language will not decide us to withdraw. France is accustomed to move only at her own time, but she nevertheless wishes to remember the ancient friendship between herself and the United States. What your Majesty asked of the United States is neutrality and observance of international law."

In the course of the discussion in the Senate the Duc de Persigny made a speech, the object of which was to show that the institutions of Great Britain were not suitable for France. He said:—"The Emperor has given to France durable liberty, founded upon the solid basis of authority. History shows us various forms of liberty. The Emperor has made the Constitution to contain the principle of liberty, and it depends upon public opinion to develope it."

When the Address of the Senate, which was almost an echo of the Imperial Speech, was presented to the Emperor, on the 18th of February, he said:—

"This eloquent commentary upon my Speech developes what I merely pointed out, and explains all that I wished to convey. You desire, as I do, stability, the rational and progressive development of our institutions, and the maintenance intact of the national honour and dignity. This accord is a force in the moral as well as in the physical world, and obeys general laws which cannot be violated without danger. It is not by daily disturbing the basis of an edifice that its completion is hastened. My Government is not stationary. It is advancing, and wishes to advance, but upon firm ground, capable of supporting power and liberty."

The Address of the *Corps Législatif* was not presented until the 22nd of March, when the Emperor, on receiving it, said in reply:—

"The great majority of the *Corps Législatif* have confirmed once more, by voting this Address, the policy which has given you fifteen years of tranquillity and prosperity. I thank you. Without allowing yourselves to be carried away by vain theories, presented in a seductive garb, as alone capable of aiding the emancipation of thought and the progress of humanity, you said to yourselves, 'We also desire to attain those ends, while regulating our march by the appeasement of passions and the wants of society.' Is not our motive the common welfare, and what attraction would your mission have for you or my power for me, if separated from the love of justice? Would you go through such long and arduous labours if you were not inspired by true patriotism? Could I have borne the weight of government for the last eighteen years, with its incessant anxieties and heavy responsibility before God and before the nation, if I had not felt within me that strength which is afforded by the sense of duty and by the consciousness of having a useful mission to carry out? France, equally with ourselves, desires progress, stability, and liberty; but a liberty which shall develope intelligence, generous instincts, and the noble exertions of labour—not a liberty bordering upon licence, which would excite evil passions, destroy all belief, rekindle hatred, and give rise to disorder. We require a liberty which shall enlighten, control, and discuss the actions of the Government, but not become an arm to undermine and overthrow it. Fifteen years ago, when nominal chief of the State, without effective power, and without support in the Chamber, but strong in my conscience and the suffrages which had elected me, I ventured to declare that France would not perish in my hands. I have kept my word. For fifteen years France has developed and increased, and her high destiny will be accomplished. After us our sons will continue our work. My guarantee for this is the assistance of the great bodies of the State, the devotion of the army, the patriotism of all good citizens, and, lastly, that Divine protection which has never failed our country."

On the 3rd of May in the *Corps Législatif* M. Rouher, Minister of State, spoke on the subject of the impending conflict between Austria on the one side and Prussia and Italy on the other. He said that the efforts made by France towards the maintenance of peace had been only limited by a firm resolve not to contract any obligation, and to maintain liberty of action in questions which, after all, did not affect her honour, her dignity, and her interests. It was the duty of the Government to practise the rules of an honest neutrality, and it had determined to profit by its liberty of action only to protect the power, security, and liberty of France against every attack.

He then continued:—

"Particular duties are imposed upon us with regard to Italy. Italy may believe herself called upon to interfere actively in the Austro-Prussian conflict. Every nation is the best judge of its

own interests. We do not claim to exercise any guardianship over Italy; she is unfettered in her resolutions because she is alone responsible for them; but the interest we feel towards her obliged us to explain ourselves categorically. She knows that, as we should highly disapprove Austria making any attack upon her, so also are we thoroughly determined to throw upon her all the perils and risks of any attack she may make upon Austria. The declaration of the Government is summed up as follows:—'A pacific policy, an honest neutrality, and complete liberty of action.'"

This speech was received with great applause, and M. Thiers, who followed M. Rouher, declared that France, which had lavished treasures and blood for Italy, had the right to prevent her from any act of aggression that she might contemplate, and Italy was bound in gratitude to listen to France.

On the 6th of May, the Emperor, being at Auxerre, was presented with an Address by the municipality, when he made the following significant reply:—

"I am happy to see that the reminiscences of the First Empire have not been effaced from your memory. Be certain that, on my side, I have inherited the sentiments of the head of my family for the energetic and patriotic populations who supported the Emperor in good as in evil fortune. I have, moreover, a debt of gratitude to pay to the department of the Yonne. It was one of the first to give me its suffrages in 1848, because it knew, like the majority of the French nation, that its interests were mine, and that I detested, like it, those treaties of 1815 which some parties of this day wish to make the sole basis of our foreign policy.

"I thank you for your sentiments. In the midst of you I breathe at ease, for it is among the laborious populations of the towns and rural districts that I find the true genius of France [2]."

An attempt was made by the Governments of England, France, and Russia to prevent the outbreak of the war which was imminent between Austria on the one hand, and Prussia and Italy on the other, by the proposal of a conference to take place in Paris; but as Austria declared that she would send a representative only on the condition that no question of territorial aggrandizement was to be discussed, the Emperor of the French answered on the 3rd of June that the conference was impossible.

The despatch of the Austrian Government to its Ambassador at the Court of France stated that, "it appears to us indispensable that an agreement should be come to beforehand to exclude from the deliberations any combination that might tend to give to one of the States now invited to the meeting a territorial aggrandizement, or an increase of power." This excluded not only the ques-

[2] It was said, however, that when the Emperor spoke at Auxerre, he made no allusion to the treaties of 1815, but added them afterwards, when his reply appeared in the "Moniteur." This increased the uneasiness which was felt in consequence, as it showed that the words were the expression of the deliberate opinion of the Emperor.

tion of the right of Prussia to the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, but also the claim of Italy to Venetia.

At the sitting of the *Corps Législatif* on the 12th of June M. Rouher, Minister of State, read a letter addressed by the Emperor to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in which His Majesty said, that if the Conference had met, his Government would have declared that France repudiated all idea of territorial aggrandizement so long as the European equilibrium remained undisturbed. "France," it continued, "could only think of an extension of her frontiers in the event of the map of Europe being altered to the profit of a great Power, and of the bordering provinces, expressing by a formal and free vote their desire for annexation. . . . . We should have desired, for the Germanic Confederation, a position more worthy of its importance; for Prussia, better geographical boundaries; for Austria, the maintenance of her great position in Europe, after the cession of Venetia to Italy in exchange for territorial compensation. The Conference has failed. Will France be led to draw the sword? The French Government thinks not. Whatever may be the result of the war which may break out, no question affecting us will be resolved without the assent of France. France therefore will continue to observe an attentive neutrality, confident in her right, and calm in her strength."

On the 6th of July, M. Rouher laid before the Senate the draft of a Senatus Consultum, the objects of which, to use his own words in introducing the measure, were—

"To ensure in a more efficient manner the respect due to the Constitution;

"To fix the precise rules for the examination of petitions tending to a modification of that act;

"To facilitate for the Legislative Body the exercise of the right of amendment, without altering the protecting conditions of a well-considered examination;

"And to modify the prescriptions relative to the duration of the sessions of the Legislative Body."

The following is the text of the Senatus Consultum itself:—

"Art. 1. The Constitution cannot be discussed by any public power other than the Senate, proceeding in the forms determined by that fundamental law.

"A petition with the object of any way modifying the Constitution can only be brought up for discussion in a general sitting, if authorized by at least three of the five bureaux of the Senate.

"Art. 2. Any discussion with the object of modifying the Constitution, and published either by the periodical press or works not periodical, subject to the stamp law, is forbidden.

"A petition in favour of any modification of the Constitution can only be made public by the official report of the sitting in which it has been discussed. Any infraction of the present article is punished with a fine of from 500f. to 10,000f.

"Art. 3. Article 40 of the Constitution of the 14th of January, 1852, is modified as follows:—'Art. 40. The amendments adopted by the committee charged to examine a bill are sent to the Council of State by the President of the Legislative Body.'

"The amendments not adopted by the Committee of the Council of State are not submitted to the definitive vote of the Legislative Body, but they may be taken into consideration, and sent back to the committee for a fresh examination.

"If that body does not propose a new draft, or if the one already made is not adopted by the Council of State, the original text of the Bill is alone put into deliberation.

"Art. 4. The disposition of Article 41 of the Constitution of the 14th of January, 1852, which limits the ordinary Sessions of the Legislative Body to three months is repealed.

"The indemnity allowed to deputies of the Legislative Body is fixed at 12,500f. for each ordinary Session, whatever may be its duration.

"In case of an extraordinary Session, the indemnity continues to be regulated in conformity with Article 14 of the Senatus Consultum of the 25th of December, 1852."

In the speech which M. Rouher delivered in support of this novel and important measure, bearing so heavily upon the liberties of France, he said:—

"The Constitution of a country cannot be made a subject of controversy; its stability depends on that condition. Every Government that accepts or undergoes a discussion of its principles, exposes itself to inevitable attacks, and allows the legitimate prestige and the necessary solidity of its institutions to be gradually impaired. That respect of the fundamental law, and that necessity for placing it beyond the reach of all attack, have been understood by all statesmen in all times and places.

"The time-honoured veneration of the English for their Magna Charta, which is still even now protected by the most rigorous laws, has powerfully contributed to the formation of those political habits, so calm and so powerful, of that public morality which forms the real security of their Government and the essential condition of its stability.

"In France the Constitution has always been placed under the protection of numerous laws, amongst which may be cited those of 1819, 1830, and of August 11, 1848.

"Were these laws, some of which still subsist, sufficiently energetic? Have they been observed with religious good faith? We do not wish to examine the question; we need only point out that the spirit of controversy, timid at first, but becoming less reserved every day, has boldly attacked the principles on which public authority is based. But that is an incontestable danger; and our duty is to preserve from it a Constitution which seals in a useful alliance both the conquests of our fathers and the rules of order and authority without which every liberty is illusory and impotent

—a Constitution which has for its base and consecration the suffrages of the whole nation, and which, on this ground more than any other, can lay claim to the name of Magna Charta, or the law of laws.

"Therefore, Article 1 proclaims that 'the Constitution cannot be discussed by any public body other that the Senate.'

"That declaration in reality says nothing new; it confines itself to expressing more clearly a truth contained by implication in our constitutional right, and disengaging with more precision a high principle of competency.

"The Senate alone, in fact, is called on, conjointly with the Emperor, to propose modifications in the Constitution, subject, in certain cases, to the approbation of the people. This high jurisdiction is exclusive and sovereign, both in its faculty of initiative and in its rights of decision. It is not shared in any degree by any other authority. No power, either constituted or derived, can put that jurisdiction into action or even demand its exercise without encroaching to a certain extent on its dignity and independence. The Legislative Body itself could not demand a reform of the Constitution without mistaking its attributions. But political bodies have only a regular and real force and influence, and contribute usefully to the march of institutions only through a twofold respect both for their own competency and for that of the other powers of the State.

"The objection has been vainly raised, that the Constitution has declared itself susceptible of being made more perfect; and that for that reason permission should be given to point out its defects and to express wishes for its amelioration.

"Undoubtedly, the Constitution is not immutable; the Emperor, in his proclamation, declares that 'it has not confined within an impassable circle the destinies of a great people.' But does that mean that the homage paid to the progress of time and civilization is to be converted into an element of daily controversy or perilous instability—that it is to serve as a pretext for the audacious or disguised evocation of forms of government, extinct or broken up? Is it not easy to see that parties following such a bent would find themselves hurried into the most deplorable abuses, and that they would soon claim the pretended right of discussing not only the attributes of the various powers, but even the forms of government—the Prince himself—and the principle of hereditary right? The theory of perfectibility, thus understood, would be an absurdity and a permanent danger. The Sovereign Legislator of 1852 did not commit such a fault. The Constitution, susceptible of improvement by the free, spontaneous, and exclusive action of the Emperor and the Senate, remains for every body beyond the reach of controversy. It commands the respect of all; it imposes a general submission.

"Ought these doctrines, which experience and reason have sanctioned, and which the remembrance of past revolutions should

render still more sacred for us, to lead us to propose to you the restriction of the right of petition, and especially to withdraw from your deliberations all those having for object a modification of the Constitution?

"The Government has not thought so; it has not considered that a state of things which has existed for fourteen years could be changed advantageously. It even believes that the Senate maintains itself in communication with public opinion by permitting the expression of the convictions and wishes of each citizen to reach it. Nevertheless, the past has revealed the necessity of establishing certain rules—of constituting certain guarantees for the purpose of freeing the Senate from the obligation of accepting a publicity, and discussions often badly timed, without serious object, and sometimes not exempt from grave inconveniences or certain perils. We, therefore, propose to you to place the petitions which have for their aim a reform of the Constitution under the preliminary control of the bureau of the Senate.

"The second article is a necessary consequence of the dispositions which we have just analyzed. It interdicts, under pecuniary penalties, all discussion in the Press, having for object the modification of the Constitution, and forbids all anticipatory publication of a petition relative to the reform of the fundamental compact.

"The laws promulgated since 1819 punish all provocation to disobedience or attack. Under these terms they certainly were intended to apply to discussion, and had the idea of interdicting it or rendering it impossible by the enormity of the penalty.

"We pursue the same end, but by a formula more clear and precise, less elastic and more straightforward. Article 2, without confounding it with an explanation or a simple commentary, forbids all discussion which treats of that which cannot be the subject of any debate—all discussion which is at least an implied provocation to change, for at the bottom of such polemics there is always an attack. One is the consequence and conclusion of the other inevitably, as all the world understands, even when not expressed. . . . . .

"The propositions on which you are invited to give a decision derive their character from no accidental circumstances: they are not the result of an unreflecting impulse, nor of an unjust idea of reaction. They originate in an honest consideration of facts, and a calm and profound examination of the conditions necessary to protect the institutions of the country against all moral disorder.

"The policy of the Emperor is not one of those which live from day to day or by expedients, and which, being uneasy and disturbed, allow themselves to be directed and influenced by variable and often contradictory currents. It possesses the serenity derived from deep convictions and the tranquillity due to a just knowledge of its strength. Whether it directs its influence and authority to affairs abroad, or concentrates its attention to the internal requirements of the country, impartial as justice and truth, disinterested

in its grandeur and great in its disinterestedness, the sole object it has in view is the welfare and glory of the country."

The Legislative Session of the French Chambers was closed in the beginning of July.

At the close of the war between Prussia and Austria, the French Emperor asked from the Prussian Government the concession of a small strip of territory to the extreme south of her Rhenish provinces, and on the north-east of France, including the valuable coal-fields in the neighbourhood of Saarbruck and Saarlouis. But this was peremptorily refused, and the Emperor had the good sense not to persist in a claim which would have united all Germany against him.

A very important exposition of the views of the French Emperor as to the events which had happened in Germany, and the sudden expansion of the power of Prussia, was made public by a circular despatch addressed by the Minister of the Interior, M. La Vallette, to the representatives of the French Government in foreign countries. The despatch was dated September 16, and was in the following terms:—

"Sir,—The Emperor's Government cannot any longer defer the expression of its views concerning the events which have just been accomplished in Germany. M. de Moustier being necessarily absent for some time longer, His Majesty has directed me to explain to his diplomatic agents the motives which actuate his policy. The war which broke out in Central and Southern Europe has destroyed the Germanic Confederation, and has definitively established Italian nationality. Prussia, whose limits have been extended by victory, is predominant on the right bank of the Main. Austria has lost Venetia, and she is separated from Germany. In presence of these considerable changes all States must be alive to a feeling of responsibility; they ask themselves what is the effect of the recently concluded peace—what will be its influence upon European order and upon the international position of each Power?

"Public opinion in France has been excited. It wavers doubtfully between the joy of seeing the treaties of 1815 destroyed, and a fear lest the power of Prussia should assume excessive proportions—between a desire for the preservation of peace and the hope of obtaining by war a territorial extension. It rejoices at the complete enfranchisement of Italy, but wishes to be reassured in respect of dangers which might menace the Holy Father. The perplexities that disturb men's minds, and which also have their effects abroad, impose upon the Government the duty of stating clearly the light in which it regards the subject.

"France ought never to have an equivocal policy. If she be affected in her interests or in her strength by the important changes which are taking place in Germany, she ought to declare it frankly, and should take the measures which may be necessary for insuring her security. If she loses nothing by the pending

transformations, she ought to state the fact sincerely, and to resist exaggerated apprehensions and ardent views, which, by provoking international jealousies, might divert her from the course which she should pursue. In order to dissipate uncertainties and to establish facts, it is necessary to look at what has happened, and what is likely to happen, in all their bearings. What do we find in the past? After 1815, the Holy Alliance united against France all the peoples from the Ural to the Rhine. The Germanic Confederation comprised, with Prussia and Austria, eighty millions of people; it extended from Luxemburg to Trieste, from the Baltic to Trent, and surrounded us with an iron girdle supported by five Federal fortresses; our strategical position was restricted by the most skilful territorial combinations. The slightest difficulty that might occur between us and Holland, or with Prussia on the Moselle, with Germany on the Rhine, with Austria in the Tyrol or the Friuli, brought against us the combined forces of the entire Confederation. Austrian Germany, invincible upon the Adige, could advance at a fitting moment to the Alps. Prussian Germany had an advanced guard upon the Rhine in the minor States, incessantly agitated by desires for political transformations, and disposed to regard France as the enemy of their existence and of their aspirations.

"If we except Spain, we had no possibility of forming an alliance on the Continent. Italy was parcelled out and impotent; she was not to be counted as a nation. Prussia was neither sufficiently compact nor sufficiently independent to detach herself from traditions. Austria was too much engaged in preserving her possessions in Italy to be able to effect an intimate understanding with us.

"Doubtless, the long prevalence of peace has caused the dangers of these territorial organizations and alliances to be forgotten, for they appear to be formidable only at the time when war is about to break out; but this precarious security France has sometimes obtained at the price of foregoing her position (*rôle*) in the world. It is incontestable that during nearly forty years she has found raised against her the coalition of the three Northern Courts, united by the recollections of common defeats and victories, by similar principles of government, by solemn treaties, and by sentiments of distrust towards our liberal and civilizing action. If now we examine the future of transformed Europe, what guarantees does it offer to France and to the peace of the world? The coalition of the three Northern Courts is broken up. The new principle that governs Europe is freedom of alliances. All the great Powers are restored to the plenitude of their independence, to the proper development of their destinies. Prussia, enlarged, free henceforth in all solidarity, assures the independence of Germany. France should take no umbrage at that. Proud of her admirable unity, of her indestructible nationality, she ought not to oppose or to reject the work of assimilation which has just been accomplished,

nor to subordinate to jealous feelings the principles of nationality which she represents and professes in respect of peoples. The national sentiment of Germany being satisfied, her uneasiness is dissipated, her enmities disappear. By imitating France, she has taken a step towards us and not from us. In the south, Italy, whose long bondage (*servitude*) has not extinguished patriotism, is placed in possession of all her elements of national greatness. Her existence profoundly modifies the political condition of Europe; but, notwithstanding unreflecting susceptibilities or momentary injustice, her ideas, her principles, her interests, draw her nearer to the nation which has shed its blood to assist her in conquering her independence.

"The interests of the Pontifical Throne are assured by the Convention of the 15th of September. That Convention will be loyally executed. In withdrawing his troops from Rome the Emperor will leave in their place as a guarantee for the security of the Holy Father the protection of France.

"In the Baltic, as in the Mediterranean, are growing up navies of the second rank, which are favourable to the freedom of the seas.

"Austria, released from her German and Italian tendencies, employing no longer her forces in barren rivalries, but concentrating them on Eastern Europe, still represents a power with thirty-five millions of souls, which no hostility nor interest separates from France.

"By what singular reaction of the past upon the future should public opinion see, not the allies, but the enemies of France in those nations enfranchised from a past which was hostile to us, summoned to a new life, governed by principles which are our own, and animated by those sentiments of progress which are the peaceful bond of modern societies?

"A Europe more strongly constituted, rendered more homogeneous by more precise territorial divisions, is a guarantee for the peace of the Continent, and is neither a danger nor an injury to our nation. This nation, with Algeria, will shortly reckon more than forty millions of inhabitants; Germany thirty-seven millions, of which twenty-nine millions are in the Northern Confederation and eight millions in the Southern Confederation; Austria, thirty-five millions; Italy, twenty-six millions; Spain, eighteen millions. What is there in this distribution of European forces which can disquiet us?

"An irresistible power—can it be regretted?—impels peoples to unite themselves in great masses by causing the disappearance of minor States. This tendency arises from a desire to assure to the general interests more efficacious securities. Perhaps it may be inspired by a kind of providential anticipation of the destinies of the world. While the ancient populations of the Continent within their restricted territories increase but slowly, Russia and the United States of America may each, before another century has expired,

contain 100 millions of inhabitants. Although the progress of these two great Empires cannot be to us a source of uneasiness, and while, on the contrary, we applaud their generous efforts on behalf of oppressed races, it is proper that, with a wise foresight in respect of the future, the nations of Central Europe should not remain parcelled out into so many different States, without strength and without public spirit. Political science should rise above the narrow and paltry prejudices of a past age. The Emperor does not believe that the greatness of one country depends upon the weakening of neighbouring peoples, and sees no real balance of power save in the satisfied wishes of the nations of Europe. In that he follows his ancient convictions and the traditions of his race. Napoleon I. foresaw the changes which are now taking place upon the European Continent. He planted the germs of new nationalities in the Peninsula by creating the kingdom of Italy; in Germany by causing the disappearance of 253 independent States.

"If these considerations are well founded and true, the Emperor was right in accepting the part of mediator, which has not been devoid of glory, in order to put an end to useless and lamentable bloodshed, to moderate the victor by his friendly intervention, to modify the consequences of reverses, to bring about, despite many obstacles, the restoration of peace. He would, on the other hand, have mistaken his great responsibility if, violating a promised and proclaimed neutrality, he had rushed suddenly into all the risks of a great war, one of those wars which revive the hatreds of races, and in which entire nations are engaged. What really could have been the object of such a contest voluntarily entered upon with Prussia, and necessarily with Italy? A conquest—a territorial aggrandizement. But the Imperial Government has long since applied its principles in respect to an extension of territory. It understands—it has understood—annexations dictated by an absolute necessity, uniting to the country populations having the same customs, the same national spirit as ourselves, and it sought for the free consent of Savoy and the county of Nice to the re-establishment of our national frontiers. France can only desire those territorial aggrandizements which will not affect her coherent power; but she must always strive for moral and political aggrandizement by employing her influence for the great interests of civilization.

"Her part is to cement the union between all the Powers that desire at the same time to maintain the principle of authority and to favour the cause of progress. The alliance will take from revolution the *prestige* which has been claimed for it of furthering the cause of freedom for the people, and will preserve to great enlightened States the wise direction of the Democratic movement which manifests itself throughout Europe.

"Nevertheless, there is in the emotion which has been evoked in the country a legitimate sentiment which it is right to acknowledge and to define. The results of the last war contain a grave lesson,

and one which has cost nothing to the honour of our arms. They point out to us the necessity, for the defence of our territory, of perfecting without delay our military organization. The nation will not be wanting to this task, which can be a menace to no one; it has a just pride in the valour of its armies; its susceptibilities, awakened by the recollections of its military pomps, by the name and the acts of the Sovereign who governs it, are but the expressions of its energetic will to maintain against all attempts its rank and its influence in the world.

"In short, from the elevated point of view from which the Imperial Government regards the destinies of Europe, the horizon appears to be cleared of all menacing eventualities; formidable problems which ought to have been resolved because they could not be evaded pressed upon the destinies of populations; they might have been imposed at a more inopportune period; they have received their natural solution without too violent shocks, and without the dangerous co-operation of revolutionary passions. A peace which reposes upon such bases will be a durable peace.

"As to France, in whatever direction she looks, she can perceive nothing which can impede her progress or interrupt her prosperity. Preserving friendly relations with all Powers, directed by a policy which has generosity and moderation for its strength, relying upon her imposing unity, with her all-extended genius, her treasures, and her credit, which fertilize Europe; with her developed military forces, surrounded henceforth by independent nations, she will appear not less great, she will remain not less respected.

"Such is the language which you must hold in your communications with the Government to which you are accredited."

In September the period arrived when, according to the Convention made last year between France and Italy, the Emperor was to begin to withdraw his troops from Rome, and leave the Pope to maintain himself as a temporal Sovereign without the aid of a foreign Power. The Emperor was true to his engagement, and a considerable part of the Imperial garrison had by the middle of September already evacuated Rome, it being generally understood that the whole force would be withdrawn early in December. But in the meantime a so-called Franco-Pontifical Legion was organized, consisting of mercenaries under the command of a French general who had volunteered to enter into the military service of the Pope. This body of men, 1205 strong, embarked at Antibes for Civita Vecchia on the 13th of September, and before they sailed were addressed by the General, who commanded the ninth French military Division, in a short speech, in which he told them that "although they were henceforth to serve under other colours, they would not cease to be French soldiers, and they would under all circumstances have to uphold the honour of the French name, of which they would soon be the only representatives at Rome."

Shortly before this M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, resigned his office, and there was much specula-

tion as to the motives which induced him to quit the Government. An English Minister under such circumstances would have explained the cause of his retirement in his place in Parliament; but in France it is otherwise, and the public were driven to conjecture instead of deriving information from the lips or pen of the Minister himself. It was generally believed that the cause was twofold. First, that M. Drouyn de Lhuys viewed with apprehension and mistrust the enormous increase of Prussian influence and power consequent upon her victory over Austria, and wished France to assume a more decided attitude with reference to the politics of Germany; and secondly, that although he had been, as Minister, a party to the Convention of September last year, he was averse to the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, believing that the temporal power of the Pope would be thereby placed in imminent peril. He was succeeded by the Marquis de Moustier, who had been acting as the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

Early in December the evacuation of Rome by the French garrison was nearly complete; and in taking leave of His Holiness, General Montebello, who had for some time been in command of the French troops there, thus addressed him:—

"Most Holy Father,—On coming for the last time to implore the benediction of your Holiness, I cannot repress deep emotion. There are circumstances under which the melancholy inseparable from leave-taking is converted into real suffering. The Emperor, faithful to his engagements, withdraws his troops, but he does not withdraw his support. He leaves at Rome the protection of France. May time have the effect of appeasing passions and calming sufferings; may it give to all the spirit of conciliation, and insure to the Holy See the independence and security necessary to maintain its spiritual action upon the world! Such are the sincere wishes, prompted by the most lively gratitude, which I lay at the foot of your Holiness while asking your benediction."

In his reply the Pope could not conceal the bitterness which he felt at the departure of his protectors, and at what he so unfairly considered his desertion by the Emperor Napoleon. At the close of his address he said:—"But, I repeat it, revolution may come. I am weak; I have no resource upon earth. But I tranquillize myself by confiding in a Power which will give me the strength I need. That power is God. It is He who sustains me. Go, my children, depart with my benediction, with my love. If you see the Emperor, tell him that I pray for him every day. I am told that he suffers; I pray for his health. I am told that his mind is agitated; I pray God to restore to him calm. But, if I pray for him, he on his side should do something, since he bears the title of very Christian, and since France is the eldest daughter of the Church. For it suffices not to bear titles; they must also be justified by acts. He must pray with humility, faith, perseverance. By confiding in God the chief of a nation gains strength and may obtain all he desires. I see that the world is not quiet. For my

part, I put my trust in the Divine mercy, and bestow upon you my benediction. It will attend you in your journey through life."

On the 11th of December, the French flag was hauled down at the Castle of St. Angelo and the Pontifical flag was hoisted in its place. And so ended the French occupation of Rome.

In December, M. Fould, the Minister of Finance, presented his Report to the Emperor, in which he gave the following account of the "Service of the year 1866."

"The year 1866 has witnessed the accomplishment of great events. From its earliest months the affairs of Germany gave rise to great uneasiness. A formidable war speedily broke out; and though the rapidity with which it was conducted, the prompt conclusion of peace, the firmness and moderation of your Majesty's Government were calculated to reassure the public mind, still a certain degree of anxiety remained among us. To this cause of interference with business were added the return of the cholera, the poverty of the harvest, and, lastly, the inundations. All these misfortunes have, however, happily exercised but slight influence over our financial position, and the public revenue has not ceased to increase. This augmentation will cover some unforeseen expenses which events imposed upon us, and which should be properly provided for. Thus in the Ministry for War a sum of ten millions was advanced by a transfer of funds in order to increase the stores of articles of military equipment. But these articles, distributed among the mass of regiments, will hereafter produce reimbursements. The maintenance of the auxiliary corps in Mexico has exceeded our anticipations by nearly six millions. In the Ministry of Finance 8,800,000f. figured among the charges of the year. This sum arises from requisitions which have been made in consequence of sudden and unforeseen necessities upon the pay chest of the army of Mexico, by order of the Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, for advances to the Mexican Government, and from draughts upon the Mexican Commission of Finances at Paris, which have remained unpaid. In the Ministry of the Interior 300,000f. have been obtained by transfer in order to furnish relief to the Lyonese operatives. That sum will be replaced in the credit of that department. To these unforeseen expenses must be added miscalculations in the estimates of some of our receipts. Thus, the annuity of 7,500,000f. due by the Mexican Government has not been paid. The alienation of wood on the coast, set down at 2,000,000f., and the sale of lands at Havre, valued at 3,500,000f., have not been realized, or, at least, only to a very small extent. These sums will be carried forward to the Budget of 1867. Some other branches of the revenue have brought less value than expected, amounting in all to nearly two millions. But as I have observed in respect of these expenses, and of these non-realizations of receipts which I have mentioned, a considerable overplus has been obtained in respect of the indirect taxes. Owing to the development of our commercial activity and our manufactures, the revenue

for the first eleven months of 1866 has shown an increase of more than thirty millions upon the estimates of the rectificative Budget for that year; if this period be compared with the corresponding period of 1865, the excess is shown to be more than forty-five millions. . . . . It is well also to observe that, in the midst of the financial disasters which have affected our neighbours and the principal countries of Europe, we have not had to deplore any commercial crisis. While in all other markets the interest of money was rising, it remained constantly in France at a very moderate rate; capital has not ceased to be abundant, and the public credit has been maintained with great firmness. The years of 1865 and 1866 have, therefore, added nothing to our previous discoveries. If the floating debt, the amount of which stands at 888 millions, has apparently increased, that arises from the obligatory deposits having accumulated to such an extent that the Treasury now holds 215 millions. During this year the inquiry into the Bank had been pursued, and the result of the investigation will soon be appreciated by the superior Council of Commerce, and will demonstrate, I am convinced, in a striking manner that the system of currency in France rests upon solid bases and offers every security."

The Report included "the rectificative Budget of 1867" and the estimated Budgets, ordinary and extraordinary, for 1868. It gave a flourishing description of the finances, and concluded thus:—"The surplus of receipts over expenses, wisely prepared, will, I hope, be sufficiently considerable in 1868 to enable your Majesty to realize the programme you have long since traced out, and which you long to fulfil;—reduction of the charges which press on the tax-payers; augmentation of the resources devoted to public instruction; a still more energetic impulse to all works of general utility which should be carried out upon the territory of the Empire. Your Majesty will also find in this surplus the means of providing for the reorganization of the army. Whatever anxieties may have been caused on account of this new organization, they will not fail speedily to vanish when the certainty is perceived that these changes are inspired solely by the necessity for placing the forces of France upon a footing consistent with her position in Europe and with the development of the military forces of other States. Far from finding in it any cause of uneasiness, the country will see in the consolidation of its military power a new pledge for its security and peace in the future. Our agriculture, our commerce, and our manufactures, these great elements of the public fortune, will, in 1867, receive a new impulse from the Universal Exposition to which your Majesty has invited all nations. Under this happy influence our resources, already so fruitful, will continue to develope themselves, and, managed with prudence and firmness, they will ensure our financial prosperity upon still more solid bases."

CHAPTER II.

WAR IN GERMANY.

Opening of the Session of the Prussian Chambers—Speech of the President of the Lower House—Hostile attitude of the Lower House—Close of the Session—Speeches of Herrn Gneist and Wagner—Royal Speech closing the Session—Decree of the King of Prussia against the Duke of Augustenburg—Irritation between the Prussian and Austrian Governments—Prussian despatch to the minor German States—Secret treaty of alliance between Prussia and Italy—Correspondence between the Governments of Prussia and Austria—Proceedings of the Frankfort Diet—Withdrawal of Austrian troops from Holstein—Failure of attempt to summon a Conference at Paris—The Frankfort Diet decrees that the forces of the Bund shall be mobilized—Invasion of Saxony by Prussia—Manifesto of the Emperor of Austria—Entry of the Prussians into Bohemia—Battles of Münchengrätz Nachod, Trautenau, and Skalitz—Battle of Königgrätz and defeat of the Austrians—The French Emperor offers his mediation.

The Prussian Government incurred additional unpopularity at the end of last year by forcibly interfering to prevent a banquet which was announced as intended to be given by the citizens of Cologne to the Liberal members of the Chambers. At the opening of the Session on the 17th of January, Herr von Grabow, who was re-elected President of the Lower House, alluded to this in the following terms:—

"A festival on the banks of the Rhine, in which the Liberal citizens of the Rhine and Westphalia wished to do honour to the much-abused Prussian representatives, in thankful recognition of their unshaken and courageous perseverance for four years in the hard struggle for the Constitution they had sworn to uphold, for their chartered popular rights, was prohibited, and even prevented by armed force."

He said also:—

"Gentlemen, the gloomy picture of the internal situation of our State spread out last Session before you and the country has since that period become only darker, till at the close of the Diet, at a time and in a place where all contradiction was impossible, this House was accused of having injured the material welfare of the country by rejecting Bills and refusing to grant supplies, of having endangered security from without, and of having stretched out its hand to grasp rights denied to it by its legal position—in a word, of having surrendered the first law and the highest guide of all parties—the welfare of the fatherland—in face of the strife of political opinion. Encouraged by this grave and unfounded impeachment, unheard-of in the annals of the Diet, the reactionary Press ventured, unpunished, to bring accusations of the most

passionate and hateful kind against the Second Chamber of the Legislature. But toleration was not exercised. . . . The constitutional conflict arising out of the illegally arranged reorganization of the army has become chronic without the fault of this House, which has only uninterruptedly and steadily defended the right of control over the finances granted it by the text and spirit of the Constitution, but has never stretched forth its hand after rights to which it is not entitled. Notwithstanding that a promise was made in the Royal Decree of March 19, 1862, respecting the execution of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies, that, in further development of the existing Constitution, legislation and administration should be carried on upon Liberal principles, the political part of legislation has been brought to an entire standstill. The Upper House alone has experienced a definite increase of its members by way of decree. But the country still hopes in vain for laws respecting Ministerial responsibility and the arrangements and privileges of the Chief Chamber of Accounts, without which the Constitution is no truth—waits in vain for a settlement of educational, trade, district, and principal affairs, based upon Liberal principles. The administration of the State is altogether devoid of Liberal principles, proof of which is afforded by the measures taken against Liberal newspapers, associations and meetings, against Liberal officials and citizens. But, notwithstanding the non-fulfilment of all promises, the Prussian people and its representatives will neither now nor ever deny the indubitable truth that the material and moral welfare of the State and its external security first and above all demand the unconditional recognition and conscientious execution of its sworn public rights; and that all authority not based upon these rights is wrong and immoral."

The Lower House continued its opposition to the Ministry; and early in February it voted by a large majority that the union of the Duchy of Lauenburg to the Crown of Prussia should not take place until it had been approved of by both the Chambers.

In consequence of this hostile attitude, the Session was abruptly put an end to by the King on the 23rd of February. One of the members, Herr Gneist, took the opportunity, the day before the Royal Speech was read, of reviewing the history of the dispute between the Government and the Chambers. He said:—

"Originally there had been dissension as to the policy of doubling the standing army and abolishing the militia. Out of this dissension grew the resolve of the Crown to set aside the right of the purse as vested in Parliament. The next step was to invade every other right of the House whenever it happened to be in the way of an arbitrary and despotic Government; and, finally, the domestic and internal privileges of the House, so to say, had been touched, and the liberty of speech declared non-existent. The present was a most conciliatory Parliament, and years would elapse before so quiet and temperate a House would be re-elected. Had any concessions been made in the military question deserving the

name, they would have satisfied the House; but the Crown had broken off the negotiations abruptly, and had thought it too irksome to reconsider a measure which would cost the country millions and millions for generations, and was calculated to change the whole aspect of the State. The last address the House presented, two years ago, elicited nothing but rebuke. Since then, matters had grown worse and worse. Why, then, apply once more to the King? They all knew that not only the Constitution, but each and every law relating to matters political, had ceased to exist in this country. The measures of the Government were no longer framed upon the laws, but the laws 'interpreted' so as to square with the measures. This Government, which professed to be an essentially German and Christian Government, had proclaimed it as a sort of principle, that what the King and his Ministers opined to be the law of the country, or what they wished to become so, was to be considered as such under all circumstances. The courts even had been corrupted, and their ancient integrity made a by-word among the nations. Not only the political, but also the moral bases of Government had been undermined. The select society in which the Premier moved, and which boasted the specious name of a Conservative party, had actually managed to dissever itself from all moral and religious responsibilities as understood by Prussia, by Germany, and by the civilized world. This was no longer old, respectable Prussia. The Prussians had been a monarchical people because their Kings had been the guardians of law; but now a Conservative member had said that every law was capable of a wide interpretation, and that one might drive through every law with a coach-and-four. He admitted it would be even more easy with a coach-and-six. Fortunately, however, the German mind could not see the wit of such a cynical saying as this. There was too much innate rectitude in this people not to shrink with a feeling of horror from the defenders of such principles. And these were the men the motion would have them conciliate by another humble address to the Crown! Why, supposing even an agreement could be effected with them, would the oaths of those persons be more worth after a compromise than they are now? No. Rather let us wait and trust to the future. As surely as no Government can exist in this country for any length of time that has the conscience of the people against it, so surely shall we conquer in the end. We neither can, nor do we at all wish to have recourse to revolutionary expedients. This Prussia of ours is not situate on an island, apart from the rest of Europe, but in the very heart of a continent bristling with arms. Our internal policy must in a great measure be dependent upon the state of our international lations and the general aspect of Europe. . . .

"We are the sons of our fathers, and, in the next crisis of European affairs, will prove again—this time, it is true, without the advantage of English alliance—that the guardianship of principle is, in this quarter of the globe, entrusted to our hands, and that

Europe has to look to Germany for recovering her moral balance. How soon we shall be victorious is a question of character, and being such, will be decided by patience, perseverance, and the strength of an unyielding will. Let us hear no more of compromise. What we require is an atonement for the offence given to the public conscience—an atonement for the violation of the laws of this people."

He was followed by Herr Wagner, the leader of the Conservative party, who said:—"I will deal honestly with you, Gentlemen, and let out the innermost thoughts of my party. We conceive our Constitution to be an imperfect, and in some respects, an indefinite, indistinct statute. There must be some body, then, entitled to give an authentic interpretation of its meaning. You wish to arrogate that office to yourselves; we want to reserve it for the King. In this we are not only more faithful to the ancient traditions of this monarchy, but are also actuated by a conviction that the more rapidly those moral and religious creeds which ensured obedience to Government in former days disappear in the lower strata of society, the more indispensable it becomes to strengthen the power and authority of the Crown. Therefore let us no longer bandy reproaches. Let us no longer charge each other with perjury and violation of the Charter. Let us acknowledge that this is a fair stand-up fight, in which either party contends for what it thinks to be the right and legitimate view of the case. In reply to the warnings and menaces of the preceding speaker, I will only say this: It is *you* that rely upon the bourgeoisie, the men of the bourse and the factory. If *you* hope to further your views amid the sufferings of war, we, having no mills that will lack work in such a contingency, may do so with even greater probability of success. For the present you must permit us to suppose that while you are attacking the Government many of your money-making electors pray for the continuance in office of a strong and firm Administration, which protects their pecuniary interests and developes their trade."

The debate was interrupted by the entrance of Count Bismark, who in the King's name adjourned the House until the following day, when the Session would be brought to a close. The members were accordingly summoned to the White Hall of the Schloss, where Count Bismark read the Royal Speech. It said—

"The Government opened the Diet in the hope that the desire animating the Prussian people for an arrangement with the Government would find an echo in the representatives of the country. The first utterance of the Session—namely, the speech of the President of the Chamber,—gave expression to the hostile sentiments of the majority of the deputies. In harmony with this speech were the subsequent proceedings of the Chamber, which tended, not towards peace, but towards strife."

After declaring several of the resolutions of the Lower House as unconstitutional, the Speech proceeded: —

"In view of these aggressions the Government asked itself the question whether results favourable to the peace and welfare of the country could be expected from the continuance of the debates in the Diet? His Majesty the King was desirous that the reply to this question should be postponed until a discussion had taken place upon a motion in which the efforts at mediation of a minority of the Deputies could find expression. This opprtunity occurred in the debate upon the Address, proposed by Herr Reichensperger. The progress of this debate did not, however, remove the anxiety of the Government lest through the course adopted by the Lower House the country should be exposed to more serious disunion, and the future settlement of the existing disagreements be rendered more difficult. In order to avoid these grave consequences the King ordered that the Session of the Diet should be closed."

Early in March the King of Prussia issued a decree in Schleswig, which declared that any Schleswiger signing an address or delivering a speech in favour of the Duke of Augustenburg would thenceforth be liable to be imprisoned for a period varying from three months to five years, while the actual attempt to abolish the Austro-Prussian sovereignty over the Duchies, and hand over the country to any of the rival pretenders, rendered the offender liable to a penalty of from five to ten years' hard labour. In the meantime, a feeling of great irritation had sprung up between the Governments of Prussia and Austria, the ostensible cause of which was the question of the occupation of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, but the real reason was the rivalry between the two Powers, each of which aspired to the lead in Germany, and found herself checked and thwarted by the other. Italy made no secret of her wish to come to hostilities with Austria, and made active warlike preparations for a contest which she was resolved to precipitate. This justified Austria in increasing her armaments, but Prussia chose to take offence at her proceedings, and she assumed that the increase of the military strength of Austria was intended as a menace against herself. The truth is that Count Bismark was only too glad to find a pretext for quarrelling with Austria, and thus enable him to attempt to execute, at the risk of failure and ruin, the ambitious schemes of aggrandizement which he had long cherished for his country.

On the 24th of March the Prussian Government sent a circular despatch to the minor German States, pointing out the necessity of their coming to an immediate decision as to which of the two Powers, Prussia or Austria, they would side with in the struggle which the armaments going on in Austria seemed to render imminent. "It is urgent," said the despatch, "for Prussia to know if, and to what extent, she may rely upon assistance in case she should be attacked by Austria, or forced into war by unmistakable menaces."

Several of the States thus appealed to answered by referring to the 11th clause of the Federal Act, by which war between German

Governments members of the Bund was prohibited, and a pacific mode of settling disputes was provided. The Bavarian Government said in their reply, that a Federal State which, by disregarding those provisions, attempted to do itself justice and declare war against another Federal State, must be considered as having violated the Federal Constitution.

In the result, seventeen out of the thirty-three States that formed the Bund seceded from it, and all the minor Northern States, with the exception of the elder House of Reuss, made common cause with Prussia.

Before the end of March, a secret treaty of alliance was entered into between Prussia and Italy, the terms of which, so far as they were known, show how resolved the two countries were to engage in war with Austria. According to these, Italy engaged to declare war against Austria as soon as Prussia should have either declared war or committed an act of hostility. Prussia engaged to carry on the war until the mainland of Venetia, with the exception of the fortresses and the city of Venice, either was in the hands of the Italians, or until Austria declared herself ready to cede it voluntarily; and King Victor Emmanuel promised not to lay down his arms until the Prussians should be in legal possession of the Elbe Duchies.

It is to little purpose now to detail the correspondence that took place between the two Governments of Austria and Prussia, wherein each sought to lay the blame upon the other of making hostile preparations in anticipation of a conflict, and each called upon the other to disarm. We find the Austrian Cabinet writing to the Austrian Minister at Berlin on the 26th of April, in the following terms:—

"The Emperor has received with sincere satisfaction the announcement that Prussia has accepted the proposition for a simultaneous disarmament of the two Powers. His Majesty had expected nothing less from the conciliatory sentiments of King William. The Emperor is now perfectly ready to give orders that the troops which have been directed upon Bohemia for the reinforcement of the garrisons there shall be withdrawn into the interior of the Empire, and thus put an end to any appearance of a concentration of force against Prussia. But we are now in a position which requires us to increase our means of defence in another direction, and we ought to be assured that this circumstance will not prevent the Prussian Government from responding to the retirement of our troops from the Bohemian frontier by the reduction of the Prussian corps which have been mobilized. In fact, the latest intelligence from Italy evidently proves that the army of King Victor Emmanuel is preparing for an attack upon Venetia; Austria, therefore, is forced to place its Italian army upon a war footing by calling in the men on furlough, and by making proper provision for the defence not only of its frontier on the Po, but also of its extended coast line, which cannot be done without the

movement of considerable bodies of troops within the interior of the monarchy. We think it necessary to acquaint the Cabinet of Berlin with these facts, in order that we may not be exposed to the false interpretations which might be placed upon the circumstance that, while we are withdrawing our troops from Bohemia, we are at the same time making military preparations in another part of the Empire.

"I request you, therefore, to explain to the King's Government that these preparations are being made solely with a view to the eventuality of a conflict with the Italians, and that we shall begin at once to carry out the proposition of reciprocal disarmament as soon as we shall be assured that the King's Government will not permit the measures which we are compelled to take in our own defence against an attack from the South to exercise any influence adverse to the re-establishment of the normal state of relations between Austria and Prussia."

Count von Bismark replied to this despatch on the 30th of April and said:—

"The Austrian Government thus demands that Prussia shall countermand her, in themselves, modest defensive armaments which have remained unchanged since the 28th of March, while Austria certainly withdraws her reinforcements of garrisons from Bohemia, but extends and hastens her armaments for the establishment of an army upon a war footing. I cannot conceal from your Excellency that after the exchange of mutual declarations upon the 18th and 21st, hailed by us and by Europe as a guarantee of peace, we were not prepared for this demand. In justification of the altered attitude it takes up in the despatch of the 26th, the Imperial Government adduces the intelligence it has received from Italy. According to this, the army of King Victor Emmanuel is said to have been placed upon a war footing to proceed to an attack upon Venetia. The information which has reached us direct from Italy and that we have received through the medium of other Courts, coincide in stating that armaments of a threatening character against Austria have not taken place in Italy, and confirm us in the conviction that an unprovoked attack upon the Empire is far distant from the intentions of the Cabinet of Florence. If in the meantime and recently military preparations may have commenced in Italy, these, as well as the measures adopted by us upon the 28th of March, may probably be regarded as the consequence of the armaments begun by Austria. We are persuaded that the Italian armaments would be as readily discontinued as our own, provided the causes through which they have been occasioned ceased.

"In the interest of the preservation of peace, and the cessation of the pressure which at present weighs upon the relations of politics and trade, we therefore again request the Imperial Government to adhere without wavering to the programme it laid down itself in its despatch of the 18th, and which His Majesty the King

accepted without delay in the most conciliatory sense, and as a mark of his personal confidence in His Majesty the Emperor. In execution of the same we should expect—first, that all the troops sent to Bohemia, Moravia, Cracow, and Austrian Silesia since the middle of March should not only return to their former garrisons, but also that all bodies of troops stationed in those provinces should be replaced upon the former peace footing. We await a speedy authentic communication as to the execution of these measures, i. e., of the restoration of the *status quo ante*, as the term of the 25th of April, fixed by the Imperial Government itself for the return to a peace footing of the troops assembled against our frontiers, has long since expired. We hope that the Imperial Government will at once by further inquiry arrive at the conviction that its intelligence as to the aggressive intentions of Italy was unfounded, that it will then proceed to the effective restoration of a peace footing throughout the Imperial army, and thereby enable us to take the same step to His Majesty's satisfaction."

In the beginning of May, orders were issued by the Austrian Emperor for placing the whole army upon a war footing, and for concentrating a portion of it on the Bohemian and Silesian frontiers. At the same time Count Mensdorff addressed, on the 4th of May, a note to the Austrian Minister at Berlin, in which, after alluding to Count Bismark's despatch of the 30th of April, he said:—"According to this despatch, the Government of His Majesty the King of Prussia thinks there is no reason why Austria should prepare to ward off an attack on her possessions in Italy. It declares that, if Austria should not think fit to place the whole Imperial army on a real peace footing, it will not be possible for Prussia to carry on the important and momentous negotiations with the Imperial Government in any other way than by maintaining an equilibrium in the warlike preparations of the two Powers. Your Excellency will understand that we, after this declaration, must consider the negotiations for a simultaneous disarmament on the part of Prussia on the one side and of Austria on the other as being at an end. After the solemn assurances given by us in Berlin and in Frankfort Prussia can have no reason to apprehend aggressive proceedings on our part, and Germany can have no cause to fear that we shall disturb the peace of the German Confederation. Just as little does Austria think of attacking Italy, although on all occasions the forcible detachment of a part of the Austrian territory has been the already pronounced programme of the Florence Government. It is our duty to provide for the defence of the Monarchy, and if the Prussian Government finds in our measures against Italy a motive for upholding her own readiness for war, we can but fulfil that duty—which admits of no foreign control—without entering into any further discussion as to the priority or magnitude of the several military measures. In Berlin it cannot be unknown that we have not only to provide for the integrity of our own Empire, but also

to protect the territory of the German Bund against an aggressive movement on the part of Italy; and we therefore may and must, in the interest of Germany, seriously ask of Prussia whether she thinks the demand that the frontiers of Germany shall be left unguarded compatible with the duties of a German Power."

A few days previously,—on the 28th of April,—a peremptory demand was made by the Prussian Government upon the Saxon Government to give an account of the reason why the Saxon army had been strengthened; and they were told that if the armaments were not at once discontinued, the Berlin Cabinet would take such measures as might appear to be necessary.

On the 5th of May a motion was made in the Federal Diet at Frankfort by the representative of Saxony, that the Bund, "in accordance with Article XI. of the Act of Confederation, do summon Prussia to give a formal declaration that her intentions are of a pacific nature;" and a few days afterwards this was carried by a majority of ten votes to five. Austria, Bavaria, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, the twelfth "Curie" (the Grand Ducal and Ducal Saxon Houses), the thirteenth "Curie" (Brunswick and Nassau), and the sixteenth "Curie" (Liechtenstein, Reuss, Schaumburg-Lippe, and Waldeck) voted with Saxony; Prussia, Hesse-Cassel, the fourteenth "Curie" (Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz), the fifteenth "Curie" (Oldenburg, Anhalt, and Schwarzburg), and the seventeenth "Curie" (Lübeck, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg) against her.

The Austrian Governor of Holstein, General Gablenz, had convoked an assembly of the States to meet on the 11th of June; but on the 7th of May the Prussian troops in Schleswig crossed the frontier to assert the right of Prussia to a joint occupation of the Duchy; and as the Austrians were not in sufficient force to offer any effectual resistance, they retired from Holstein. The Prussian Governor of Schleswig, General Manteuffel, then issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Holstein, in which he declared that the provisional Government established there in September, 1865, was abolished, and appointed a Prussian President for the administration of the affairs of both the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Austria protested in the Diet against these acts, and accused Prussia of a violation of the Gastein Convention. She proposed also that the Bund should decree the mobilization of the Federal army.

Soon afterwards, the representative of Prussia in the Diet declared that she would consider the imperative requirements of her self-preservation as more important than her relations to a Confederation which, in its opposition to the supreme Federal laws, did not add to the security of the members of the Confederation, but rather endangered it.

This was with reference to a resolution of the Diet passed on the previous day, that the military commission should watch that the

ordinary Federal contingents in Federal garrisons should not be exceeded, the object being to prevent Prussia from reinforcing her proportion of the garrison in the important fortress of Mayence.

In the meantime, the other great Powers of Europe endeavoured to avert the outbreak of hostilities by a Conference; and England, France, and Russia invited Austria, Prussia, and Italy, and the German Diet, to send representatives to meet in Paris and settle the terms of peace.

Prussia and Italy, and the Diet, agreed to this proposal, but Austria accepted it only on condition that the negotiations should exclude all pretensions on the part of any one of the Powers to obtain an aggrandizement of territory. As this stipulation was obviously aimed at the intention of Prussia to claim possession of the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which there was not the slightest chance of her abandoning, the French Emperor declared that it was useless for the great Powers to meet, and the proposed Conference was abandoned.

Thus the last chance of peace failed, and the two great German Powers prepared actively for war. On the 14th of June the Frankfort Diet decreed that the forces of the different States, members of the Bund, should be mobilized. Next day the Prussians entered into Saxony and took possession of Leipsic.

At the moment of the invasion, Prince Frederick Charles, who commanded the Prussians, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Saxony, dated Görlitz, June 16th, in which he said:—

"We are not at war with the people and country of Saxony, but only with the Government, which by its inveterate hostility has forced us to take up arms."

The Prussians also overran Hesse-Cassel without any opposition. Their whole force was divided into three main armies. The first army, under Prince Frederick Charles, occupied Saxony and threatened the frontier of Bohemia. The second army, under the Crown Prince, operated in Silesia, and a third army, called the army of the Elbe, under General Herwarth, was ready to march on the right flank of the first army.

On the 17th of June the Emperor of Austria issued a war manifesto addressed "To my Peoples," in which, at considerable length, he reviewed the course of events which had led to the brink of hostilities, and explained why he was compelled to draw the sword. He said—

"While engaged in a work of peace, which was undertaken for the purpose of laying the foundation for a Constitution which should augment the unity and power of the Empire, and at the same time secure to my several countries and peoples free internal development, my duties as a Sovereign have obliged me to place my whole army under arms.

"On the frontiers of my Empire, in the south and in the north, stand the armies of two enemies who have allied with the intention of breaking the power of Austria as a great European State.

"To neither of those enemies have I given cause for war. I call on an Omniscient God to bear witness that I have always considered it my first, my most sacred duty, to do all in my power to secure for my peoples the blessings of peace.

"One of the hostile Powers requires no excuse. Having a longing to deprive me of parts of my Empire, a favourable opportunity is for him a sufficient cause for going to war. . . . .

"The negotiations with Prussia in respect to the Elbe Duchies clearly proved that a settlement of the question in a way compatible with the dignity of Austria, and with the rights and interests of Germany and the Duchies, could not be brought about, as Prussia was violent and intent on conquest. The negotiations were therefore broken off, the whole affair was referred to the Bund, and at the same time the legal representatives of Holstein were convoked.

"The danger of war induced the three Powers—France, England, and Russia—to invite my Government to participate in general Conferences, the object of which was to be the maintenance of peace. My Government, in accordance with my views, and, if possible, to secure the blessing of peace for my peoples, did not refuse to share in the Conferences, but made their acceptance dependent on the confirmation of the supposition that the public law of Europe and the existing treaties were to form the basis of the attempt at mediation, and that the Powers represented would not seek to uphold special interests which could be prejudiciable to the balance of power in Europe and to the rights of Austria. The fact that the attempt to mediate failed because these natural suppositions were made, is a proof that the Conferences could not have led to the maintenance of peace.

"The recent events clearly prove that Prussia substitutes open violence for right and justice.

"The rights and the honour of Austria, the rights and the honour of the whole German nation, are no longer a barrier against the inordinate ambition of Prussia. Prussian troops have entered Holstein, the Estates convoked by the Imperial Stadtholder have been violently dissolved, the Government of Holstein, which the Treaty of Vienna gives to Austria and Prussia in common, has been claimed for Prussia alone, and the Austrian garrison has been obliged to give way to a force ten times as strong as itself.

"When the German Bund, which saw in the measure no infraction of the Federal laws, accepted the Austrian proposition to 'mobilize' the Federal troops, Prussia, who prides herself on being the defender of the interests of Germany, resolved to complete the work she had begun. Violently severing the tie which unites the German races, Prussia announced her secession from the Bund, required from the German Governments the acceptance of a so-called project of Reform, which in reality is a division of Germany, and now she employs military force against those Sovereigns who have faithfully discharged their Federal duties.

"The most pernicious of wars, a war of Germans against Germans, has become inevitable, and I now summon before the tribunal of history—before the tribunal of an eternal and all-powerful God, those persons who have brought it about, and make them responsible for the misfortunes which may fall on individuals, families, districts, and countries. . . . .

"We shall not be alone in the struggle which is about to take place. The Princes and peoples of Germany know that their liberty and independence are menaced by a Power which listens but to the dictates of egotism and is under the influence of an ungovernable craving after aggrandizement; and they also know that in Austria they have an upholder of the freedom, power, and integrity of the whole of the German Fatherland. We and our German brethren have taken up arms in defence of the most precious rights of nations. We have been forced so to do, and we neither can nor will disarm until the internal development of my Empire and of the German States which are allied with it has been secured, and also their power and influence in Europe.

"My hopes are not based on unity of purpose, on power alone. I confide in an almighty and just God, whom my House from its very foundation has faithfully served, a God who never forsakes those who righteously put their trust in Him. To Him I pray for assistance and success, and I call on my peoples to join me in that prayer."

General Benedek was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Army of the North, and his forces were distributed along the frontier that separates Moravia from Saxony and Silesia; but it is clear that he did not anticipate the rapid movements of the Prussians, and expected to be able to meet them and cut them off in detail when they had penetrated the passes and entered the Austrian territory at separate points.

The plan of the Prussian campaign was arranged by General von Moltke in Berlin, and to his singularly able combinations its ultimate success was mainly due. But the Prussians were also in a great degree indebted to the "needle-gun" (zündnadelgewehr), a breech-loading musket, which enabled them to fire with terrible rapidity, and at times almost paralyzed the Austrians. It had been used in the last war against Denmark, but now established for the first time its triumphant superiority over the muzzle-loading musket.

On the 22nd of June, the head-quarters of the First Army, under Prince Frederick Charles, were established at Hirschfield, a village situated on the Neisse, a few miles to the north-east of the frontier town of Zittau, which covers the outlet of the passes leading from Reichenberg and Friedland in Bohemia through the mountains into that part of Saxony called Lusatia, which forms a salient angle jutting out into Bohemia. It commands also the railway which runs from Pardubitz to Bautzen.

On the same day, Prince Frederick Charles issued a General

Order to the First Army, under his command, dated "Head Quarters, Görlitz." He said,—

"Soldiers!—Austria, faithless and regardless of treaties, has for some time, without declaring war, not respected the Prussian frontier in Upper Silesia. I, therefore, likewise, without a declaration of war, might have passed the frontier of Bohemia. I have not done so. To-day I have caused a public declaration to be sent, and to-day we enter the territory of the enemy in order to defend our own country. . . . .

"We rely on the God of our fathers, who will be mighty in us, and will bless the arms of Prussia.

"So, forward with our old battle cry, 'With God for King and Fatherland! Long live the King!'"

Next day the First Prussian Army crossed the Bohemian frontier in two columns, one of which marched by way of Görlitz and the other by Zittau. After a few cavalry skirmishes, it reached the Bohemian town of Reichenberg, and on the 26th of June an artillery engagement took place between its advanced lines and an Austrian battery, the result of which was, that the Austrians in front fell back upon Münchengrätz. Here a severe struggle took place on the 28th, and the Austrians, supported by the Saxons, offered an obstinate resistance, but were ultimately driven back in the direction of Gitschin, and were followed by the Prussians, who took up their position on the high ground in front of the town.

In the meantime the Second Prussian Army, under the Crown Prince, had to march through the long and narrow passes of the Sudetian mountains leading from Silesia into Bohemia. In order to deceive the enemy, various movements were made by the Prussians on the south-east frontiers of Silesia, as if their object was to cross into Bohemia from Neisse, by way of Weidenau. But while the Austrians were expecting the invaders to debouch in that direction, the mass of the Second Army turned to the right and suddenly made its appearance on the west at Nachod and Trautenau in Bohemia, having passed without opposition the frontier at Reinerz and Landshut. Before entering the defiles of the mountains which separate Silesia from Moravia, the Crown Prince issued from Neisse, on the 20th of June, a General Order to his troops, in which he said:—

"Soldiers of the Second Army,—You have heard the words of our King and Lord of war. His Majesty's endeavours to secure a continuance of the blessings of peace to the country have been in vain. With a heavy heart, but strong in purpose, and relying upon the devotion and gallantry of his troops, the King has determined to fight for the honour and independence of Prussia, as well as the re-organization of Germany and its formation into a powerful whole. Having by the gracious confidence of my Royal father been placed at your head, I am proud, as the King's first servant, to stake my life and my fortune to secure the possession of all that is dearest to our country. Soldiers! for the first time for

fifty years, an enemy who is our match stands arrayed against us. Trust in your strength and the tried excellence of your arms. Remember, our task is to beat an enemy whom our greatest King defeated with but a small force. Forward then, with the old Prussian cry, 'With God for King and Fatherland.'"

The defile leading to Nachod was occupied by the Austrians, but was abandoned by them after a short skirmish on the 27th of June. Soon afterwards, however, the advance of the Prussians, whose leading columns were under the command of General Steinmetz, was stopped by a strong Austrian force called the Ramming Brigade, and a division of heavy cavalry; and at first the Prussians were obliged to retreat. But at the critical moment the Crown Prince came up, and a hotly contested battle was fought. The Austrians were beaten, and lost upwards of 4000 men.

On the same day a sanguinary action was fought between the First *Corps d'Armée* of the Crown Prince and the Austrian Field-Marshal Gablenz, at Trautenau, in which the Austrians were again defeated. Fighting still went on until the 29th, when the victorious Prussians had pushed forward as far as Skalitz and took possession of the town. This had been occupied by the Archduke Leopold, but he was unable to hold it. He is said, however, to have disobeyed the positive orders of his Commander-in-Chief, General Benedek, which were, that he was not, on any account, to attack the Prussians when he confronted them at Skalitz, but to retire slowly before their fire until he reached the support of another *corps d'armée*, which was drawn up behind him in a formidable line for defence. The object was to draw the enemy from their advantageous position on the rising ground above Skalitz, and to enable the Archduke to occupy the ridge opposite to that which they would have to descend, if they advanced to the attack. But the Archduke did just the contrary. He took the initiative, and attacked the Prussians posted on the heights; the consequence of which was, that he was driven back and followed by the enemy, who then seized a strong position, from which Benedek was unable to dislodge them. On the 1st of July, the Crown Prince issued from Prausnitz a General Order in which he recapitulated the glorious events of the short campaign. He said:—

"But a few days have elapsed since our entering Bohemia, and already brilliant victories have been won, giving us command over the Elbe and enabling us to effect a junction with the First Army. With this our primary task is fulfilled. The brave Fifth *Corps d'Armée*, under the command of its heroic leader, with distinguished gallantry, on three successive days defeated three different corps of the enemy. The Guards gave battle twice, each time discomfiting the enemy with signal triumph. The First *Corps d'Armée*, under the most trying circumstances, displayed extraordinary hardihood. Five colours, two standards, twenty guns, and 8000 prisoners have been captured by us; many thousand dead and wounded proving the total loss of the foe to be greater

than can be now calculated. We, too, regret the loss of many a brave comrade, removed by death or wounds from our ranks. The consciousness of dying for King and country, and as victors, will have given them comfort in death, and tend to alleviate the anguish of the sufferers. I pray God to grant future victories to our arms. I thank the generals and officers as well as soldiers of the Second Army for their gallantry in battle and their steadiness in overcoming the most adverse circumstances; and I am proud to lead such troops."

In the meantime, a third Prussian army, called the Army of the Elbe, under General Herwarth, had crossed the frontier of Saxony and Bohemia on the right flank of Prince Frederick Charles, and came into collision with the enemy on the 27th of June, at a place called Hunerwasser, west of Turnau. He drove back the weak force opposed to him, and next day effected a junction with the First Army, under Prince Frederick Charles.

We have mentioned that, after the action at Münchengrätz, Prince Frederick Charles had pushed back the Austrian and Saxon troops towards Gitschin where they took up a strong position in front of the town. Next day General Benedek ordered Count Clam Gallas, with the First Austrian *Corps d'Armée*, to hold Gitschin while he himself took up a position at Dubenitz, in order to meet the army of the Crown Prince as it debouched from the passage of the Elbe. Count Clam Gallas attacked the Prussians, it is said, contrary to orders; and the result was that he was driven out of his position, and the victorious Prussians pursued the Austrians through the town of Gitschin. They were followed the next day by the Prussian cavalry as far as the line of the little river Bistriz. The loss of Gitschin exposed the left flank of General Benedek at Dubenec, and he therefore ordered his army to fall back in the direction of Königgrätz. To quote the words of the correspondent of the "Times"—"Benedek, who had taken up a strong position with his centre near Dubenec, his left towards Miletin, and his right covered by the river and by Josephstadt, found himself in the twinkling of an eye placed in a position of the greatest danger. His left was 'in the air.' The Prussians were not only on his left, but in his rear; and at the same time another great army was marching to effect its junction with them where he was altogether exposed. He instantly wheeled back his left and centre, and then retiring his right, took up a line at Königgrätz at right angles to the line he had occupied to the west of Josephstadt."

General Benedek seems to have fully realized the danger to which he was thus exposed in his new position, and also to have distrusted the *morale* of his troops; for he telegraphed to the Emperor at Vienna, before the battle that ensued, the ominous words, "Sire, you must make peace!"

The King of Prussia arrived at Gitschin on the 2nd of July, and received a deputation from the authorities of the town, when he thus addressed them:—

"I carry on no war against your nation, but only against the armies opposed to me. If, however, the inhabitants will commit acts of hostility against my troops without any cause, I shall be forced to make reprisals. My troops are not savage hordes, and require simply the supplies necessary for subsistence. It must be your care to give them no cause for just complaint. Tell the inhabitants that I have not come to make war upon peaceable citizens, but to defend the honour of Prussia against insult."

On the 2nd of July the disposition of the Prussian army, or rather armies, was the following:—

The First Army, under Prince Frederick Charles, formed the centre; the Elbe Army, under General Herwarth, the right; and the Second Army, under the Crown Prince, the left wing. In front of the First Army marched the 7th Division through Goritz, Czerkwitz, and Sadowa, to effect a junction with the right wing of the Crown Prince. The 8th Division marched upon Milowitz, being destined to advance upon Königgrätz. The Second Army Corps was to operate against Donalitz, south of Sadowa. The Third Army Corps formed the reserve of the centre. The Elbe Army pushed forward from Smidar towards Nechanitz. The army of the Crown Prince was directed to march from Königinhof, in a straight line, upon Königgrätz.

The Austrian army was drawn up on a range of low hills between Smiritz and Nechanitz, and extended over a length of about nine miles, the centre occupying a hill on which was the village of Chlum or Klum, distinguished by a clump of trees, and which was the key of the position.

The following description of the scene is taken from the account of an eye-witness, the special correspondent of the "Times" newspaper, with the Austrian army, who surveyed the battle from the top of a tower in the fortress of Königgrätz:—

"Lying nearly due north of Königgrätz is Josephstadt, but there was nothing going on in that direction at 8 o'clock. From the neighbourhood of Josephstadt, a continuous line of low, undulating hills, with plateau-like tops or of rolling fields, extends from the right till it slopes away on the left into the meadows watered by the Elbe. Beyond this line again, and running nearly parallel with the first, about half-way where it recedes towards the west and north, is a similar ridge, appearing to be of greater elevation. Further back still is the picturesque broken country formed by the projecting spires and lower ranges of the Riesengebirge. This must be taken as a general description of the appearance of the landscape from the spot where I stood. There are many cross valleys permeating both ridges towards the Elbe, and on both there are hills or hillocks, some almost like tumuli, on which villages and their little churches nestle in the woods. In the valley between the first and second ridge runs the Bistritz rivulet, on which Sadowa and Nechanitz are situated. It is traversed nearly at right angles by the main road from Jicin to Königgrätz.

In the valley between the first ridge and the rolling ground which lies towards the Elbe runs a road from Smiritz, or Smiric, to Königgrätz, coming out on the Jicin road; and more to the west is another road, branching from the Jicin road, and running by Nechanitz to the main road between Prague and Königgrätz. There are numerous other small roads connecting the nests of villages which are to be seen in all directions. Immediately below the city of Königgrätz the land is level and marshy, but towards Smiritz, which is nearly half-way to Josephstadt, there is a projecting spur, approaching the river, which is one outshoot of the first line of hills, and thence, in front of us from left to right, a gradual elevation from the river takes place, in a series of irregular terraces. On the top of this first ridge there is a village named Smiralitz. This is near the right of the scene of the battle. Then the ridge runs south-westward (to the left) without any more remarkable object on the sky line than a very large tree, which stands quite alone. There are several villages on the inner side of the slope between Königgrätz and the river. From the big tree the line continues to the left hand till about the centre, where its undulating contour is broken by a wooded knoll or hill, rising rather steeply, on which is placed the church and village of Klum, or Chlum, embowered in thick trees and gardens. Thence to the left the line of the ridge is depressed and carried towards the village of Nechanitz, and gets lost in broken hills, among which are villages unknown to our geographers, now heaps of cinders and ashes, surrounded by dead and dying—the very centres of the tremendous battle. The army which General Benedek had to defend his position consisted of at least 225,000 men, but a large deduction must be made for the baggage guards, the various escorts, the garrisons of Josephstadt and Königgrätz, the sick, and those tired by marching, and the killed, wounded, and prisoners in recent actions;—so that, probably, he had not more than 190,000 or 195,000 actually in hand. The ground he had to cover from right to left was about nine miles in length. On his extreme left in his first line, near the rear of Nechanitz, and towards the Prague road, he put the Saxons. Then the 10th Army Corps, under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Gablenz; the 3rd *Corps d'Armée*, under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Count Thun, the 4th Army Corps, under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Count Festetics (who was wounded early in the day), and the 2nd Army Corps, under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Archduke Ernest, were placed from left to right on the slope of the second range or ridge. His second line and his reserves consisted of the 8th *Corps d'Armée*, under Field-Marshal Lieutenant the Archduke Leopold, the 1st Army Corps was under Cavalry-General Count Clam Gallas, and the 6th Army Corps, under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Ramming. He had at his disposal a grand army of cavalry; it was composed of the 1st Light Cavalry Division, under General-Major Edelsheim; the 2nd Light Cavalry Division, under Count Taxis; the

1st Heavy Cavalry Division, under the Prince of Holstein; the 2nd Heavy Cavalry Division, under General-Major Faitseck; and the 3rd Heavy Cavalry Division, under General-Major Count Coudenhove. His artillery consisted of about 540 guns."

With this may be compared the description given by another special correspondent of the same newspaper, who accompanied the Prussian army. He says:—

"From the top of the slight elevation on which the village of Dub stands, the ground slopes gently down to the river Bistritz, which the road crosses at the village of Sadowa, a mile and a quarter from Dub. From Sadowa the ground again rises beyond the Bistritz, and to the little village of Lipa, conspicuous by its church tower standing at the top of the gentle hill, a mile and a half from Sadowa. A person standing this morning on the top of the ridge saw Sadowa below him, built of wooden cottages surrounded by orchards, and could distinguish among its houses several watermills, but these were not at work, for all the inhabitants of the village had been sent away, and a white coat here and there among the cottages was not a peasant's blouse, but was the uniform of an Austrian soldier. Three-quarters of a mile down the Bistritz a big red brick house, with a high brick chimney near it, looked like a manufactory, and some large wooden buildings alongside it were unmistakably warehouses; close to these a few wooden cottages, probably meant for the workmen employed at the manufactory, completed the village of Dohilnitz. A little more than a mile still further down the Bistritz stood the village of Mokrowens, like most Bohemian country villages, built of pine-wood cottages enclustered in orchard trees. The château of Dohalicha stands midway between Dohilnitz and Mokrowens as a knoll overhanging the river. Behind Dohilnitz and between that village and the high road which runs through Sadowa, there lies a large thick wood; many of the trees had been cut down about ten feet above the ground, and the cut-down branches had been twisted together between the standing trunks of the trees which were nearest to the river, to make an entrance into the wood from the front extremely difficult. On the open slope between Dohilnitz and Dohalicha along the ground there seemed to run a dark dotted line of stumpy bushes, but the telescope showed that these were guns, and that this battery alone contained twelve pieces. Looking to the left, up the course of the Bistritz, the ground was open between the orchards of Sadowa and the trees which grow round Benatek, a little village about two miles above Sadowa, which marked the right of the Austrian position, except where, midway between these villages, a broad belt of fir-wood runs for three-quarters of a mile. Above and beyond these villages and woods in the course of the river, the spire of Lipa was seen, below it a few houses, gardens, and patches of fir-wood, and a little to the left, rather down the hill, were seen the cottages of the hamlet of Cisliwes. The air was thick and hazy, the rain came down steadily,

and the wind blew bitterly cold, while the infantry and artillery were waiting behind the brow of the hill near Dub."

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 3rd of July, the Prussian cavalry and horse-artillery began to advance down the sloping ground towards the little river Bistritz, and the Austrian guns opened upon them from a battery near the village of Sadowa where the main road crosses the Bistritz. The Prussian artillery of the 7th Division bombarded the village of Benatek on the Austrian right, and in the centre of both lines a tremendous cannonade was kept up, in which neither for some time appeared to have the advantage. The military correspondent of the "Times," who was present with the Prussians at the battle, says:—

"While this cannonade had been going on, some of the infantry had been moved down towards the river, where they took shelter from the fire under a convenient undulation of ground. The 8th Division came down on the left-hand side of the causeway, and, under the cover of the rising in the ground, formed its columns for the attack on the village of Sadowa; while the 3rd and 4th Divisions, on the right-hand side of the road, prepared to storm Dohilnitz and Mokrowens. But a little before their preparations were complete the village of Benatek, on the Austrian's right, caught fire, and the 7th Division made a dash to secure it; but the Austrians were not driven out by the flames, and here for the first time in the battle was there hand-to-hand fighting. The 27th Regiment led the attack, and rushed into the orchards of the village, the burning houses separated the combatants, they poured volley after volley at each other through the flames; but the Prussians found means to get round the burning houses, and, taking the defenders in reverse, forced them to retire with the loss of many prisoners.

"It was ten o'clock, when Prince Frederick Charles sent General Stuhnapl to order the attack on Sadowa, Dohilnitz, and Mokrowens. The columns advanced covered by skirmishers, and reached the river-bank without much loss, but from there they had to fight every inch of their way. The Austrian infantry held the bridges and villages in force, and fired fast upon them as they approached. The Prussians could advance but slowly along the narrow ways and against the defences of the houses, and the volleys sweeping through the ranks seemed to tear the soldiers down. The Prussians fired much more quickly than their opponents, but they could not see to take their aim; the houses, trees, and smoke from the Austrian discharges shrouded the villages. Sheltered by this, the Austrian Jägers fired blindly where they could tell by hearing that the attacking columns were, and the shots told tremendously on the Prussians in their close formations; but the latter improved their positions, although slowly, and by dint of sheer courage and perseverance, for they lost men at every yard of their advance, and in some places almost paved the way with wounded. Then, to help the infantry, the Prussian artillery turned its fire, regardless

of the enemy's batteries, on the villages, and made tremendous havoc among the houses. Mokrowens and Dohilnitz both caught fire, and the shells fell quickly and with fearful effect among the defenders of the flaming hamlets; the Austrian guns also played upon the attacking infantry, but at this time these were sheltered from their fire by the houses and trees between.

"In and around the villages the fighting continued for nearly an hour; then the Austrian infantry, who had been there, driven out by a rush of the Prussians, retired, but only a little way up the slope into a line with their batteries. The wood above Sadowa was strongly held, and that between Sadowa and Benatek, teeming with riflemen, stood to bar the way of the 7th Division. But General Fransky, who commands this division, was not to be easily stopped, and he sent his infantry at the wood and turned his artillery on the Austrian batteries. The 7th Division began firing into the trees, but found they could not make any impression, for the defenders were concealed, and musketry fire was useless against them. Then Fransky let them go, and they dashed in with the bayonet. The Austrians would not retire, but waited for the struggle; and in the wood above Benatek was fought out one of the fiercest combats which the war has seen. The 27th Prussian regiment went in nearly 3,000 strong, with 90 officers, and came out on the further side with only two officers and between 300 and 400 men standing; all the rest were killed or wounded. The other regiments of the division also suffered much, but not in the same proportion; but the wood was carried. The Austrian line was now driven in on both flanks, but its commander formed a new line of battle a little higher up the hill, round Lipa, still holding the wood which lies above Sadowa."

General Herwarth, who commanded the Prussian army of the Elbe on the extreme left of the Austrians, had in the meantime been engaged with the Saxon troops at Nechanitz, a village about seven miles lower down the Bistritz than Sadowa. The Saxons fought splendidly, and were with difficulty and slowly driven back towards Lipa, where the main of the Austrian army was concentrated. A wood above the villages of Sadowa and Dohilnitz was occupied by the Austrians, and their artillery firing through the trees caused great losses amongst the Prussian infantry, which was advancing to carry the wood. At last, however, the Austrians were driven back, but they formed their batteries outside the trees, and played with murderous effect upon the Prussians who were entangled in the wood. It was now about one o'clock, and in the words of the writer whom we have last quoted,

"The whole battle line of the Prussians could gain no more ground, and was obliged to fight hard to retain the position it had won. At one time it seemed as if it would be lost, for guns had been dismounted by the Austrian fire, and in the wooded ground the needle-gun had no fair field, and the infantry fight was very equal. . . .

Herwarth, too, seemed checked upon the right. The smoke of his musketry and artillery, which had hitherto been pushing forward steadily, stood still for a time. Fransky's men, cut to pieces, could not be sent forward to attack the Sadowa wood, for they would have exposed themselves to be taken in rear by the artillery on the right of the Austrian line formed in front of Lipa. All the artillery was engaged except eight batteries, and these had to be retained in case of a reverse, for at one time the firing in the Sadowa wood, and of the Prussian artillery on the slope, seemed almost as if drawing back towards Bistritz. The First Army was certainly checked in its advance, if not actually being pushed back."

It was a critical moment, and the Prussian Generals looked uneasily for tidings of the Crown Prince, who they knew was to advance upon the Austrian right. The position reminds us of the closing hours of the Battle of Waterloo, when the Duke of Wellington so anxiously expected the approach of Blucher. The Austrian centre in front of Klum and Lipa was held by the 3rd and 4th corps somewhat thrown back with the 1st corps in reserve, and the 6th corps was in reserve on the right towards Smiralitz. At about half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, the army of the Crown Prince came up and engaged the Austrian right. The village of Klum had been for some time in flames, and desperate efforts had been made by the Prussian centre to carry it, when the Austrians suddenly found themselves exposed to a cross fire on their right. This was from the advance of the Crown Prince. "Suddenly," says the correspondent of the "Times," who viewed the battle from the top of the tower in Königgrätz, "a spattering of musketry breaks out of the trees and houses of Klum right down on the Austrian gunners, and on the columns of infantry drawn up on the slopes below. The gunners fall on all sides—their horses are disabled—the firing increases in intensity—the Prussians press on over the *plateau:* this is an awful catastrophe—two columns of Austrians are led against the village, but they cannot stand the fire, and after three attempts to carry it, retreat, leaving the hill-side covered with the fallen. It is a terrible moment. The Prussians see their advantage; they here enter into the very centre of the position. In vain the staff officers fly to the reserves and hasten to call back some of the artillery from the front. The dark blue regiments multiply on all sides, and from their edges roll perpetually sparkling musketry. Their guns hurry up, and from the slope take both the Austrians on the extreme right and the reserves in flank. They spread away to the woods near the Prague road and fire into the rear of the Austrian gunners. . . . The lines of dark blue which came in sight from the right teemed from the vales below as if the earth yielded them. They filled the whole background of the awful picture of which Klum was the centre. They pressed down on the left of the Prague road. In square, in column, deployed, or wheeling hither and thither—everywhere pouring in showers of deadly precision—penetrating the whole line of the Austrians, still they could not

force their stubborn enemy to fly. On all sides they met brave but unfortunate men ready to die if they could do no more. At the side of the Prague road the fight went on with incredible vehemence. The Austrians had still an immense force of artillery, and although its concentrated fire swept the ground before it, its effect was lost in some degree by reason of the rising ground above, and at last by its divergence to so many points to answer the enemy's cannon. . . . Chesta and Visa were now burning, so that from right to left the flames of ten villages, and the flashes of guns and musketry, contended with the sun that pierced the clouds for the honour of illuminating the seas of steel and the fields of carnage. It was three o'clock. The efforts of the Austrians to occupy Klum and free their centre had failed, their right was driven down in a helpless mass towards Königgrätz, quivering and palpitating as shot and shell tore through it. '*Alles ist verloren!*' Artillery still thundered with a force and violence which might have led a stranger to such scenes to think no enemy could withstand it. The Austrian cavalry still hung like white thunder-clouds on the flanks, and threatened the front of the Prussians, keeping them in square and solid columns. But already the trains were streaming away from Königgrätz, placing the Elbe and Adler between them and the enemy."

Almost immediately after this crushing defeat, General von Gablenz was sent from the Austrian lines to the Prussian head-quarters to propose an armistice; but he met with a peremptory refusal, and the whole of the Prussian forces proceeded to advance, the army of Prince Frederick Charles taking the road to Brünn, the capital of Moravia. The army of the Crown Prince that to Olmütz, and the army of the Elbe, under General Herwarth, more to the westward in the direction of Iglau.

In the meantime, General Benedek, was superseded from his command, and the Archduke Albert, then at the head of the Austrian army in Venetia, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the North.

The progress of the war was now suddenly arrested in an unexpected manner. The Emperor of Austria saw himself overmatched by the Prussians in the North, and his dominions threatened with utter ruin, while an immense portion of his armies was engaged far away from the scene of the vital struggle, in holding Venetia against the Italians. He therefore determined to surrender that territory to France, in hopes that this would put an end at once to the Italian war, and enable him to recall his troops from the south of the Tyrol, and send them to confront the advancing tide of Prussian invasion which was rolling onwards upon Vienna. The French Emperor accepted the surrender, and immediately telegraphed to the King of Prussia, offering his mediation and proposing an armistice. The result was, that an armistice was ultimately agreed upon, which, in the first instance, was to last for five days, beginning from the 22nd of July.

CHAPTER III.

WAR IN GERMANY (*Continued*).

Capitulation of the Hanoverian army to the Prussians—Manifestoes of the Emperor of Austria to the Hungarians and his people—Occupation of Frankfort by the Prussians—Advance of the Prussian armies into Moravia—Negotiations for an armistice—Engagement between the Prussians and Austrians at Blumenau—Retreat of the Austrians under General Benedek from Olmütz to Presburg—Concentration of the Austrian army round Vienna—Treaty of peace between Prussia and Austria at Prague—Review of the campaign in other parts of Germany—Territorial aggrandizement of Prussia.

At the moment when Prussia declared war against Austria, the Hanoverian army was on a peace footing, but the greatest exertions were immediately made to strengthen it, and it was ordered to concentrate itself at Gottingen. From this place it marched on the 21st of June, to Heiligenstadt, and on the 23rd, to Langensalza. Afterwards continuing their advance, on approaching Eisenach, the Hanoverians found that it was occupied by the Prussians, under General von Falkenstein. They wheeled round and turned back in the direction of Langensalza, when, on the 27th, near Merxlelen, on the left bank of the Unstrut, they were attacked by the Prussians, and a severe contest ensued, in which the Hanoverians claimed the victory as they repelled the enemy, but were unable, from exhaustion, to follow up their success. Next day the Prussians, in far superior numbers, surrounded the Hanoverians, who were concentrated near Langensalza, and who, finding themselves cut off on all sides, were compelled to capitulate. They were, however, treated with all the honours of war, undertaking not to serve against Prussia during the rest of the campaign.

In the sitting of the Federal Diet at Frankfort on the 27th of June, Prince Charles of Bavaria was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army, and he was instructed to act in co-operation with and under the directions of General Benedek.

On the 7th of July, the Emperor of Austria issued the following Manifesto to the Hungarians, addressed

"To the Faithful Peoples of my Kingdom of Hungary.

"The hand of Providence weighs heavily upon us. In the conflict into which I have been drawn, not voluntarily, but through the force of circumstances, every human calculation has been frustrated, save only the confidence I placed in the heroic bravery of my valiant army. The more grievous are the heavy losses by which the ranks of those brave men have been smitten; and my

paternal heart feels the bitterness of that grief with all the families affected. To put an end to the unequal contest—to gain time and opportunity to fill up the voids occasioned by the campaign—and to concentrate my forces against the hostile troops occupying the northern portion of my Empire, I have consented, with great sacrifices, to negotiations for the conclusion of an armistice.

"I now turn confidently to the faithful peoples of my Kingdom of Hungary, and to that readiness to make sacrifices so repeatedly displayed in arduous times.

"The united exertions of my entire Empire must be set in motion, that the conclusion of the wished-for peace may be secured upon fair conditions.

"It is my profound belief that the warlike sons of Hungary, actuated by the feeling of hereditary fidelity, will voluntarily hasten under my banners, to the assistance of their kindred, and for the protection of their country, also immediately threatened by the events of the war.

"Rally, therefore, in force to the defence of the invaded Empire! Be worthy sons of your valiant forefathers, whose heroic deeds gained never-fading wreaths of laurel for the glory of the Hungarian name.

"FRANCIS JOSEPH."

And on the 10th of July, the Emperor issued another Manifesto:—

"To my Peoples,—The heavy misfortune which has befallen my Army of the North, notwithstanding its most heroic resistance to the enemy, the increased dangers thereby menacing the Fatherland, the calamities of war with which my beloved Kingdom of Bohemia is being desolated, and which threaten other parts of my Empire, and the painful and irreparable losses sustained by so many thousands of families among my subjects, have moved to its inmost core my heart, which beats with so warm and fatherly a feeling for the good of my peoples. But the reliance which I expressed in my Manifesto of the 17th of June—a reliance on your unalterable and faithful devotion and readiness for any self-sacrifice—a reliance on the courage of my army, which even misfortune cannot subdue—a reliance upon God and my good and sacred right—this has not wavered for a single instant. I have addressed myself to the Emperor of the French, requesting his good offices for bringing about an armistice with Italy. Not merely did the Emperor readily respond to my demand, but, with the noble intention of preventing any further bloodshed, he even, of his own accord, offered to mediate with Prussia for a suspension of hostilities, and for opening negotiations for peace. This offer I have accepted. I am prepared to make peace upon honourable conditions, in order to put an end to the bloodshed and ravages of war. But I will never sanction a treaty of peace by which the fundamental conditions of Austria's position as a great Power would be shaken.

Sooner than that should be the case, I am resolved to carry on the war to the utmost extremity, and in this I am sure of my peoples' approval.

"All available troops are being concentrated, and the gaps in the ranks of the army are being filled up by the conscription which has been ordered and the large enrolments of volunteers, called to arms by the newly-awakened spirit of patriotism.

"Austria has been severely visited by misfortune, but she is not humiliated or bowed down.

"My Peoples,—Have confidence in your Emperor. The peoples of Austria have never shown themselves greater than in misfortune.

"I will follow the example of my forefathers, and will lead you on with determination, perseverance, and unshakable confidence in God.

"FRANCIS JOSEPH."

On the 14th of July, the remaining representatives of the German Bund abandoned Frankfort and retired to Augsburg. But the Diet was by the force of events virtually extinct, and will appear no more in history. Two days afterwards the Prussians occupied the city, and a heavy contribution was imposed upon the inhabitants [2].

Brünn, the capital of Moravia, was occupied by the Prussian troops forming the First Army on the 12th of July, while the Second Army, under the Crown Prince, and the Army of the Elbe, continued their march southwards, the one on the left and the other on the right flank. Moravia was now abandoned by the Austrians, and Prince Frederick Charles occupied Lundenburg junction on the 17th of July. Communication between the strong fortress of Olmütz and Vienna was thus cut off. On the 14th, the Prussian Army of the Elbe had reached Znaym, about fifty miles from Vienna.

In the meantime, the negotiations for an armistice were, as we have mentioned, going on, and it was agreed that it should commence on the 22nd of July. Unfortunately, however, on that day, owing to some misapprehension on the subject, another engagement took place between the troops of Prince Frederick Charles and the Austrians, in which the latter had decidedly the worst of it. In order to protect Presburg, they had occupied the

[2] The following was the order made upon the inhabitants for the supply of provisions for their unwelcome guests:—

"Officers, functionaries ranking as officers, sergeant-majors, ensigns, and sub-officers acting as officers, have a right to demand—in the morning, coffee with accessories; at noon, soup, meat, vegetables, a roast, and a bottle of wine; in the afternoon, coffee, &c.; at night, a light supper, and eight good cigars per diem. The soldiers quartered upon the citizens are to receive from the latter—in the morning, coffee with accessories; at noon, one pound of meat, vegetables, and bread, and a half-bottle of wine; in the evening, a *petit souper*, with a jug of beer and eight cigars per diem. The quality of the provisions must be such as to satisfy the requirements of the soldiers."

village of Blumenau, which is about five miles from the town; and three Prussian divisions, under General Fransky, were posted in the road which leads through Blumenau to Presburg, at a short distance from the village. Thinking he could take Presburg, and there easily effect a passage across the Danube, General Fransky despatched a message to Prince Frederick Charles at Ebenthal, asking to be allowed to attack Blumenau. This was in the night of the 20th of July. The Prince, not being aware that an armistice would be agreed to, gave the required permission; and General Fransky immediately ordered his troops to advance. The road along which they had to march runs below the westerly spur of the Carpathian mountains which rise abruptly on the left. At Blumenau, it leads straight to Presburg through a defile in the hills, and is crossed close to the village by the railway that runs from Gänserdorf to Presburg. The Austrian position was covered by woods and broken ground, and their centre held the villages of Blumenau and Katterbrun. Their left occupied fir-woods stretching towards the March, and their right extended from Blumenau about half-a-mile up the lower spurs of the Carpathian hills. Two Prussian regiments under General Bose were sent forward by a mountain path to gain the rear of the Austrians and cut off their retreat to Presburg, while General Fransky attacked their position in front. He came upon the enemy between Katterbrun and Blumenau, and the artillery immediately opened on both sides. The cavalry also became engaged; but the Austrian lancers were no match for the Prussian hussars, and after a short struggle they broke and fled. The cannonade became hotter in the centre, and the battle was furiously raging when suddenly an officer arrived from the quarters of Prince Frederick Charles to announce that an armistice had been agreed to, and was to commence at noon that day. General Fransky, however, fearing for General Bose, who had marched forward by the mountain path, did not think it safe to put a stop to the engagement, which was continued by the artillery for two hours longer, and then he ordered a general advance. In the meantime, General Bose had debouched from the mountains on the Gämsen Berg and there fell in with an Austrian brigade, which he drove back after a severe struggle, and placed his troops across the road and railway, thus cutting off the Austrians who were engaged with General Fransky from their line of retreat to Presburg in case they were obliged to give way. The combat in the neighbourhood of Blumenau was still vigorously going on, when an Austrian officer advanced with a flag of truce; and as the period fixed for the commencement of the armistice had expired, both sides were ordered to cease firing. The Austrians then found to their astonishment that the Prussians, under General Bose, were in their rear, and were able fully to realize the peril of their position. This was the last action fought during the war; and if the armistice had not intervened, it seems

impossible to doubt that the Austrians would have suffered in it another defeat.

It had been the intention of General Benedek, after the disaster at Königgrätz, to concentrate his shattered army at Olmütz,—but as we have already mentioned, he was deprived of the chief command, and he was ordered to withdraw his troops across the Danube to defend the capital. This, however, was no easy task, for the Prussians were in such force between Olmütz and Vienna that if he attempted to march directly upon the capital he would have been forced to fight a battle, with the almost absolute certainty of having to suffer another crushing defeat. But before the Prussians had occupied the intervening country he was able to despatch by railway to Vienna a considerable number of troops, and the remainder consisted of five corps with whom, after imminent hazards, he succeeded in reaching Presburg.

On the 12th of July the First Corps was sent forward to occupy Prerau, and on the 14th two other corps followed, and marching by way of Tobitschau, Kajetein, Zaemeik, and Hradisch, arrived in Presburg almost without opposition. General Benedek with the remaining corps left the lines at Olmütz on the 15th, but they had to fight their way in several severe encounters until they reached Presburg on the Danube in safety.

The concentration of the Imperial armies at Vienna caused great alarm amongst the inhabitants of the capital, who feared that the city might be besieged, and, in case the Prussians were victorious, would be given up to pillage. To reassure them, the Emperor declared—"Vienna will not be an object of defence. It is my will that it be treated as an open (defenceless) city. Although the *tête du pont* on the Danube has been fortified, it is not for the defence of the city. It is simply a measure of defence against the passage of the Danube on the part of the Prussians, who may, perhaps, try to cross that river in several places. It is possible that the precautionary measure may prove to be of no avail, but we are obliged to take it. It must not be said of Austria, that, having suffered a defeat, she lost courage, and, renouncing all hope, tamely allowed the enemy to cross the Danube."

An immense intrenched camp surrounded Vienna on the north side of the Danube, and within the lines the bulk of the army was assembled at the village of Florisdorf, on the river, a short distance from the capital.

The preliminaries for a Treaty of Peace between Austria and Prussia were signed at Nikolsburg, on the 26th of July; but the negotiations afterwards were carried on at Prague, and there the Treaty itself was definitively signed on the 23rd of August. The following were the chief articles of this important document:—

"Art. I.

"For the future there shall be lasting peace and friendship

between His Majesty the King of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, as well as between their heirs and descendants, their States and subjects.

"ART. II.

"That the 6th Article of the Preliminaries of Peace signed at Nikolsburg on the 26th of July of this year may be carried out; and inasmuch as His Majesty the Emperor of the French, by his authorized emissary to His Majesty the King of Prussia, officially declared at Nikolsburg on the 29th of the same month of July, *qu'en ce qui concerne le Gouvernement de l'Empereur, la Venise est acquise à l'Italie pour lui être remise à la paix,* His Majesty the Emperor of Austria on his part conforms to this declaration, and gives his consent to the union of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom with the Kingdom of Italy, without imposing any other condition than the liquidation of those debts which have been acknowledged charges on the territories now resigned, in conformity with the Treaty of Zurich. . . . .

"ART. IV.

"His Majesty the Emperor of Austria recognizes the dissolution of the late German Bund, and gives his consent to a new formation of Germany, in which the Imperial State of Austria shall take no part. Moreover, His Majesty promises to recognize the closer Federal relations which His Majesty the King of Prussia is about to establish north of the line of the Main, and also agrees that the German States to the south of this line shall form an union, the national connexion of which with the Northern Confederacy is reserved for a more defined agreement between both parties, and which is to maintain an international independent existence.

"ART. V.

"His Majesty the Emperor of Austria transfers to His Majesty the King of Prussia all the rights he acquired under the Peace of Vienna on the 30th of October, 1864, to the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, with the understanding that the people of the northern district of Schleswig, if, by free vote, they express a wish to be united to Denmark, shall be ceded to Denmark accordingly.

"ART. VI.

"At the desire of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, His Majesty the King of Prussia declares himself willing, on the approaching changes in Germany, to allow the territory of the Kingdom of Saxony to remain within its present limits, reserving to himself the right of settling in a separate Treaty of Peace with the King of Saxony the share to be contibuted by Saxony towards the expenses of the war, and the position henceforth to be held by the Kingdom of Saxony within the North German Confederation.

"On the other hand, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria pro-

mises to recognize the changes about to be made in North Germany by His Majesty the King of Prussia, territorial changes included. . . . .

"ART. XI.

"In order to defray a portion of the expenses incurred by Prussia on account of the war, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria promises to pay to His Majesty the King of Prussia the sum of 40,000,000 Prussian dollars. From this sum, however, the amount of the costs of war which, by virtue of the 12th Article of the before-mentioned Treaty of Vienna of the 30th of October, 1864, His Majesty the Emperor claims from the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and which are valued at 15,000,000 Prussian dollars, together with 5,000,000 Prussian dollars as an equivalent for the free maintenance of the Prussian army in the Austrian States which it occupied till the conclusion of the peace, is to be deducted, so that only 20,000,000 Prussian dollars remain to be paid.

"Of this sum half is to be paid on the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, the other half three weeks afterwards. . . . .

"ART. XIII.

"All treaties and agreements made by the high contracting parties before the war are hereby revived in full force, so far as they are not invalidated by the dissolution of the German Bund. More especially the general Convention between the States of the German Confederation on the 10th of February, 1831, together with more recent resolutions thereto appertaining, will remain in full force as between Prussia and Austria.

"The Imperial Austrian Government declares, however, that the Coinage Treaty of the 24th of February, 1857, is deprived of its chief value for Austria by the dissolution of the German Bund; and the Royal Prussian Government declares itself ready to join with Austria and the other interested parties in the negotiations that may arise on the abolition of this Treaty. The high contracting parties likewise agree that as soon as possible they will enter into negotiations for a revision of the Commercial Treaty of the 11th of April, 1865, with a view to a further alleviation of burdens on both sides. In the meanwhile, the said Treaty is restored to its full force, with this provision, that both the high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right to cancel it after six months' notice [3]."

We have not thought it necessary to give a detail of the success-

[3] An exchange of prisoners between Austria and Prussia took place on the 27th of August, when the following astounding results appeared. On the Prussian side were released 523 Austrian officers and 35,036 rank and file, while about 13,000 Austrian prisoners were still left behind in the Prussian hospitals. On the other side, Austria gave up 7 Prussian officers and 450 non-commissioned officers and men; about 120, severely wounded, remained behind in Austrian hands. That is, 48,559 Austrian prisoners were given up, against 577 Prussians—or rather more than 83 to 1. The total loss of the Austrians, between killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, was computed at about 90,000, and that of the Prussians at 21,989.

ful operations of the Prussian arms in Bavaria, and against the Federal troops in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, but they may be shortly summarized as follows:—

The Prussians first engaged and defeated two divisions of the Bavarian army near Fulda and Meiningen. They then entered the Bavarian territory, and some sharp fighting took place at Bruckenau and Kissingen, where they were again victorious. On the 14th of June they engaged and routed the troops of Hesse-Darmstadt, near Aschaffenburg. They then occupied Darmstadt and Frankfort, and commenced the siege of the strong Federal fortress of Mayence. After their defeat at Kissingen the Bavarians fell back in the direction of Augsburg, where the remnant of the Diet had taken refuge, while another body of their army occupied the country between Munich and Nuremburg. The Prussians lay between the Federal army, 60,000 strong, and the Bavarians, and prevented their attempted junction. Further operations were put a stop to by an armistice which was concluded between Prussia and Bavaria on the 2nd of August, and this was followed by a general cessation of hostilities which ended in the Treaty of Prague.

Let us now see what was the territorial position of Prussia before the war, and what she gained by its successful issue.

Before the war the kingdom of Prussia consisted of nine provinces. 1. Eastern Prussia, with Königsberg as its capital. 2. Western Prussia; capital, Dantzig. 3. The Grand Duchy of Posen, or Polish Prussia; capital, Posen. 4. Silesia; capital, Breslau. 5. Brandenberg, in which is situated Berlin. 6. Pomerania; capital, Stettin. 7. Saxon Prussia, in which is situated the strong fortress of Magdeburg. 8. Westphalia. 9. Rhenish Prussia. After the war, in addition to these territories, she incorporated into her dominions, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Hesse-Homburg, the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg (these last, however, had been previously annexed), that part of Hesse-Darmstadt which lies to the north of the Maine, and the little principality of Hohenzollern—the cradle of the Prussian Royal House—situated on the borders of Lake Constance, between Wurtemberg and Switzerland.

CHAPTER IV.

PRUSSIA—AUSTRIA.

PRUSSIA.—Opening of the new Session of the Prussian Chambers—The King's Speech—Election of a President of the Lower House—Address of the Upper House—Treaties of peace between Prussia and Wurtemberg and Bavaria—Bill for incorporating the new territories with Prussia—Bill of Indemnity passed—Address of the Lower House—Reply of the King—Deputation from Hanover to the King, and his reply—Bill for the annexation to Prussia of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig—Triumphal entry of the Prussian army into Berlin—Bill for the election of the

new German Parliament—Treaty of confederation between Prussia and the minor German States north of the Maine—Bill for a loan—Speech of Count Bismark on the question of the union of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig with Prussia.

AUSTRIA.—Address of the Hungarian Diet—Resignation of Count Mensdorff, and appointment of Baron Beust as Foreign Minister—Imperial Rescript and Address of the Hungarian Diet.

The new Session of the Prussian Chambers was opened on the 5th of August, when the King in person delivered the following speech:—

"Illustrious, noble, and loyal Gentlemen of both Houses of the Diet,—Now that I see assembled around me the representatives of the country, my heart impels me to express first of all from this place my own and my people's thanks for God's gracious goodness, which has assisted Prussia, amid heavy but successful sacrifices, not only in averting from our frontiers the dangers of hostile attack, but in enabling the army of the country, by a rapid career of victory, to add fresh laurels to its inherited fame, and to smooth the course for the national development of Germany.

"Accompanied by the visible blessing of God, the part of the nation capable of bearing arms enthusiastically obeyed the summons to the sacred struggle for the independence of the Fatherland. Our heroic army, supported by few but faithful allies, advanced from success to success, from victory to victory, in the East as in the West. Much precious blood has been shed; the country mourns the loss of many brave men, who died the death of the hero in the flush of triumph, until our standards waved along a line extending from the Carpathians to the Rhine. It will be for the Government and the representatives of the people, in united co-operation, to bring to maturity the fruit that must be gathered from this sanguinary seed, to prevent its having been scattered in vain.

"Loyal Gentlemen of both Houses of the Diet,—My Government is able to look with satisfaction upon the financial position of the State. Careful foresight and conscientious economy have placed it in a position to overcome the great financial difficulties which have resulted as a natural consequence from the circumstances of the present time. Although material outlay has been imposed upon the Treasury during recent years by the war with Denmark, it has been found possible to meet the expenses hitherto incurred in the present war from the State revenue and the existing balances, without imposing any other burden upon the country than that of furnishing the supplies in kind for war purposes it is bound to provide by law. I hope the more assuredly that the means required for the successful termination of the war and for the payment of the supplies in kind, while maintaining order and security in the finances, will be readily granted by you.

"An agreement with the representatives of the country as to the settlement of the Budget has not been able to be effected in the last few years. The State outlay incurred during this period is,

therefore, destitute of that legal basis which, as I again acknowledge, the Budget can alone receive through the law. Art. 99 of the Constitution ordains it annually to be agreed upon between my Government and the two Houses of the Diet. Although my Government has nevertheless carried on the Budget for several years without this legal basis, this has only been done after conscientious examination, and in the conviction, in accordance with duty, that the conduct of a settled administration, the fulfilment of legal obligations towards public creditors and officials, the maintenance of the army and of the State establishments, were questions vital to the existence of the State, and that the course adopted, therefore, became one of those inevitable necessities which, in the interest of the country, a Government cannot and must not hesitate to adopt.

"I trust that recent events will in so far contribute to effect the indispensable understanding, that an indemnity for having carried on the administration without a law regulating the Budget—application for which will be made to the representatives—will readily be granted to my Government, and the hitherto existing conflict be therewith finally, and the more securely, brought to a conclusion, as it may be expected that the political position of the Fatherland will admit an extension of the frontiers of the State, and the establishment of an united Federal army under the leadership of Prussia, the costs of which will be borne in equal proportions by all members of the Confederation. The Bills required in this respect for the convocation of a popular representation of the Federal State will be laid before the Diet without delay.

"Gentlemen,—You feel with me, the entire Fatherland feels, the high importance of the moment that brings me once more among you. May Providence bless Prussia as graciously in future as it has visibly blessed the immediate past. May God grant it!"

It will be observed that in this speech not a word was said about France, and the important part taken by the French Emperor in bringing the war to a close by his mediation. Nor was Italy even mentioned. All that the King said was, that his army was supported "by few but faithful allies." These omissions naturally gave great offence both to Italy and France; and in France especially much irritation was felt in consequence.

At the opening of the Session, Herr Grabow, the former President of the Lower House, stated that, after mature and conscientious consideration of certain communications respecting his proposed election to the Presidency, made to him by some of his political friends, but the nature of which he could not make public, he had arrived at the firm conviction that the interests of the House and the country required him to decline the Presidency of the Chamber.

The House then proceeded to the election of a President, and the three candidates proposed were Herr von Forckenbeck, Count Arnim, and Count Schwerin. Herr von Forckenbeck obtained

the absolute majority of votes required, and was accordingly elected President.

A loyal Address to the King was voted by the Upper House, which after declaring that Prussia had been forced into the late war in self defence, thus proceeded:—

"After the withdrawal of Austria from the Germanic Confederation it may be presumed that friendly relations will subsist between her and Prussia. The new organization of Germany will be the means of preventing any future bloodshed in conflicts between German States. The reform of the military organization has been put to the test, and has been completely justified by the brilliant results which have been obtained."

The Address expressed its recognition of the disinterested mediation of a foreign Power in the peace preliminaries. It declared the hopes of the Upper House that the separated portions of the Monarchy would be united, and that the future frontier line of Prussia would form a guarantee for her security and her position as a great Power.

In bringing forward, in August, a Bill for the incorporation of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort, with the Prussian dominions, Count Bismark said that he hoped the Chambers would leave the details in the hands of the King, who would act with the necessary consideration. The preamble of the Bill stated that "Prussia did not embark in the war with the intention of acquiring territory. The hostile attitude of the above-named States has required that their independence should cease. It is to be hoped that, in course of time, the populations of the annexed countries will be thoroughly satisfied with the incorporation."

But a strong feeling was manifested by the Chamber that the Prussian constitutional charter should be introduced into the new provinces before the expiration of a year, instead of being postponed indefinitely, as the Bill proposed. Count Bismark at once assented to this view, and said that, without consulting his colleagues, he would take it upon himself, in the name of the Government, to approve of it. A few days afterwards (August 28) he accepted an amendment which provided that the Prussian Constitution should become law in Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, and Frankfort, on the 1st of October, 1867, and in the course of his speech he said:—

"It was just possible that Prussia would be called upon to vindicate the possession of what she has now acquired. The first Silesian war produced a second and a third, and there was no telling whether they might not have to go through a similar succession of campaigns in the present instance. He therefore wished to have the matter promptly settled, so as to give foreign Powers no further opportunity for interference. To do a necessary thing at once was to gain a double advantage from it. The Cabinet had difficulties to contend with in various quarters, and might well expect the House to second its action, considering what

the circumstances of the times were. The right of Prussia to annex the States mentioned was a more sacred right than that of conquest. It was from the right of Germany to live, breathe, and exist, that Prussia derived her commission to incorporate with her own body politic such *disjecta membra* of the nation as had been won in honest warfare. The interval between now and the extension of the Prussian Constitution to the new provinces he would employ to proclaim the laws of military service in them, and establish the right of all subjects of the Crown to reside and carry on trade in any part of the united kingdom. He had no doubt that before long all classes in the States annexed would unite in acknowledging the wisdom of this proceeding. This was a transition period, but its attendant difficulties could be easily overcome by the adoption of the proper means. He was not surprised to find that, when people in the minor States had so long enjoyed an existence undisturbed by great political cares, there should be some among them averse to the duties of a more responsible position. But the great majority took a more extended view even now, and the rest would come round soon enough. In point of fact, the only choice they had was to become the citizens of a great German State, or to be at the mercy of foreign Powers."

At a later period, a Bill of Indemnity to save the Government from the consequences of having acted in violation of the law by collecting taxes which had not been voted by the Chambers was passed by a large majority. The Minister of the Interior, Count Eulenburg, stated that by the adoption of the Bill, the Government would be morally compelled to act in a friendly spirit towards the House. The indemnity was not an armistice with the Government; its adoption would be the preliminaries of a real and lasting peace.

The Committee of the Lower House, to whom the task was entrusted of drawing up an address to the King in reply to his Speech, presented the following:—

"Most Illustrious and Gracious King, and Lord.—The great achievements which in a few weeks conducted our gallant troops from state to state, from victory to victory, until in the west they crossed the Maine, and in the east reached the very gates of Austria's capital, have filled our hearts with joyous pride and sincere gratitude. We return the thanks of the people to the thousands laid in their graves, and the tens of thousands of survivors of the Line, as well as the Landwehr, which, created in an heroic period, has proved true to its traditions. We return thanks to the able and courageous leaders, and, above all, to your Majesty, who assumed the command in the decisive battle, shared danger and privations with the army, and by a rapid advance put a speedy termination to the unutterable miseries incidental to the war. In recounting the important results of the war, we find the Federal Constitution—that illusory tie which for the last fifty years had proved useless and prejudicial in foreign as well as in domestic

affairs—to have been dissolved at length. We find ourselves dissevered from Austria, the multiplicity of minor States reduced, our frontiers and power extended, and the time drawing near when a united Germany, under the auspices of the largest German State, may be created. Equally with your Majesty we are convinced that the fruits of the war will be only matured by an harmonious co-operation between Government and Parliament. By the blood of our fearless soldiers has the most valuable possession of the people—liberty, and the right of self-government—been sealed again. Without the consolidation and development of the constitutional rights of the people, we may not count upon the sympathies of Germany, that alone can impart strength and duration to our power. Considering that for a number of years past the public expenditure has been defrayed without the legal enactment of a Budget, and partly contrary to the votes of the House of Deputies, we are highly gratified at your Majesty having condescended solemnly to admit the illegality of those expenditures, as having been made without due regard to Clause 99 of the Constitution. . . . . The surest way of securing the assistance of the entire nation for the federal reunion of Germany is to base the difficult work on the common Constitution drawn up by the Frankfort Parliament of 1848, with the alterations necessitated by late events. By adopting such a course, Prussia will acquire the strength requisite to maintain the integrity of the German frontiers, and to ward off foreign interference in the re-arrangement of our domestic affairs. Your Royal Majesty; pervaded with a sense of the great importance of the present epoch for the entire German Fatherland, we offer our cordial co-operation for the development of our unity and liberty, entrusted to your Majesty by Providence."

The Address was adopted by a large majority, only 25 members voting against it.

On receiving this Address, the King said:—

"I thank you, gentlemen, for communicating to me the feelings of your illustrious body. To God alone be all honour. On setting out for the seat of war I certainly hoped that we should be able to hold our own, as we always have. But I did not expect the rapid victories we achieved, and am doubly grateful to my gallant army for accomplishing them. Since the war, I have been obliged to dispossess certain Sovereigns, and annex their territories. I was born the son of a King, and taught to respect hereditary rights. If, in the present instance, I have nevertheless profited by the fortune of war to extend my territory at the cost of other Sovereigns, you will appreciate the imperative necessity of the step. We cannot permit hostile armies to be raised in our rear, or in localities intervening between our provinces. To preclude the recurrence of such an event was a duty imposed upon me by the law of self-preservation. I have acted for the good of the country, and I beg you to convey my sentiments to the House."

In the beginning of September, a deputation from Hanover had an interview with the King of Prussia, in Berlin, and presented him with an address in which the King was earnestly entreated to preserve the independence of Hanover. It stated,—"It cannot be agreeable to your Majesty to dethrone a Prince whose dynasty has been connected with the country for nearly a thousand years, and who equally wears his crown by the grace of God—to dethrone him simply because, taking a different view of the Federal law, up to that time valid, to the view entertained by your Majesty's advisers, he considered himself legally prevented from unhesitatingly adopting your Majesty's German policy, and thus, by an unfortunate concatenation of circumstances, was ultimately forced to employ his army against your Majesty's troops, whom they had previously never opposed, but by whose side they had often victoriously fought in joyful brotherhood of arms."

The King replied that he should have held the Hanoverians in less esteem if they had not adopted some such step to testify their faithful attachment to their hereditary dynasty, so closely allied in kinship to his own. He then reviewed the conduct of the German Bund towards Prussia, and concluded by saying:—"The results that have signalized the contest of two mighty States for existence, undreamt of previously by me in such extent, and unexampled for rapidity in history, are a visible interposition of Providence, without which even the best disciplined army could not have gained such triumphs. The position of the Government of your country prior to, and during the development of these events, is known to you. You are aware of the vote of June 14, which was devoid of all foundation in Federal right, that only recognizes one species of execution—an execution to which, had it been voted, I could not have submitted, but which would have made the breach of the Confederation by Hanover less evidently hostile to Prussia. You are aware that negotiations for neutrality were carried on, of my repeated fruitless summons to join the Northern alliance on the night of June 14, of the expedition of the Hanoverian army with its King, and of the catastrophe at Langensalza, where I do not say that I was the victor, but which, in its consequences, led to the annihilation of the Hanoverian army. Notwithstanding the wonderful successes which have given me the right of freely deciding upon the course I should adopt, it did not require either addresses or deputations to make me aware of the importance of the measure which you desire to see withdrawn. Nevertheless, I again offer you my thanks. We have frankly said to each other what we think, and I prefer that, because it holds out a hope of a better understanding in future. The most careful consideration, which has been painful because of my relationship to the House of Hanover, imposes annexation upon me as a duty. I owe it to my country to compensate it for the immense sacrifice it has made, and therefore I am bound to render impossible in the future any recurrence of danger from the hostile attitude of Hanover."

After the annexation had taken place, the ex-King of Hanover addressed a proclamation to his former subjects, releasing them from their allegiance to him, "under reserve of all his rights"—and "with the reserve that such duties shall revive and become obligatory at any time when King George V., or one of his lawful successors, shall resume the exercise of the government of the kingdom."

Early in September, a Bill was introduced into the Prussian Chambers for the annexation of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, "except a portion to be agreed upon hereafter by a contract with the Grand Duke of Oldenburg." The Bill provided that the Prussian Constitution was to come into force in those districts on the 1st of October, 1867. In bringing forward the measure, Count Bismark made no allusion to the northern part of Schleswig, the inhabitants of which, by the terms of the Treaty of Prague, were to be invited to declare by a *plebiscite* whether they desired their territory to be annexed to Prussia, or to be restored to Denmark.

The triumphal entry of the Prussian army into Berlin took place on the 20th of September, preceded by the King on horseback, who was accompanied by Count Bismark and Generals Roon, Moltke, Voigtshetz, and Blumenthal.

An amnesty was proclaimed for all persons who had been convicted of high treason, or other offences against the Crown, resistance to the State authorities, violation of public order, offences committed by the press in infringement of the Press Law of the 12th of May, 1851, and for infractions of the ordinance of the 11th of March, 1851, regulating the right of public meetings.

On the 12th of September, the Bill for determining the mode of election of the new German Parliament was passed by the Chamber of Deputies; and Count Bismark, in reply to a remark that the Prussian Government had made little use of the late victories, said, that history would explain concurrent events, and prove that the Prussian Government had made even a daring use of the victories gained by the army. The preamble of the Bill stated that:—

"As far back as the 9th of April last, the King's Government proposed to the late Germanic Diet a Constitutional reform, and the convocation of a Parliament chosen by direct elections. Those propositions are set forth in the 4th Article of the fundamental bases of the new Federal Pact—bases which were communicated on June 10 of this year to all the States lately Confederated, as well as to the Germanic Diet in its sitting of June 14, and were explained as meaning that the national representation should be elected according to the regulations of the German electoral law of April 12, 1849.

"After the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation, Prussia, on July 16, invited the states of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxe-Weimar, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt, Schwartz-

burg-Sondershausen, Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, Waldeck, Reuss (the elder and junior branches), Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, to conclude with her an alliance upon the basis of the above-mentioned draught Constitution, with an obligation of military alliance, and a speedy convocation of the Parliament by Prussia. This proposition was declined only by the Governments of Saxe-Meiningen and the elder branch of Reuss."

The Bill provided that every Prussian who had completed his twenty-fifth year should be an elector, and that there should be one deputy for each 100,000 souls upon the total of the population, as ascertained by the last census. Each deputy was to be elected for a distinct electoral district; "the right of election to be exercised by personally depositing an unsigned voting-paper in a box to be provided for the purpose."

A few days afterwards the Bill was adopted by the Upper House without alteration.

In the view of assembling a North German Parliament, a Treaty of Confederation was entered into between the Governments of Prussia, Saxe-Weimar, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Sachsen-Altenburg, Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt, Schwartzburg-Sondershausen, Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, Waldeck, Reuss (of the younger line), Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg. By this treaty it was agreed that a Confederate Constitution should be adopted by a German Parliament, and the troops of the Confederates were to be under the supreme command of the King of Prussia. They mutually agreed to maintain the "independence and integrity" of the contracting states, and guaranteed the defence of their territories [1].

The feeling of jealousy with which the Prussian Chambers still regarded the Ministry, notwithstanding the brilliant success of Count Bismark's policy, was shown by its conduct with regard to a Loan Bill brought forward by the Government, who asked for sixty million thalers, but were obliged to be content with forty millions, owing to the opposition of the Lower House. In defending the original proposal, the Finance Minister said:—

"The position of Prussia is not yet decided, peace has not been concluded with Saxony, and the relations of the North German Confederation to Southern Germany are not regulated. Prussia must defend what she has acquired, and must always be able to take up arms for that purpose. In such a position the unforeseen often plays the most important part.

"The financial question is the chief point, and if the right moment be allowed to pass, the accomplishment of Prussia's aims may be deferred for years, and her very existence again endangered.

[1] These States have a population of about 2,000,000. Added to the 19,000,000 which constituted the Prussian Monarchy before the war, they give, with the 4,500,000 belonging to the annexed territories of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, Frankfort, and the strips taken from Grand Ducal Hesse and Bavaria, a total of about 25,000,000 souls for the Northern Confederacy.

Money must be at the disposal of the Government. We must have our hands on our swords, and our purses well filled!"

In December, Count Bismark made a long speech in the Lower House on the occasion of a debate on the question of the union of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein with Prussia, and the cession of the Northern part of Schleswig to Denmark, if, on an appeal to the inhabitants, as proposed by France, they determined, by a *plebiscite*, in favour of such a re-annexation. The only passages which are of sufficient interest to quote, are those which relate to the attitude of France. The minister said:—

"Foreign nations were accustomed to look upon us as abandoned to the tender mercies of France, and to make the permanent necessity of help, under which they fancied we were, their reason for speculating upon our indulgence and modesty. By Austria and a portion of our German allies this speculation has been carried very far during the last ten years. But were they at all right in their fancies? War with France is not in the interests of this country. We have little to gain even by beating her. The Emperor Napoleon himself, differing in this from the accepted politics of other French dynasties, wisely recognizes the fact that peace and mutual confidence should prevail between the two neighbouring nations. But to maintain such relations with France, a strong and independent Prussia is alone competent. If this truth is not admitted by all subjects of Napoleon III., it is a consolation to know that his Cabinet, at least, thinks differently, and that we —officially, at any rate—have to deal with his Cabinet only. Looking upon this vast country of Germany from the French point of view, his Cabinet cannot but tell themselves that to combine it again with Austria into one political whole, and make it a realm of 75,000,000 inhabitants, would be contrary to the French interests. Even if France could make the Rhine her boundary, she would be no match for so formidable a Power, were it ever established beside her. To France it is an advantage that Austria does not participate any longer in our common Germanic institutions, and that a State whose interests conflict with her own in Italy and in the East, cannot henceforth constitutionally rely upon our armed assistance in war. It is natural for France to prefer a neighbour of less overwhelming might, a neighbour, in fact, whom 35,000,000 or 38,000,000 of French are quite strong enough to ward off from their boundary-line in defensive war. If France justly appreciates her interests, she will as little allow the power of Prussia as that of Austria to be swept away. The present dynasty of France, having identified itself with the principle of nationality, always looked upon the question of the Duchies in a temperate way, and from the very outset was less adverse to our claims than any of the other Powers. You are aware that to carry that principle through on the Dano-German frontier, is simply impossible. Germans and Danes so intermingle there, that no line of demarcation can be drawn which will separate all members of the

one race from those of the other. Yet France, wishing to see her adopted principle acknowledged in this particular instance, as in so many preceding ones, mooted the question, repeatedly bringing on a discussion between us, Denmark, and other Powers. In all our communications with the Powers, we never concealed it from them that we would not allow our line of defence to be impaired by any territorial re-arrangement of the kind; but we also intimated that, under certain circumstances, we might be inclined to pay some regard to wishes assiduously uttered by the population, and undoubtedly ascertained by us. Thus the matter stood when, in July last, France was enabled, by the general situation of Europe, to urge her views more forcibly than before. I need not depict the situation of this country at the time I am speaking of. You all know what I mean. Nobody could expect us to carry on two wars at the same time. Peace with Austria had not yet been concluded; were we to imperil the fruits of our glorious campaign by plunging headlong into hostilities with a new, a second enemy? France, then, being called on by Austria to mediate between the contending parties, as a matter of course did not omit to urge some wishes of her own upon us. We had to determine, not whether we thought the terms offered compatible with the expressed desires of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, but whether we were to accept or to reject in a body the overtures of Austria, as imparted through France. Long negotiations were impracticable under the circumstances. Our communications were interrupted, telegrams requiring three, or even six days to travel from our head-quarters to Berlin In this condition His Majesty determined to adopt the programme submitted to his decision. It is true we were strongly backed by Italy remaining true to her engagements, and standing by us with a fidelity which I cannot too highly appreciate and extol. The Italian Government resisted the temptation thrown in its way by a present from Austria of renouncing its alliance with us and suspending military operations against the common enemy. This is a fact which I hope guarantees the continuance of friendly relations between Italy and Germany. But, notwithstanding the valuable aid rendered us by our Italian allies both on the battle-field and in our diplomatic negotiations with friend and foe, we did not think ourselves justified in proceeding to extremities, and involving all Europe in war, merely because a single item of the terms proffered was unpalatable. Had we insisted upon having every thing our own way, the most serious complications might have arisen. I thought it my duty to advise His Majesty to sanction the terms submitted as they stood, rather than jeopardize our previous successes and gamble for more."

In the result, the House resolved to postpone the question of the cession of Northern Schleswig to a later period.

AUSTRIA.

At the end of the Autumn, Count Mensdorff resigned his office of Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Baron Beust, who had previously been Prime Minister of Saxony, was sent for by the Emperor of Austria, and at the beginning of November was appointed Foreign Minister in his place. It deserves notice that Baron Beust, who was thus promoted to so important an office in Catholic Austria, was not only a foreigner, but a Protestant.

An address from the Hungarian Diet, in February, in answer to a speech from the Imperial throne, entered at very great length into the subject of the grievances of which the Hungarians had to complain; but they may be summarized in the following passage:—

"We have not Parliamentary government; we have not responsible Ministers; the municipalities, the counties, the districts, and the towns have not regained their constitutional position; the absolute system prevails in all branches of the Administration. We ask, therefore, of your Majesty continuity of right in the sense of our especial laws, Parliamentary government, a responsible Ministry, and the re-establishment of the municipalities. We do not ask political impossibilities; it is not our intention to endanger the security of the Empire, and infringe the legal rights of our monarch, and we will constantly treat with respect the legitimate rights of allied countries. We also see important political interests in that direction, but we are convinced that the appointment of responsible Hungarian Ministers, and the constitutional re-establishment of the municipalities, are not opposed to those interests."

At the opening of the Hungarian Diet, in Pesth on the 19th of November, an Imperial Rescript, signed by the Emperor and two of his ministers, was read. The following were the most important passages of the document:—

"Faithful Lieges,—With unshaken confidence in heavenly Providence and in the faithful devotion of our peoples, we resume the thread of our negotiations with the Diet, the starting-point of which we pointed out in our speech from the throne, and as whose highly important and unalterable ultimate object we consider the Constitutional settlement of the bond connecting the various parts of the Monarchy, as well as the speedy restoration of the autonomous rights of our beloved Kingdom of Hungary.

"The unfavourable turn of the war, which was not to be effaced by the brilliant victories of our Southern army and fleet, defeated those hopes we built upon the justice of our cause and the ready heroism of our army, even notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the Powers allied against us.

"In view of the severe decrees of fate, which could only be re-shaped more favourably by the utmost exertions of sacrifice and

of the moral and material strength of our peoples, we did not hesitate to restore to them, even on hard conditions, the blessings of peace, the security of which we have always reckoned among the deeply-felt cares of our paternal heart, and among our highest duties as a sovereign. . . .

"What we must indispensably uphold is the unity of the army, which, together with unity in the command, and in the internal organization of its parts, also undoubtedly demands unanimity of principle in the arrangements for the time of service and filling up the ranks.

"The future development of international traffic, and the vital conditions of industry, require just as indispensably that the Custom's tariff, and, as a logical sequence, the indirect taxation exercising an important influence upon industrial productions, together with the State monopoly system, should be regulated upon an agreed and similar basis.

"Lastly, the State debts, and the innermost being of the State credit, so intimately connected therewith, require united treatment, if the interests of the money-market which affect public life in all parts of the realm with equal vigour, are to be preserved from dangerous oscillation.

"By the result of the negotiations with the Diet carried on upon this foundation, we trust speedily to be in a position to regard as in principle removed the obstacles with respect to those guarantees for the general State connexion we are obliged, as the immediate consequence of the Pragmatic Sanction, to guard from every danger. We shall thus upon our part be able to contribute toward the fulfilment of the wishes conspicuously put forward in the addresses of the Estates and representatives, and by the appointment of a responsible Ministry, as well as the restoration of the municipal self-administration, to do justice to the constitutional demands of the people of our beloved Kingdom of Hungary.

"While we are resolved to introduce the responsible system of government not only into Hungary, but generally, we reserve to ourselves to carry out the detailed application and realization of the principles referring to common affairs, together with the modification of those stipulations of the laws of 1848 respecting which we expressed our hesitation in our Royal rescript of the 3rd of March last, through the responsible Ministers, to be appointed by us and in agreement with the Estates and representatives in Diet assembled.

"We entertain the hope that the Estates and representatives of our beloved Kingdom of Hungary will receive the candid statement of these our paternal intentions with unprejudiced feelings, and will make the points of view dwelt upon by us the subject of earnest deliberation, suitable at the same time to the requirements of the day, thereby upon their part accelerating the fulfilment of our most earnest wish—viz., the secure introduction of Constitutional organization into our collective realm.

"The country now stands upon the threshold of the fulfilment of its wishes."

The Address proposed by the moderate party in the Diet under Herr Deak, demanded the immediate restoration of their Constitution. The Constitution of February, 1861, had been suspended in September last year, and the Hungarians had in fact refused to accept it. The Address states:—

"The promises and avowals contained in the gracious rescript which your Majesty has lately deigned to send us in answer to our second address, do not allay our apprehensions, for we had petitioned for the immediate restitution of our Constitution and the continuity of right, and our request has not been fulfilled by the Royal rescript. All that is not positively denied us therein is made dependent upon time and conditions; but it is not only incompatible with our Constitution, but also contrary to the fundamental principles of legality and constitutionalism, to delay the execution of existing laws, or to make the support of them dependent upon conditions. . . . We respectfully pray your Majesty not to make the great work of a satisfactory arrangement impossible by a postponement of the restitution of our Constitution and the recognition of the continuity of right. . . . As long as we are without a Constitution, we cannot exercise the legitimate right of legislation. The adjustment of the pending difficulties between the Monarch and the nation can only be arrived at upon the basis of the Constitution itself. . . . Absolute authority on one side, and on the other a nation deprived of its Constitutional liberties, can never come to a satisfactory and durable understanding. . . . Much has to be done, and done speedily, for there is no time for delay. . . . We have repeatedly petitioned your Majesty in favour of our fellow-countrymen imprisoned or exiled for political offences, but, unhappily, our petitions have been without avail. . . . May your Majesty graciously remember, that by the Pragmatic Sanction, the succession to the throne was made conditional upon the support of the laws and Constitution of the nation. . . . We have hailed with joy the resolution of your Majesty to rule constitutionally in all your dominions. . . . We are convinced that this is the only way in which your Majesty can increase the power and influence of the Empire, and the security of the Throne."

During the debate one of the deputies, Herr Horvath said:—

"Two eventualities are before us—either Austria refuses to restore our independent State organization, and then we can treat no longer, but retire, leaving the responsibility of the consequences to others; or Austria may awake to a sense of self-preservation, and learn to realize that Hungary, bound alone by the bond of sympathy, is of far more real strength to Austria than Hungary, however securely chained, fretting and chafing at her fetters. Austria may learn at last to know that with this nation jealousy and mistrust cease the moment she sees the object of her care in safety, and its future secured. . . . The dynasty is at last persuad-

ing itself that the consolidation of the Hungarian State and the Regal throne of Hungary, is a question of life or death, not only for the Monarchy, but even for itself. . . . Let Austria, in a right appreciation of her own interests, fulfil the just demands of Hungary, and we have no choice but to make peace with Austria, for she will have ceased to be our enemy."

CHAPTER V.

ITALY.

Bill empowering the Government to raise money "for the defence of the State"—Change of Ministry—Volunteer Corps formed—Commencement of hostilities between Italy and Austria—Battle of Custozza—Naval combat off Lissa—Operations of the Volunteers under Garibaldi—The Italian army again crosses the Po—Armistice—Letter from the French Emperor to the King of Italy—Treaty of Peace between Italy and Austria—Result of the *plebiscite* in Venetia—Reply of the King to Venetian deputation—Baron Ricasoli's Circular to the Prefects—Opening of the Session of the Italian Parliament—Speech of the King.

SPAIN.—Military Insurrection in Madrid.

DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.—Revolution in the Principalities—Abdication of Prince Couza—Prince Charles of Hohenzollern elected Hospodar.

CANADA.—Fenian Invasion of Canada—Opening of the Canadian Legislature at Ottawa—Speech of the Governor-General.

IN the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies at the end of April, Signor Scialoja, the Minister of Finance, introduced a short Bill for conferring upon the Government despotic power to raise money for a limited period "for the defence of the State." He said:—

"The attitude of a neighbouring Power, and the menacing character of its warlike preparations, have imposed on the King's Government the necessity of taking all measures that may be necessary for the defence of the State. The Chamber doubtless understands that this condition of affairs, instead of admitting of that reduction of the public expenses which we had hoped to effect, demands, on the contrary, extraordinary and very considerable additional expenditure. The Chamber must also bear in mind the general condition of credit, which could not fail to be affected by the sudden changes of general politics and the uncertainties by which they are accompanied. The limited arrangements of the Budget proposed by me at the time when I spoke of the general condition of the finances, are no longer sufficient to meet the wants of the country. On the other hand, it is impossible to meet all the demands which may arise from our exceptional position with the ordinary resources. It consequently becomes necessary to adopt measures which the approaching course of events shall indicate as the most practical and the most immediately effective. The

Government of the King, therefore, departing from its usual course, asks the Chamber to confer upon it the extraordinary powers comprised in the Bill which I now submit."

The Bill, which consisted of a single article, was unanimously adopted, and was in the following terms:—"Until the end of July, 1866, the Chamber gives power to the Government of the King to order any expenditure necessary for the defence of the State, and to provide for the wants of the Treasury by extraordinary means, maintaining at the same time the arrangements of such taxes as have been voted or shall be voted by Parliament."

Not long afterwards a change of ministry took place, and a new Cabinet was formed, of which Baron Ricasoli was the head.

The most strenuous efforts were made to increase the numbers and efficiency of the army, and a Volunteer corps was formed, of which the command was given to Garibaldi. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which the prospect of a war with Austria was hailed by all classes in the country. For this there was no other reason or pretext than the determination to free Venetia from the grasp of the stranger, and set Italy free "from the Alps to the Adriatic." But the reason was felt to be all-sufficient, and the opportunity afforded by the approaching rupture between Austria and Prussia, of which we have already detailed the causes and issue, was eagerly seized upon to effect the great object of Italian aspirations, which was the expulsion of the hated Austrian dominion from every part of Italian soil.

A formal declaration of war against Austria was issued by the King of Prussia on the 18th of June, and by the King of Italy two days afterwards. Baron Ricasoli made a speech in the Chambers in which he announced, amidst tumultuous applause, "the Kingdom of Italy has declared war against the Empire of Austria[1]." The King issued an order of the day to the army, in which he said, "Austria, by arming on our frontiers, incites us to war again. In my name, and in that of the nation, I call you to arms."

The commencement of hostilities was fixed for the 23rd of June, and for a few days previously the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd corps of the army, under the immediate command of the King, with a cavalry

[1] Before the commencement of the war, the Austrian army in the Tyrol, Istria, and Venetia was distributed as follows:—

In the Tyrol	12,000
In Istria	12,000
Behind the Quadrilateral and guarding the rear of the army	6,000
Garrisons, &c., in Venice, Rovigo, Legnano, Mantua, Peschiera, and Verona	40,000
Army in the field	65,000
Total	135,000

The Italian army in the field was estimated at 180,000 men.

division, had been pushed forward to the frontier, the general head-quarters being at Canneto. The King proceeded to Goito and ordered his troops to cross the Mincio on the morning of the 23rd. General della Marmora says, in his official report of the battle :—

"This entry upon the territory occupied by the enemy was effected at all points, without resistance, and almost without an encounter. The cavalry division alone met, on the numerous roads leading from the Mincio to the plains of Verona, some small patrols of whom they made some prisoners.

"The complete absence of the enemy's forces from the plain of Verona confirmed the general tenour of our information, according to which the Austrian troops were principally concentrated behind the Adige, and that they had abandoned any idea of defending the territory between this river and the Mincio. Consequently the chief command of the army determined to advance boldly into the territory between the fortresses of Verona, Peschiera, and Mantua, separate one from the other, and take up a strong position between the plain of Villafranca and the group of hills between Valeggio, Sommacampagna, and Castelnuovo, which would assist the successive development of the projected operations."

The 3rd corps first came into conflict with the enemy a little beyond Villafranca, where it was attacked by the Austrian cavalry, but succeeded in maintaining its position. The rest of the army was not so fortunate, and General della Marmora frankly admitted its defeat. He says in his report :—

"But matters did not progress so favourably on the heights. When the Cerale and Sirtori divisions, having left their positions of Monzambano and Valeggio, entered the narrow and tortuous roads which they had to take in order to reach their destination of Castelnuovo and Sona, they encountered formidable positions occupied by powerful lines of troops and numerous artillery. They took up a position on the lateral heights, holding a line passing through the heights of Montevento and Santa Lucio del Trone, which should not be confounded with Santa Lucia di Verona.

"The Brignone division, which encountered less obstacles in its march, reached Custozza without resistance, but found the opposite heights of Berittara occupied by the Austrians. A sharp cannonade commenced between the two lines, in which the enemy had a great advantage in numbers and position. Our attack was therefore arrested, the enemy himself assumed the offensive, and it is our defence of the positions eventually occupied which forms the principal feature of the fierce contest of the day.

"It is not now possible for me to enter into particulars of the various phases of the battle The contest was long and honourable to our arms, but the constant arrival of reinforcements on the enemy's side, the increasing number of guns with which they covered the heights in the occupation of their troops, and above all, the fatigue of the troops, who had been marching since the

morning, or fighting under a burning sun, decided the day against us. It was not until they had sustained serious losses, that the Cerale and Brignone divisions first, and subsequently the Sirtori division, the flanks of which were uncovered, fell back, the 1st and 3rd on Valeggio, and the 2nd on Molini di Volta.

"The retreat was effected without disorder, owing to the measures taken by Generals Durando and Pianelli."

The Austrian army was under the command of the Archduke Albert, and he thus describes the final and successful attack upon Custozza, which compelled the Italians to retreat:—

"Between 1 and 3 in the afternoon, a brigade of the 5th Corps carried the Monte Vento. The two others, after a most obstinate struggle, obtained possession of Santa Lucia and of Monte Mamaor. The reserve division had arrived during the time at Salionzo, and pushed on towards Valeggio. In spite of all the efforts of the 9th and the 7th corps, they had not succeeded up to 3 o'clock in the afternoon in taking Custozza. I then granted to our troops, exhausted by the burning heat and their continued exertions, a momentary rest, and I afterwards gave orders that the 7th *Corps d'Armée*, reinforced by a brigade of the 5th corps, should make a final attempt to carry Custozza, which was defended by the enemy with obstinacy and with much bravery. But before even my order had reached it, the 7th corps, effectively supported by a well-sustained fire from the guns of the 9th corps, placed at Casa del Sole, had obtained possession of Monte Arabita and of Belvedore. There then remained but the difficult task of taking Custozza and Monte Torre, at the same time resisting the continual and violent attacks of the enemy against the 9th corps at Somma Campagna and at Casa del Sole. The enemy, headed by the Princes Humbert and Amadeus, endeavoured with their troops *d'élite* to advance to Staffalo, and to hold Custozza; but the 9th corps repulsed vigorously every attack, and finally, towards 7 o'clock in the evening, the 7th corps, supported by the brigade of the 5th corps, succeeded in taking possession of Custozza."

The Italian army, driven back by the Austrians, recrossed the Mincio, and burnt the bridge at Valeggio. It then concentrated itself behind the Oglio[1].

The news of the victory at Custozza was received with great enthusiasm in Austria, and General Benedek issued an order of the day to his troops in which he said with, alas! little gift of prophecy:—"Soldiers of the Imperial Army of the North!—You will hail this news with joy, and go forth to the approaching strife with increased enthusiasm; so that we shall soon inscribe on the same shield a new and glorious battle name, and announce to the Emperor a victory from the north also, for which your martial ardour is longing, and which your valour and devotion will win, to the cry of 'Long live the Emperor!'"

[1] The total loss of the Italians in the battle of Custozza was 720 killed, 3112 wounded, and 4335 prisoners and missing. Amongst the killed were 69 officers.

The next event of importance was a naval combat between the Italian and Austrian fleets off Lissa, in which the Italians came off decidedly the worst.

Lissa is a fortified island belonging to Austria, in the Adriatic, off the coast of Dalmatia; and the Italian fleet under the command of Admiral Persano, proceeded to attack it on the 18th of July. The iron-clad vessels forced an entrance into the main harbour of St. George, and for two days the island was cannonaded on three sides. The sea batteries were overcome by the fire from the fleet; and on the morning of the 20th the disembarkation of troops had already begun, when the Austrian squadron, which had been stationed at Pola, in Istria, hove in sight, and preparations were immediately made to give battle to the enemy. The Austrian fleet, commanded by Admiral Tegethoff, consisted of 7 iron-clads, 6 frigates, 1 line-of-battle ship, 9 gunboats, and 3 paddle-steamers—in all 26 sail, mounting upwards of 540 guns. The Italian fleet was more numerous, and amongst the ships were 11 iron-clads, a large ram called the "Affondatore," and 1 line-of-battle ship. The rest consisted of frigates and paddle-steamers. Before the battle began, Admiral Persano quitted his ship, the "Re d'Italia," and went on board the "Affondatore," where he hoisted his flag. The reason for this, according to his own account, was that "this was the first time in which the new contrivances of naval warfare were brought to the actual experience of a battle. The Admiral, therefore, deemed it expedient to be out of the line, on board an iron-clad ship of such swiftness as might enable him to plunge at his pleasure into the thick of the *mêlée*, so as to convey the necessary orders to various points, and give the fleet the guidance it might require."

The line of battle was nearly the same in both fleets, the iron-clads being in the van and the wooden ships in the rear; but the distance between the two lines on the Italian side was considerably greater than on the Austrian. Three of the Italian iron-clads broke through the Austrian line of iron-clads, and then turning to the left engaged the second line of wooden ships. Three other of the Italian iron-clads became engaged with the whole of the Austrian iron-clads, and the "Re d'Italia" had to encounter the attacks of four at once. The "Palestro" was coming up to her support, but was set on fire, and the flames burnt with such fury that she blew up, with the loss of all on board, except a few who were afterwards picked up. The officers and crew behaved with the noblest heroism, refusing to quit the ship, and crying out as they went down, "*Viva il Re!*" "*Viva l'Italia!*" In the meantime the Austrian wooden line-of-battle ship the "Kaiser," with Admiral Tegethoff on board, ran into the "Re d'Italia" and struck her with such force that she sank. As to the rest of the action, it is best described in Admiral Tegethoff's own words:—

"The *mêlée*," he says, "became general, and it is difficult to give particulars of it, as the vessels were cruising about under full

steam, and it was often hard to distinguish friend from enemy, although the gala set of flags was hoisted on both sides."

The great object of each vessel seemed to be to run its opponent down, and the issue of the battle depended more upon the success of the manœuvre than upon the effect of the cannonade. The result was that both sides drew off after the engagement had lasted for two hours; but the Italians had by far the worst of it, and Admiral Persano retired with the shattered remnant of his ships to Ancona. As regards the Austrians, we may quote the words of an English eye-witness, who was present during the battle, and who says:—

"The fleet manœuvred about until 5 p.m., and then ran into the port of Lissa, where we found the 'Kaiser' line-of-battle ship at anchor. She suffered more than any other ship, having lost her foremast, jibboom, and funnel. This occurred in rather a curious way. She was attacked by four iron-clads, and a fifth was on the point of running down the 'Elizabetta,' when to save her she ran full speed into the iron-clad; and thus the King, or 'Kaiser,' saved the Queen, or 'Elizabetta.' The four iron-clads must have suffered much, for the 'Kaiser' continually poured her broadsides into them. The loss of the 'Kaiser' was 22 killed and 82 wounded. The other ships suffered but little. Funnels and bulwarks were perforated with shot, but few lives lost. In fact, some of the ships have escaped without a shot."

In his official report of the battle, Admiral Tegethoff said:—

"The disposition of the Austrian squadron was as follows:—According to the class of the vessels they were arranged in three divisions—namely, the iron-clad division, then the heavy wooden ships, and, lastly, the light ones. These divisions were formed into an oblique line, following in each other's wake, the iron-clads leading. I at once determined the distance to be maintained between the divisions and between the several ships, gave orders to prepare for action, and to put on full speed. To the iron-clad division I signalled, 'Bear down upon the enemy, and sink him.'

"In the meantime the enemy's line was cruising right across my squadron's course, and the leading vessel, the iron-clad 'Principe di Carignano,' with Rear-Admiral Vacca on board, was the first to open fire, with no very great effect, which fire was promptly replied to by the nearest Austrian ships, and shortly became general. Soon afterwards the Sardinian line was broken by the Austrian iron-clad division. A general engagement ensued. Those ships of the enemy's iron-clad squadron which lay behind the point at which we had broken through fell away to the northwards: through this manœuvre my wooden divisions were menaced, and I sent the iron-clad division in a northerly direction, in order to relieve them and bring the enemy's iron-clads under a cross fire. Meanwhile the wooden divisions pursued their course, and forced their way through the enemy's iron-clads, in effecting which both

frigates and gunboats found ample opportunity of measuring their strength with the neighbouring iron-clads.

"The line-of-battle ship 'Kaiser'—flagship of the second division, Commodore Petz—was at this time engaged with four iron-clads simultaneously. Commodore Petz, without hesitation, ran his ship aboard of one while firing concentrated broadsides into the others, and this under circumstances equally trying to the courage and endurance of his crew; for, at the same moment in which he struck his enemy, his foremast fell, crushed the funnel of the engine, and created a good deal of confusion on deck, without, however, marvellous to relate, seriously injuring any of the crew then on deck. The ship was in great danger of being set on fire, for the foremast with its rigging lay across the funnel. . . . .

"During this general combat the commanding officer of my flagship, Post-Captain Max Baron von Sternek, was enabled, by the exercise of equal science and bravery, to run aboard, within the space of half an hour, three Sardinian iron-clads, of which two sustained heavy damages, the flag of one being captured, and the third, the 'Re d'Italia,' one of the largest vessels in the Italian fleet, was run down and sunk within two minutes, with her whole crew of more than 600 men. All attempts to save the swimming men belonging to the 'Re d'Italia' were obliged to be given up, as an attack made upon us from all quarters compelled us to confine our attention to our own safety.

"While this mutual struggle was going on, a Sardinian iron-clad had caught fire, and the enemy's iron-clad fleet appeared as though it intended to concentrate for the purpose of rescuing this vessel. I therefore signalled my ships also to assemble, and to form in three columns bearing north-east, the two divisions of wooden vessels covered by that of iron-clads; and ordered the steamer 'Elizabeth' to render prompt assistance, if it should be necessary, to the line-of-battle ship 'Kaiser,' which seemed to have suffered severely.

"The Sardinian fleet had meanwhile gathered itself together, retreating to a distance of about three or four miles, steering in a direction which enabled them to bring off their burning iron-clad, a task which was the easier in that the said vessel was still able to use her engines. After exchanging a few more shots with us, the Sardinian fleet bore away westward; and thus ended the engagement, which had lasted from a quarter to 11 a.m. to 2 o'clock p.m.

"My object was fulfilled, and Lissa relieved."

The volunteers under Garibaldi assembled in the month of June at Como and in the Valteline. They pushed on to the Lago di Garda, on which floated some Austrian gunboats, and a good deal of useless firing on both sides took place. On the 3rd of July Garibaldi attacked the Austrians at Monte Suello, but was compelled to retire, and he himself was wounded in the thigh. The

volunteers afterwards got possession of Borgoforte, which the Austrians abandoned, and several other indecisive combats took place, which had little or no influence upon the main action of the war. When he crossed the frontier into the French district on the 14th of July, Garibaldi issued an order of the day, in which he said :—

"Italian Volunteers! We have crossed the frontier which was borbidden to us by diplomacy, but which has not been traced by nature. In occupying the Trent districts you are still upon Italian soil. It will be your satisfaction to restore it to freedom by delivering it from the grasp of the foreigner. But in order that this great mission be possible of execution, you must be prepared to make great sacrifices, and you will do so. Neither long marches across these rocks, nor fatigues, nor privations, will diminish your invincible courage. Those who have followed me in obedience to the appeal to the country have come, I trust, with the firm intention not only of fighting without fear, but also of suffering without complaint. . ."

A division of the regular army under General Medici marched at the latter end of July up the Lugano valley, and after some successful combats with the Austrians advanced close to Trento, when further operations were stopped by an armistice, which followed the cessation of hostilities between Austria and Prussia.

In the meantime Generals Cialdini and Della Marmora, at the head of twenty-one divisions, had crossed the Po without opposition by way of Rovigo and Monselice ; and as the Austrians retired without attempting to fight, they took possession of Padua and Vicenza. They were afterwards followed by the King as far as Rovigo, when the armistice to which we have alluded arrested any further advance. It was concluded between the military Commissioners of the Austrian and Italian armies, and was to last for four weeks from the 13th of August. By its terms the Austrian troops were during its continuance not to advance beyond the actual Lombardo-Venetian frontier, from the Lago di Garda to the Po, nor beyond other lines which were carefully specified in the convention.

The French Emperor addressed the following letter to the King of Italy on the 11th of August :—

"Monsieur mon Frère,—I learned with pleasure that your Majesty had adhered to the armistice and to the preliminaries of peace signed between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria. There is, therefore, a probability that a new era of tranquillity is going to open for Europe. Your Majesty knows that I accepted the offer of Venetia in order to preserve it from all devastation, and prevent a useless effusion of blood. My purpose always has been to restore it to itself, so that Italy should be free from the Alps to the Adriatic. Mistress of her own destinies, Venetia will soon be able to express her will by universal suffrage. Your Majesty will recognize that in these circumstances the action

of France has again been exercised in favour of humanity and the independence of the populations. I renew to you the assurance of the sentiments of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am, *de votre Majesté, le bon Frère,* "NAPOLEON."

The treaty of peace between Austria and Italy was signed on the 3rd of October. It provided that there should be "perpetual peace and amity between His Majesty the King of Italy and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, their heirs and successors, their states and their subjects. . . ."

"The Emperor of the French having, by the treaty of Vienna of the 24th of August, declared that in so far as he was concerned Venetia passed to Italy, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria consents to the union of Venetia to Italy in the form arranged by the Austro-French treaty above-mentioned. The frontiers of the Venetian provinces ceded to Italy are the administrative frontiers of the said provinces under the Austrian rule. . . . The Government of His Majesty the King of Italy assumes the charge of a portion of the debt attaching to the territories ceded by the present treaty, which is fixed at thirty-five million florins, currency, to be paid in eleven successive instalments, within a limit of twenty-three months. . . .

"Lombardo-Venetian subjects domiciled upon the ceded territory will enjoy during one year, after previous declaration before the competent authority, full and entire liberty to export their movable property, free of duty, and to withdraw with their families to the States of His Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty, in which case they will preserve their Austrian citizenship. They will be at liberty to retain their landed property upon Lombardo-Venetian territory.

"The same right will belong to natives of Venetia living in the other provinces of the Austrian Empire. Those who avail themselves of these stipulations shall in no way be molested in their persons or their property situated in the respective States on account of their option. . . .

"All the treaties and conventions previously concluded between His Majesty the King of Italy and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria will be confirmed in all that is not annulled by the present treaty. Nevertheless, the two contracting parties engage themselves to submit those treaties and conventions, in the course of the year, to a general revision, in order to introduce in the same, by common accord, those modifications which may be considered beneficial in the interest of the two countries. Navigation upon the Lake of Garda is free, subject to the particular regulations of the ports and the littoral police. . . .

"In order to contribute as much as possible to the re-establishment of peace, His Majesty the King of Italy and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria declare and undertake that within their respective territories, and within the countries restored or ceded, no person compromised on account of recent events in the peninsula, to whatever class or condition he may belong, shall be prosecuted, molested,

or disturbed either in his person or in his property on account of his conduct or his political opinions."

We have already mentioned that when the Austrians were defeated at the battle of Königgrätz the Emperor of Austria ceded Venetia to the Emperor of the French; and in deference to the wishes of the latter, a formal vote of the whole inhabitants of the province was taken upon the question,—whether or not they wished their territory to be incorporated with the kingdom of Italy. No one pretended to doubt what their wishes were, but the form was gone through, and the consequence was a unanimous vote in favour of the proposed annexation. On receiving the result of the *plebiscite*, communicated to him by a deputation of Venetians on the 4th of November, King Victor Emmanuel said in reply,—

"This day is the proudest of my life; eighteen years ago my father proclaimed from this city the war of independence, and to-day you bring to me the manifestations of the popular will in the Venetian provinces, which, united with Italy, declare my father's wish to be accomplished. You confirm by this solemn act what Venetia did up to 1848, and has maintained up to the present day with admirable constancy and abnegation. I, therefore, pay a grateful tribute to those generous patriots who upheld their faith in the destinies of the country by every kind of sacrifice and by their blood. To-day foreign domination ceases for ever. Italy is constituted, if not yet complete. Italians must now defend and make her great. The Iron Crown is also restored to Italy, but to that Crown I prefer the one which is dearer to me, made by the love of my people."

In November, Baron Ricasoli issued a circular, addressed to the Prefects of the kingdom, in which he said,—

"The Roman question still remains to be solved, but after the fulfilment of the September Convention that question cannot and must not be the motive for agitation. The sovereignty of the Pope is placed by the September Convention in the position of all other sovereignties. Italy has promised France and Europe to remain neutral between the Pope and the Romans, and to allow this last experiment to be tried of the vitality of an ecclesiastical Principality without parallel in the civilized world. Italy must keep her promise, and await the certain triumph of her rights through the efficacy of the principle of nationality. All agitation having for pretext the Roman question must, therefore, be discouraged, prevented, and repressed. The double capacity of the Sovereign Pontiff furnishes some persons with a motive for confounding the political with the religious question, and disturbing with doubts the consciences of the timid. The Italian Government does not desire to lessen the independence of the spiritual chief of Catholicism. The King's Government, in all its acts, has shown that it recognizes no other rules than those of liberty and legality, and that it desires the ministers of religion to be neither privileged persons nor martyrs. To the Chief of Catho-

licism are due, no doubt, guarantees for the free and independent exercise of his spiritual ministry. The King's Government, more than any other, is disposed to afford every guarantee for the maintenance of this liberty and independence, being convinced that this may be done without any injury to the rights of the nation."

On the 15th of December the Italian Parliament was opened by the King in person, when His Majesty delivered the following speech from the throne:—

"SIGNORI SENATORI,
"SIGNORI DEPUTATI,—

"Our country is henceforth free from all foreign domination. It is with profound joy that I declare this to the representatives of 25,000,000 Italians. The nation hath faith in me, and I in it. This great event, by crowning our common efforts, gives a fresh impulse to the work of civilization, and renders more stable the political equilibrium of Europe. By her promptitude in military organization, and by the rapid union of her people, Italy has acquired the credit which was necessary to enable her to attain independence by herself and with the aid of efficacious alliances. Italy has found encouragement and support in this laborious work in the simpathy of civilized Governments and peoples, and has been further sustained and strengthened by the courageous perseverance of the Venetian provinces in the common enterprise of national emancipation.

"The treaty of peace with the Empire of Austria, which will be laid before you, will be followed by negotiations which will facilitate exchanges of prisoners between the two States.

"The French Government, faithful to the obligations which it contracted by the September Convention, has withdrawn its troops from Rome. On its side, the Italian Government, observant of its engagements, has respected, and will respect, the Pontifical territory. Our good understanding with the French Emperor, to whom we are bound by friendship and gratitude, the moderation of the Romans, the wisdom of the Pontiff, and the religious sentiment and right feeling of the Italian people, will aid us to distinguish and conciliate the Catholic interests and national aspirations which are interwoven and contending with each other at Rome. Attached to the religion of our ancestors, which is also that of the great majority of Italians, I nevertheless respect the principle of liberty which breathes through our institutions, and which broadly and sincerely applied will remove the causes of the old differences between Church and State. This disposition on our part, by reassuring Catholic consciences, will accomplish, I hope, the wishes which I form that the Sovereign Pontiff may remain independent at Rome. Italy is secure now that besides the valour of her sons, which through all the changes of fortune has never belied itself either by land or sea, nor in the ranks of the Army or the Volunteers, she possesses as the ramparts of her

independence the very bulwarks which served to oppress her. Italy can, therefore, and now ought to, turn her efforts to increasing her prosperity.

"As Italians have shown admirable concord in the affirmation of their independence, so now let all devote themselves with intelligence, ardour, and indomitable constancy to the development of the economic resources of the Peninsula. Several Bills will be laid before you with this object.

"In the midst of the labours of peace, favoured by a secure future, we shall not neglect following the lessons of experience to perfect our military organization, in order that, with the least possible expense, Italy may not be destitute of the forces necessary to maintain her in the place which belongs to her among great nations. The measures recently taken relative to the administration of the kingdom, and those which will be proposed to you, above all, respecting the collection of the taxes and the accountability of the State, will contribute to ameliorate the management of public affairs.

"My Government has provided in advance for the expenditure of the year about to open, and for extraordinary payments of every kind. They will ask of you the continuation in 1867 of the financial measures voted for 1866. The Legislative Bodies will also maturely discuss the Bills which will be laid before them to ameliorate the assessment of the taxes, and to equalize them among the different provinces of the kingdom. If, as I am fully confident, the people of Italy will not fail in that activity which created the wealth and power of our ancestors, it will not be long before the public exchequer will reach its definitive equilibrium.

"*Signori Senatori, Signori Deputati,*—Italy is now restored to herself. Her responsibility is equal to the power she has acquired and the full liberty she enjoys in the use of her strength. The great things which we have done in a short space increase our obligation not to fail in our task, which is to know how to govern ourselves with the vigour required by the social condition of the kingdom and the liberality demanded by our institutions.

"Liberty in our political institutions, authority in the government, activity in the citizens, and the empire of law upon all and over all, will carry Italy to the height of her destiny, and fulfil what the world expects from her."

SPAIN.

Another attempt at military insurrection took place this year in Spain. On the 22nd of June a regiment of artillery and part of a cavalry regiment, quartered in Madrid, mutinied in their barracks, and after murdering several of their officers, marched through the streets of the city, calling on the people to rise in the name of "Prim and the Republic." The Prime Minister, however, Marshal O'Donnell, seems to have been prepared for the outbreak, and at the head of a strong body of troops, he met and drove back the insurgents. He attacked their barracks with cannon, and took the place by storm. Many of the mutineers were killed on the spot, and 500 were taken prisoners, of whom 170 were afterwards shot.

DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

In 1859, Prince Couza was elected Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia, under the *suzeraineté* of the Sublime Porte. He obtained a firman from the Sultan authorizing the union of the Ministries of these two Principalities, and the union also of the separate Chambers into one National Assembly, which met for the first time in February, 1862. But the Assembly and the Government were soon in a state of chronic antagonism on the subject of the electoral law, and also financial measures, and several changes of ministry took place. In May, 1864, Prince Couza issued a decree, in which he proclaimed a new electoral law, together with some changes in the Constitutional charter. The ratification of this was submitted to the people, who voted for it by a large majority. But the result was most disastrous. Arbitrary measures followed; the treasury was empty, and misery was universal throughout the Principalities. In the month of February this year the whole country rose against the Government; and Prince Couza, who was abandoned even by his army, was compelled to abdicate and surrender himself a prisoner. He was, however, soon afterwards released, and allowed to leave the country. The Chambers met, and their first act was to proclaim as Prince of Roumania the Count of Flanders, the brother of the King of the Belgians, but he declined to accept the proffered throne. They then turned to Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, a cousin of the King of Prussia, and the question of his election as Hospodar was submitted to the votes of the population. The result of this appeal to the people was that he was unanimously chosen Hospodar, and the election was afterwards recognized by the Porte as well as by the other European Powers.

CANADA.

An absurd but wicked attempt was made this year by the Irish conspirators in the United States, who call themselves Fenians, to invade Canada and make themselves masters of a portion of the province. When, in the month of April, it became known in Canada that these designs were serious, the insane scheme was met by a burst of loyal enthusiasm; and on the call of the Government thousands of volunteers offered to enrol themselves, far beyond the number that would have been required to defeat a much better organized and better supported attack. At the end of May the invasion "came off," when about 1200, under the command of a man calling himself "General O'Neill," crossed the Niagara river at Fort Erie, and advanced towards Ridgway. Here they were encountered by a body of volunteers, who seem to have got into some confusion, owing to a precipitate attack; but the result was that the Fenians retreated, and a number of them, while crossing the river, were captured by a steamer belonging to the United States, the Government of which acted with perfect good faith, and showed an energetic determination to put a stop to hostile movements from its own territory. Shortly afterwards another raid took place, and the frontier was crossed near Highgate Serment; but the Fenians soon found out their mistake, and made the best of their way back, leaving some prisoners in the hands of the Canadians. Numerous arrests took place of disaffected Fenians in Canada, but there was no further invasion of the soil; and the only result was to prove the genuine attachment of the Canadians to the mother country, and their loyalty to the British Crown.

The seat of Government in Canada was a short time ago transferred from Montreal to Ottawa, in Canada West, and on the 8th of June the Canadian Parliament was for the first time opened there by the Governor-General Lord Monck, who delivered on the occasion the following speech:—

"Honourable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly,—I am happy again to avail myself of your advice in carrying on the Government, and I trust that you will find in the magnificent buildings erected in the city chosen by Her Majesty as the seat of Government increased facilities for the despatch of public business, while they will prove adequate to the great future of this country. Immediately after the termination of the last Session of Parliament I convened, by instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a Council of Trade, including representatives from the different provinces of British North America. I have directed the proceedings of this body to be laid before you. I shall direct to be laid before you the papers relating to the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty

with the United States of America, and to the negotiations on the subject of our commercial relations with that country. It has now become still more imperative to open by an extension of the trade of the country with other nations new markets for the varied products of our industry. In consequence of the notice for the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty, I deemed it needful, with the assent and approbation of Her Majesty's Government, to send a deputation, representing the Colonies of British North America, during the winter to the West Indies and Brazil, to ascertain the best means of developing and extending commercial relations with these countries. The period at which the delegation returned from their mission is so recent that no report could as yet have been presented, but as soon as received it will be communicated to you. The threats and preparations for attack on Canada, constantly and openly made by a body organized in the United States of America, and known as Fenians, compelled me since Parliament rose, by the advice of my Ministers, to call out for active service a large portion of the Volunteer militia force of the province. The spirit displayed by the people, and their ready response to my proclamation, have received the well-merited approval of Her Majesty's Government. The events which have occurred within the last few days afford additional proofs of the necessity for the precautionary measures adopted. The province has been invaded by a lawless band of marauders, but I congratulate the country that they were promptly confronted, and within twenty-four hours were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. I deplore the loss of life and suffering which have been entailed upon the gallant body of the Canadian Volunteers in the engagement which took place in repelling so promptly the invaders who had attacked the country; and I feel assured that you will not omit to alleviate as far as may be in your power, the miseries so wantonly inflicted on many families; but, while I grieve for their individual loss, I must congratulate the country that the first note of danger has shown that Canada possesses in her Volunteers a body of men ready to peril their lives in defence of their Queen and country. The entire people have been thoroughly aroused by recent occurrences, and it must now be apparent to all that the whole resources of the country, both in men and means, will at any moment be cheerfully given to repelling any invasion of their homes. In the measures of defence which I have been called upon to take I have received the unremitting support of the Lieutenant-General Commanding and of Admiral Sir James Hope. It is also a source of unfeigned pleasure to me to acknowledge the gallant devotion displayed by the officers and men of Her Majesty's military and naval forces in Canada. I am happy to be able to state that the President of the United States has issued a proclamation declaring that serious infractions of the laws of that country have been and are being committed by evil-disposed persons within the jurisdiction and territory of the United States against the British possessions of North

America, and requiring all officers of his Government to exert every effort for their suppression. I trust that the course thus adopted will ere long prevent this country from being subjected to further attacks from the citizens of a nation on terms of amity with Great Britain. The maintenance of the force on active duty which the Government has been compelled to call out has involved an expenditure to a large amount which was not provided for by the votes of the last Session. The accounts of this expenditure will be separately laid before you, and I feel confident that you will immediately pass a Bill, indemnifying the Government for the provisions of the audit account. Recent discoveries show the necessity of extending to Lower Canada the Act, chapter 98, Consolidated Statutes for Upper Canada, to protect the inhabitants of that section of the province against lawless aggressions from subjects of foreign countries at peace with Her Majesty. It has also been necessary, for the preservation of law and order, to adopt a course similar to that taken in the present Session of the Imperial Parliament for the temporary suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. I invite your immediate consideration of these measures. I have fixed by proclamation the 1st day of August next as the time at which the Civil Code of Lower Canada, passed in the last Parliament, shall come into operation. The Code of Civil Procedure of Lower Canada, as reported by the Commissioners, shall be submitted for your adoption during the Session. Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly, I have desired that the financial accounts for the current year and the estimates of expenditure for the next year shall be laid before you. Upon the very satisfactory results of the commerce of the country during the past year the revenue has been so largely in excess of the estimate as to enable me without inconvenience to provide for the heavy and unexpected charges entailed upon the country. The position which the great question of the union of the provinces of British North America has assumed is now such as to induce the expectation that the mission will be shortly carried into effect. I therefore hope and believe that it will be found practicable during the present session to adopt such procedure as may be necessary for completing the details of the scheme as regards this province, and I venture to express the confident expectation that the next Parliament which will be held within these walls will not be confined to an assembly of the representatives of Canada, but will embrace those of all the colonies of British North America. I am happy to be able to congratulate you on the general prosperity which pervades all classes of the community in the province, and I pray that your councils may be guided by Divine Providence, to secure that which is the true end of all Governments—the moral and material advancement of the great body of the people."

A Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act was immediately introduced and passed without opposition, and indeed without discussion, in both Houses.

CHAPTER VI.

UNITED STATES.

Resolution passed by Reconstruction Committee—Resolutions of the Virginian Legislature—Speech of the President in reply to a deputation from Virginia—His speech at Washington—Resolution passed by Congress as to representation of "Insurgent States"—Re-admission of Tennessee into the Union—Freedmen's Bureau Bill passed, but vetoed by the President—Veto on the Civil Rights' Bill—It passes notwithstanding—New State of Colorado admitted into the Union—Message of the President as to Reconstruction Amendment—Neutrality Bill—Riot in New Orleans—Conventions at Philadelphia—The President refuses to recognize a blockade of the ports of Mexico—Progress of the President through the Northern and Western States—Violent denunciations of the President—His Speech at New York—General Election—President's Message to Congress: *Topics:*—Reconstruction; Finance; Navy; Foreign Relations; Atlantic Telegraph; Mexico; Claims against Great Britain; Fenianism: Conclusion.

THE important question of the re-admission of the Southern States which had seceded during the late war, into the Union, was referred by the House of Representatives to a Reconstruction Committee, which, at the end of January, reported to the House the following resolution:—

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring,—That the following Article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution.

"Article.—Representation and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within the Union, according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; provided that whenever the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State on account of race or colour, all persons of such race or colour shall be excluded from the basis of representation."

According to the original Constitution of the United States the slave-holding States were entitled to Representatives in Congress in proportion to their population, and in reckoning the numbers, the slaves, who of course had no votes, were counted as five to three; that is, five blacks were reckoned as three whites, so that each slave-holding State was entitled to as many representatives as it would have supposing that three-fifths of its black population had been whites[1]. As our readers know, the House of Representatives

[1] The effect of the change proposed by the Reconstruction Committee upon the representation of the Southern States will appear from the following table, which

is constituted anew after each census on the basis of population. Thus Ohio has 19 members, Pennsylvania 24, New York 31. In this enumeration the coloured population of the South used to be counted as equivalent to three-fifths of their number: thus 100 black men would count as 60, and the State received representatives on the whole number thus made up.

After an animated debate the House of Representatives adopted, in substance, the amendment to the Constitution proposed by the Reconstruction Committee by a majority of 120 to 46 votes, but the provision for the apportionment of direct taxation was struck out. The Senate also adopted the amendment. The President, however, was strongly opposed to it, and wished to preserve the right of representation to the Southern States on its old basis. The result of this was a conflict between him and Congress, which lasted throughout the whole year, and was maintained with a degree of violence and animosity, which at one time threatened to involve the country in civil war. At a later period another clause was added by the Reconstruction Committee to their amendment of the Constitution, which deprived "all persons who voluntarily adhered to the late insurrection, giving it aid and comfort," of the right to vote for Representatives in Congress until the 4th of July, 1870. In other words, they proposed to disfranchise the Southern States for a period of four years. They also reported a Bill which declared ineligible to hold any Federal office, the President, Vice-President, and foreign agents of the Confederacy, all Confederate officers above the rank of Colonel in the Army and Master in the Navy, Governors of States, Confederate judicial and civil officers, and persons educated at the national military and naval academies who favoured the rebellion, and all who unlawfully treated Federal prisoners of war.

Of course the Southern States strongly supported the views of

shows the numbers of the white and black population, and the number of members to which each State is now entitled, and the number to which it would be entitled if the blacks were excluded from computation.

State.	Males over 21.	Black males over 21.	Present number of members.	Reduced number.
Alabama	192,840	87,016	6	4
Arkansas	87,090	22,223	3	2
Delaware	22,443	359	1	1
Florida	28,030	12,295	1	1
Georgia	211,457	92,439	7	4
Louisiana	141,600	66,345	5	3
Maryland	137,409	17,437	5	4
Mississippi	157,061	86,126	5	2
Missouri	242,402	22,986	9	8
North Carolina	198,524	66,212	7	5
South Carolina	140,741	80,481	4	2
Tennessee	221,960	55,143	8	6
Texas	120,843	36,513	4	3
Virginia	242,368	94,472	11	7
Total			76	52

the President; and to show their feelings on the subject, we will quote the following series of resolutions which were passed by the Legislature of Virginia early in February:—

"1. Resolved by the General Assembly of Virginia,—That the people of this Commonwealth and their representatives here assembled cordially approve the policy pursued by Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, in the reorganization of the Union. We accept the result of the late contest, and do not desire to renew what has been so conclusively determined, nor do we mean to permit any one subject to our control to attempt its renewal or to violate any of our obligations to the United States' Government. We mean to co-operate in the wise, firm, and just policy adopted by the President, with all the energy and power we can devote to that object.

"2. That the above declaration expresses the sentiments and purposes of all our people, and we denounce the efforts of those who represent our views and intentions to be different as cruel and criminal assaults on our character and our interests. It is one of the misfortunes of our present political condition that we have among us persons whose interests are temporarily promoted by such false representations; but we rely on the intelligence and integrity of those who wield the power of the United States' Government for our safeguard against such malign influences.

"3. That involuntary servitude, except for crime, is abolished, and ought not to be re-established, and that the negro race among us should be treated with justice, humanity, and good faith, and every means that the wisdom of the Legislature can devise should be used to make them useful and intelligent members of society.

"4. That Virginia will not voluntarily consent to change the adjustment of political power as fixed by the Constitution of the United States; and to constrain her to do so in her present prostrate and helpless condition, with no voice in the councils of the nation, would be an unjustifiable breach of faith; and that her earnest thanks are due to the President for the firm stand he has taken against amendments of the Constitution forced through in the present condition of affairs."

A Committee of the Virginian Chambers having proceeded to Washington to report their resolutions to the President, he said to them,—

"The Southern people are entitled to be represented in Congress if they send loyal men. I feel that the day is not distant—I speak confidingly in reference to the great mass of the American people—when they will determine that this Union shall be made whole, and the great right of representation in the councils of the nation be acknowledged. Gentlemen, that is a fundamental principle. 'No taxation without representation' was one of the principles which carried us through the Revolution. This great principle will hold good yet; and if we but perform our duty, if we but comply with the spirit of the resolutions presented to me to-day,

the American people will maintain and sustain the great doctrines upon which the Government was inaugurated. It can be done, and it will be done; and I think that if the effort be fairly and fully made, with forbearance and with prudence, and with discretion and wisdom, the end is not very far distant. It seems to me apparent that from every consideration the best policy which could be adopted at present would be a restoration of these States and of the Government upon correct principles. We have some foreign difficulties, but the moment it can be announced that the Union of the States is again complete, that we have resumed our career of prosperity and greatness, at that very instant, almost all our foreign difficulties will be settled, for there is no power upon the earth which will care to have a controversy or a rupture with the Government of the United States under such circumstances. . . I do not intend to say any thing personal, but you know as well as I do that at the beginning, and, indeed, before the beginning, of the recent gigantic struggle between the different sections of the country, there were extreme men South and there were extreme men North. I might make use of a homely figure (which is sometimes as good as any other, even in the illustration of great and important questions), and say that it has been hammer at one end of the line and anvil at the other, and this great Government, the best the world ever saw, was kept upon the anvil and hammered before the rebellion, and it has been hammered since the rebellion; and there seems to be a disposition to continue the hammering until the Government shall be destroyed. I have opposed that system always, and I oppose it now. The Government, in the assertion of its powers and in the maintenance of the principles of the Constitution, has taken hold of one extreme, and with the strong arm of physical power has put down the rebellion. Now, as we swing around the circle of the Union with a fixed and unalterable determination to stand by it, if we find the counterpart or the duplicate of the same spirit that played to this feeling and these persons in the South, this other extreme which stands in the way must get out of it, and the Government must stand unshaken and unmoved on its basis. The Government must be preserved."

In February a public meeting was held in Washington in support of the President's policy, and after resolutions had been passed the crowd went to the White House, where they were addressed by him in an excited speech, in which he said:—

"I have found treason at the South, and now, when I turn to the other end of the line, I find men still opposing the restoration of the Union. I regard them, as President or citizen, as being equally opposed to the fundamental principles of this Government, and believe they are as much labouring to prevent or destroy them as were those who fought against us. Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and others of the same stripe, are among them. They may vituperate, traduce, slander me—that does not affect me. I do not intend to be overawed by friends, nor bullied

by enemies. It has been said in high places if such usurpation had been exercised two centuries ago, it would have cost a certain individual his head. The usurpation I have been guilty of has been that of standing between the people and the encroachments of power. In connexion with this subject, the same gentleman explained that we were standing in the midst of earthquakes; he trembled and could not yield. Yes, there is an earthquake coming; there is a ground swell of popular judgment and indignation. When I am beheaded, I want the people to witness it. I do not want it done by innuendoes and indirect remarks in high places, to be suggested to men having assassination breeding in their bosoms. Others explain that this Presidential obstacle must be gotten out of the way. What is that, if I may make use of a strong term, but inciting assassination? Are those who want to destroy our institutions and change the character of our Government not satisfied with the blood already shed? They have not the honour or the courage to obtain their ends otherwise than by assassins' hands. I know they are willing to wound, but they fear to strike. If my blood is to be shed because I vindicate the Union and the preservation of the Government in its purity, let it be shed; but let the opponents of the Government remember that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. The Union will grow and continue to increase in strength and power, though it may be cemented and cleansed with blood."

In the beginning of March a joint resolution was passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate, to the effect that no Representatives or Senators should be admitted to Congress from any of the lately "insurgent" States, until Congress should have declared such States entitled to representation.

But the chief objection felt to the Constitutional Amendment was not to the suffrage clause, but to that which disqualified for office all who had any share in the rebellion. It was evident that this was the abolition of self-government in the Southern States for a generation. Every man of education and position in the whole South took part in the rebellion, and these were deprived of the power of serving their country during their lives, although they had sincerely and loyally returned to their allegiance to the Union.

The only Southern State which, during this year, Congress agreed to admit into the Union was Tennessee, and that only on the following conditions, which were to be ratified by the State Legislature:—

She was to maintain her existing Constitution, exclude rebels from suffrage and office for a certain time, *ignore the "rebel" debt*, and make no payment for emancipated slaves. Ultimately the State Legislature adopted the terms imposed by Congress, and Tennessee was formally re-admitted into the Union.

By a vote of 100 to 37 the House of Representatives refused to receive a communication from the Governor of North Carolina,

Mr. Stevens asserting during the debate that the House did not recognize the Government of North Carolina.

An Act was passed by Congress early in February, declaring all natives of the United States not subject to foreign Powers, excepting Indians, to be citizens, without distinction of colour.

Last year a Freedmen's Bureau Bill was passed, the provisions of which were, by a new Bill in February of the present year, extended to refugees and freedmen in all parts of the United States, and the President was empowered to divide the territory containing such persons into districts, and place an officer of the army as commissioner over each district. The second section authorized this commissioner to divide the districts into sub-districts, with an agent over each, chosen from the army; all the agents to be placed under military jurisdiction and protection. By the third section the Secretary of War was authorized to issue "provision, clothing, fuel, and other supplies, including medical stores and transportation" to all refugees and freedmen in need of them, except such as were able to find employment for themselves. The fourth section empowered the President to reserve from sale or from settlement, and to set apart for the use of freedmen and refugees, unoccupied public lands in Florida, Mississippi, and Arkansas "not exceeding three millions of acres of good lands," and these were to be assigned in lots not exceeding forty acres each to the freedmen, at "such annual rent as may be agreed upon" between the Commissioners and the freedmen. The seventh section authorized the President to extend military jurisdiction and protection over all persons who were denied any civil rights on account of race or colour; and, by the eighth section, a fine of a thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, might be inflicted upon any person who subjected a negro or freedman to "the deprivation of any civil right secured to white persons, or to any other or different punishment than white persons are subject to for the commission of like acts or offences," and it also empowered the officers of the Bureau to hear and decide upon all such cases. The rigorous sections of this Bill were confined to the States lately in rebellion, so that the North was exempted from their operation.

As in the case of the British Crown, the President of the United States has by the Constitution the power to veto any Bill which has been passed by Congress, but with this important difference. His veto may be disallowed by majorities of two-thirds of each House; and if those majorities are obtained, the Bill becomes law notwithstanding the veto. Mr. President Johnson was strongly opposed to the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, and he did not hesitate to exercise the power with which he was entrusted, and veto it after it had passed. In the message he sent to Congress announcing his determination, he said "that there was no necessity for the measure then, as a Freedmen's Bureau Bill was already in existence. He objected that "the exercise of power over which there is no legal supervision, by so vast a number of agents as is contemplated by

the Bill, must, by the very nature of man, be attended by acts of caprice, injustice, and passion." Trial by jury, appeals to a superior court, every protection heretofore afforded to every citizen, was to be set aside, and the decisions of a court-martial were to be final and absolute. Such powers he thought ought not to be conferred upon any one man, and they could only be justified by the nation being in a state of war. "The measure therefore," he added, "seems to be as inconsistent with the actual condition of the country as it is at variance with the Constitution of the United States."

He also objected that the Bill was passed at the time when no representative of the Southern States was in Congress, and, consequently, that the part of the country most affected by it had not been permitted to be heard. It was his duty to present their just claims to Congress, for he was appointed to watch over the interests of the whole nation, and not a part of it. He insisted that the eleven States were fully restored and had a right to be represented.

The Bill was again brought before the House of Representatives, and was there lost, only thirty voting for it, and eighteen against, so that the requisite majority was not obtained.

This was not the only instance in which the President exercised his power of veto. A Civil Rights Bill was passed by Congress, the object of which was to place the newly-emancipated slaves on the same footing as the white population, as regards all civil rights. This Bill the President refused to sanction; and in a message to Congress at the end of March, he explained his reasons. He said that the Bill was unconstitutional, unnecessary, and anomalous in its character, and would override the rights of the States as reserved in their Legislatures and judicial tribunals. He added:—

"The grave question presents itself whether, where eleven States are not represented in Congress, it is sound policy to make the whole coloured population and other excepted classes citizens of the United States. Can it reasonably be supposed that four millions of negroes who have just emerged from slavery possess the necessary qualifications entitling them to all the privileges of citizenship, while intelligent foreigners undergo five years' probation before becoming citizens? The details of the Bill are fraught with evil. The distinction of race and colour is made to operate in favour of the coloured against the white race. The General Government by this Bill absorbs and assumes powers which, if acquiesced in, would destroy the Federative system of limited powers and break down the barriers preserving the rights of the States; it is another stride towards centralization and the concentration of the legislative power in the National Government. The tendency of the Bill is to resuscitate the spirit of rebellion, and arrest the progress of those influences which are drawing more closely round the States the bonds of union and peace. I fully recognize the obligation to defend and protect the negroes, wherever and whenever necessary, to the full extent of the Constitution, and will co-operate with Congress in any

measures necessary for the preservation of the civil rights of freedmen as well as of all persons in the United States, by judicial process and under equal and impartial laws, conformably with the Constitution."

But Congress was determined that the Bill should become law notwithstanding; and after a severe struggle the requisite majorities to override the President's veto were obtained in both Houses. The Senate passed the measure by a majority of 33 to 15 votes; and the House of Representatives by a majority of 122 to 41. This happened in the early part of April.

About the same time the President issued a proclamation in which he formally declared "the insurrection in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida to be ended, and henceforth to be so regarded."

At the end of April a Bill was passed for the admission of a new State, called Colorado, into the Union, making the total number of separate States thirty-seven.

At the end of June the President sent a message to Congress with reference to the transmission of copies of the Reconstruction Amendment to the Governors of the States for the purpose of their being submitted to the several State Legislatures. He said that this was on the part of the Government a purely ministerial act, and in no sense committed the Executive to an adoption of the Amendment; and that as the resolutions embodied in that Amendment had not been submitted to his approval, and eleven States were excluded from representation, grave doubts arose whether the action of Congress was in harmony with the sentiment of the people, and whether the State Legislatures should be called upon to ratify such action. He thought that a proper appreciation of the Constitution and of the interests of national harmony and union, and deference for enlightened public judgment, suggested a doubt whether a Constitutional Amendment ought to be proposed by Congress and pressed upon the Legislatures for final decision until the admission of loyal members from the still unrepresented States.

Much irritation was excited during the late war amongst the Northern States by the depredations upon their commerce committed by the Confederate cruiser Alabama, which was built in this country, and the Americans alleged that she was allowed to leave our shores by the culpable negligence of the British Government. We believe this charge to be wholly unfounded, but it has been pertinaciously insisted upon, and a claim for compensation has been made against Great Britain which Lord Russell's ministry refused to entertain. The strong feeling, however, of the North on the subject was exhibited by the terms of a new Neutrality Bill which was presented to the House of Representatives at the latter end of July by the majority of a Committee of Foreign Affairs, accompanied by a very long report full of abuse of England. "She planted," says the report, "slavery in America for her own

selfish interests; and the profits of the African slave trade with this country were the foundation of many of her colossal private fortunes. Having fastened slavery upon us, she precipitated the question of its abolition upon us."

The Neutrality Bill proposed to modify the American neutrality laws so as to make them more in conformity with the British Foreign Enlistment Act (59 Geo. III. c. 69), but with one notable difference. That Act prohibits the arming or equipment of any ship within the United Kingdom with intent that it shall be employed in the service of any foreign State, or with intent to commit hostilities against any State with whom Her Majesty shall not then be at war; but by way of retort for the alleged delinquencies of the British Government in the case of the Alabama, the Neutrality Bill provided that "the neutrality laws shall not be so construed as to prohibit the sale of vessels, ships, or steamers, or materials and munitions of war, the growth or product of this country, to the Government or citizens of any country not at war with the United States." So that the framers of this measure proposed to legalize the very thing from which, owing to a clandestine evasion of the Act, America had herself suffered, and of which she so loudly complained against Great Britain.

A formidable riot occurred in New Orleans at the end of July, in consequence of an attempt on the part of the Radical party to revive the States Convention, which was held there in 1864 for the purpose of changing the Constitution. The object now was to admit negroes to the right of suffrage, and disfranchise all the white population who had taken part with the South against the North during the late war. It was well known that a new States Convention, called together to consider the question of a change in the Constitution would never listen to such a scheme, and hence it was necessary for the Radical party to revive if possible the old one. The negroes, of course, were on their side, and the result was a sanguinary conflict, in which the Radicals were defeated. Many lives were lost, and martial law was proclaimed. The President, on hearing of the riot, sent instructions to the Attorney-General of Louisiana to call upon the military officer in command "to sustain the civil authorities in suppressing all illegal or unlawful assemblies who usurp or assume to exercise any power or authority without first having obtained the consent of the people of the State." He added, "If there is to be a Convention, let it be composed of delegates chosen from the people of the whole State. The people must first be consulted in changing the organized laws of the State. Usurpation will not be tolerated. The law and the Constitution must be sustained, and thereby peace and order."

In order to support the policy of the President on the question of the re-admission into the Union of the Southern States, a very large and important meeting, or convention, was held at Philadelphia in the month of August, which was attended by delegates

from the different States, both North and South, who were opposed to the Reconstruction Amendment. These delegates were about 1500 in number, and many of them were amongst the most distinguished men in the United States. There were forty-five Generals who had served during the war, either in the Federal or the Confederate armies, and in addition a large array of Governors, ex-Governors, Judges, ex-Cabinet Ministers, and members of Congress. Almost all the political parties, except the Radicals, into which the Union has been divided—Republicans, Whigs, Democrats, and others—were represented on the occasion, and a committee was formed which, after deliberation and discussion, presented a report and series of resolutions which were adopted in the Convention by an unanimous vote.

The Philadelphia Convention continued its sittings for several days, and passed a series of resolutions, which a committee was appointed to lay before the President at Washington. Amongst these resolutions were the following :—

"Representation in the Congress of the United States and in the Electoral College is a right recognized by the Constitution as abiding in every State, and as a duty imposed upon its people—fundamental in its nature and essential to the existence of our Republican institutions; and neither Congress nor the General Government has any authority or power to deny this right to any State or to withhold its enjoyment under the Constitution from the people thereof.

"The Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. All the powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the General Government, nor prohibited by it to the States, are 'reserved to the States or to the people thereof,' and among the rights thus reserved to the States is the right to prescribe qualification for the elective franchise therein, with which right Congress cannot interfere. No State or combination of States has the right to withdraw from the Union, or to exclude, through their action in Congress or otherwise, any other State or States from the Union. The Union of these States is perpetual and cannot be dissolved.

"Slavery is abolished and for ever prohibited, and there is neither desire nor purpose on the part of the Southern States that it should ever be re-established upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States. And the enfranchised slaves in all the States of the Union should receive, in common with all their inhabitants, equal protection in every right of person and property.

"While we regard as utterly invalid and never to be assumed or made of binding force any obligation incurred or undertaken in making war against the United States, we hold the debt of the nation to be sacred and inviolate; and we proclaim our purpose in discharging this, as in performing all other national obligations,

to maintain, unimpaired and unimpeached, the honour and the faith of the Republic.

"In Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, who in his great office has stood stedfast in his devotion to the Constitution, the laws, and interests of his country, unmoved by persecution and undeserved reproach—having faith unassailable in the people and in the principle of free government, we recognize a chief magistrate worthy of the nation and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is cast; and we tender to him, in the discharge of his high and responsible duties, our profound respect and assurance of our cordial and sincere support."

"The Constitution," we quote from a summary of the report and resolutions which appeared in the "Times" newspaper, "which is still the law upon which the Government is based, expressly provides that no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage. The Radicals affirm that Revolution gives them the right to set aside this provision. But Revolution is a thing of the past; the Southern States were first forced back into the general partnership, and then by many acts of their Legislatures they voluntarily assented to all its terms and conditions. The only motive for depriving them of representation is a party motive. After years of adversity the Radicals have gained the supremacy, and they are reluctant to part with it—and very naturally, if their own interests alone are considered. But the nation at large has a tremendous interest in the question; it is anxious to settle down to peace and order again, and it cannot do so while eleven States are practically out of the Union. If the Constitution is still inadequate to protect the nation, it must be amended, and that can only be done by an appeal to all the States. When the Southern States are disloyal, coerce them again—oblige them to respect the laws, and to yield to the General Government. If local disturbances occur, suppress them, and we have seen that they are suppressed with the greatest ease; all that is asked is that loyal representatives from the Southern States shall be admitted to Congress. Only the wildest bigotry can see any thing objectionable in such a demand."

Another Convention, or rather two Conventions, of the Radicals met in the same city, Philadelphia, early in September. The one consisted of "Northern delegates," the other of "Southern loyalists;" and their speeches and resolutions were full of the bitterest hatred towards the conquered South. One man, known as Parson Brownlow, a Methodist preacher, who had formerly distinguished himself as a defender of slavery and asserted its divine origin, and who was one of the delegates from Tennessee to the Convention at Baltimore in 1864, which chose Mr. Andrew Johnson as its candidate for the office of Vice-President—now made a speech in which he begged pardon for having been the man who placed Andrew Johnson in nomination. As God had forgiven him, he hoped the people of Pennsylvania would also for-

give him. He stated that it would have been better for the country if the whole of the Tennessee delegation to that Convention had been in Libby Prison instead of at Baltimore. Referring to the South, he said that if the rebellious spirit of that section, combined with the treachery and "copperheadism" of the North, should render another war necessary, and his hearers should be forced to leave their homes and parents, their wives and children, to invade the South and put down the rebellion, he wished to say something of the division of the forces. Let there be three divisions. Let the first go armed, according to regulations, with small arms and artillery, and let them do the killing; let the second go with pine knots and with burning torches, and let them do the burning; let the third and last go with surveyor's compass and chain, and sell out the lands to pay the expenses of the war, and then settle the country with men who would honour the glorious American flag.

The United States Government has hitherto obstinately refused to recognize the Empire of Mexico under Maximilian; and the temper with which it regards the Imperial Government there was abundantly shown by its contemptuous disregard of a blockade of the port of Matamoras which that Government had officially proclaimed. On the 17th of August President Johnson issued a proclamation in which he treated the Emperor's Government and the party that still clung to the fortunes of Juarez as two belligerent powers, and refused to recognize the blockade. He said—

"Whereas, a war is existing in the Republic of Mexico, aggravated by foreign military intervention; and

"Whereas, the United States, in accordance with their settled habits and policy, are a neutral Power in regard to the war which thus afflicts the Republic of Mexico; and

"Whereas it has become known that one of the belligerents in the said war—namely, the Prince Maximilian, who asserts himself to be Emperor in Mexico—has issued a decree in regard to the port of Matamoras and other Mexican ports which are in the occupation and possession of another of the said belligerents—namely, the United States of Mexico, which decree is in the following words: . . . . . .

"And whereas the decree thus recited, by declaring a belligerent blockade, unsupported by competent military or naval force, is in violation of the neutral rights of the United States, as defined by the law of nations, as well as of the treaties existing between the United States of America and the aforesaid United States of Mexico; now, therefore I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare that the aforesaid decree is held by the United States to be absolutely null and void as against the Government and citizens of the United States; and that any attempt which shall be made to enforce the same against the Government or citizens of the United States will be disallowed."

In the course of the autumn the President, accompanied by

several members of his Cabinet, made a sort of progress through the Northern and Western States of the Union, and in many of the towns addressed the people at public meetings, with the view of influencing their votes in favour of his policy at the approaching general election. But his language was often extremely indiscreet, and did much to alienate support. He was no doubt exasperated at times by the bitter abuse with which he was attacked by his opponents, who denounced him with a violence almost without a parallel even in America. As a specimen of the kind of vituperation with which the First Magistrate of the Republic was assailed, we will quote the following passage from a speech delivered by Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, one of the Radical leaders, when he was nominated for election to Congress for Pennsylvania:—

"I may be superstitious; but I look around and ask myself, why are we now afflicted? I view our present situation and remember that the Lord is just, and that until we become just He will take care to inflict vengeance. You all remember that in Egypt He sent frogs, locusts, murrain, lice, and finally demanded the blood of the first-born of every one of the oppressors. Almost all of these have been sent upon us. More than the first-born has been taken from us. We have been oppressed with taxes and debts, and He has sent us worse than lice, and has afflicted us with an Andrew Johnson!"

Mr. Sumner, at Boston, denounced the President as "an usurper," and said—

"Treacherous to the great cause, and treacherous to himself, the President has set up his individual will against the people of the United States in Congress assembled. Forgetful of truth and decency, he has assailed the members as assassins, and has denounced Congress itself as a 'revolutionary body called or assumed to be a Congress, and hanging on the verge of the Government,' as if this most enlightened and patriotic Congress did not contain the embodied will of the American people. To you, one and all, I appeal to arrest this madness. Your votes will be the first step. The President must be taught that usurpation and apostacy cannot prevail. He who promised to be Moses, and has become Pharaoh, must be overthrown, and the Egyptians that follow him must share the same fate, so that it shall be said soon, as aforetime, 'And the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.'"

General Butler threatened the President with impeachment. In a speech delivered by him at Cleveland, on the 29th of September, he said—

"I can say to President Johnson that General Butler says that the Congress of the United States, sooner or later, will put on record in due form a list of these and other direct violations of the Constitution, and call upon him either to justify them or answer for them. General Butler says that whenever a man proves false to pledges he has given to obtain public position; whenever a man attempts to betray his country at the call of personal ambition;

whenever a man tries to control the will of the people by corrupting their servants with office and place; whenever a man threatens the people that he will use their army and navy against them; whenever a man seeks to revolutionize this Government by maligning a Congress of their choice, and by stigmatizing their purest patriots, whom they honour, as traitors, while he fondles the first rebels in his bosom—that man shall surely find that the people of the United States and the Congress of the United States can easily devise a remedy for every wrong done the country, and protection against every usurpation of power. He will further find that the people of this country know how to deal with a usurping President, a King, or a Dictator."

At a public dinner in New York at the end of August, the President said:—

"This question (of secession) having been settled by the armies and navies of the United States and one of the departments of the Government, another department of your Government has practically declared, assumed, and carried out the doctrine, up to the present time, that the Government is dissolved. We contended for the opposite doctrine years ago, that no State had a right, even peaceably, to secede. One of the means of peaceable secession was that a State could withdraw its representatives from the Congress of the United States, and that that would be an admission of their right to do so. We, on the other hand, denied they had a right to do that; and now, when the doctrine is established that they cannot withdraw, and the rebellion is at an end, and the States again resume their position and renew their relations with the Federal Government, we find they are excluded from Congress in express violation of that sacred instrument the Constitution of the United States. We find that it is in violation of the express terms of the Constitution, as well as of its spirit, that States now in this Union are denied representation in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. Now, shall we submit to this? Will the American people submit to this doctrine? Why, if they do, so far as representation is concerned, it is practically a dissolution of the Union. Are we prepared now, after having passed through this fearful rebellion—are we prepared now, after expending this immense amount of blood and treasure, after all the calamities that have been visited upon our people North and South, to continue to exclude these States.

"It has been asserted that these men's professions of patriotism are doubtful, and that they ought not to be believed. What better evidence can you have of loyalty and devotion to the Government than profession and action? If we have reached the point that all confidence is lost in man, then I tell you that the Government is not as strong as a rope of sand—its own weight will crush it to pieces. Why should a Southern man not be believed? I do not say so because I am a Southern man and first saw the light of heaven in a Southern State—and while I say I

am a Southern man, I am a Northern man. That is to say, I am a citizen of the United States, and am willing to concede to all other citizens what I claim for myself. Now the reason why the Southern States demanded secession was that they feared their rights under the Constitution would not be preserved to them. What kind of a Constitution did they adopt? Why, it was, with some variations, the same as that contemplated by the Constitution of the United States. The rebellion has ceased; and when their armies were put down by the army and navy of the United States, they accepted the terms of the Government. And what were they? We said to them before the termination of the rebellion, 'Disband your armies, return to your original position in the Government, and we will receive you back with open arms.' Now the query comes up, will they be accepted? We do not want to ruin them. I have said this, and I repeat it here to-night,—I do not want them to come back into this Union degraded and debased. Are they fit to be a part of this great American family, degraded and debased? Having lost the institution of slavery, the great apple of discord, now, in returning, they take up the Constitution under which they lived before the one they wanted to establish themselves. Where, then, is the cause of distrust? I thought that at one time there was a party in the South trying to break up this Government, but now we find a party in the North equally anxious to consummate that end. I am against all those who are opposed to the Union. I am for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union. General Grant and myself have fought secession on one end of the line, and I tell you we are ready to fight it out on the other."

And addressing the populace afterwards from a balcony, the President said:—

"The finger of Providence had been visible in the cause of the people. There had been those who had called him a demagogue; but for that he did not care, as there was a time coming which would teach traitors at the South and at the North that the Union must be preserved. He had told the leaders of the rebellion what would be the result, and now at the other end of the line were found traitors also, who denounced and traduced him as a traitor to the Government. These men would, if they could, pull down the Constitution and trample it under foot. He would challenge the whole Congress to prove that he had abandoned the principles upon which he had been elected. Because he had opposed the Freedmen's Bureau Bill? What was this Bureau? Nothing more than the transfer of the slaves from their owners to other taskmasters who were to pocket the profits; but if the scheme was not successful, the Government was to pocket the loss. The President had no power except the veto, however, and in the exercise of this he had simply done his duty. He would refer his hearers to his past record, and ask them to show any act of his whole life that was not in the interest of the people. He had fought oppo-

sition in the South, and he would fight it in the North; and with the consent and aid of the people he would succeed. There would be no more rebellion in the South, and he stood now where he stood in 1861."

The result of the general election was very unfavourable to the President. In the Senate it was estimated that he would have not more than 11 supporters against 41 opponents, and in the House of Representatives the majority against him was more than two-thirds of the whole. The new Congress—the thirty-ninth of the United States—met on the 3rd of December, and the Message of the President was, as usual, communicated to the two Houses. It was a long document and a great part of it consisted of a defence of his policy on the vexed question of "reconstruction." We will quote the most important passages.

"Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,—

"After a brief interval the Congress of the United States resumes its annual legislative labours. An all-wise and merciful Providence has abated the pestilence which visited our shores, leaving its calamitous traces upon some portions of our country. Peace, order, tranquillity, and civil authority have been formally declared to exist throughout the whole of the United States. In all of the States civil authority has superseded the coercion of arms, and the people, by their voluntary action, are maintaining their Governments in full activity and complete operation. The enforcement of the laws is no longer 'obstructed in any State by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings;' and the animosities engendered by the war are rapidly yielding to the beneficent influences of our free institutions, and to the kindly effects of unrestricted social and commercial intercourse. An entire restoration of fraternal feeling must be the earnest wish of every patriotic heart; and we will have accomplished our grandest national achievement when, forgetting the sad events of the past, and remembering only their instructive lessons, we resume our onward career as a free, prosperous, and united people.

"In my Message of the 4th of December, 1865, Congress was informed of the measures which had been instituted by the Executive with a view to the gradual restoration of the States in which the insurrection occurred to their relations with the General Government. Provisional governors had been appointed, conventions called, governors elected, legislatures assembled, and senators and representatives chosen to the Congress of the United States. Courts had been opened for the enforcement of laws long in abeyance. The blockade had been removed, custom-houses re-established, and the internal revenue laws put in force in order that the people might contribute to the national income. Postal operations had been renewed, and efforts were being made to restore them to their former condition of efficiency. The States themselves had been asked to take part in the high function of amending the

Constitution, and of thus sanctioning the extinction of African slavery as one of the legitimate results of our internecine struggle.

"Having progressed thus far, the Executive Department found that it had accomplished nearly all that was within the scope of its constitutional authority. One thing, however, yet remained to be done before the work of restoration could be completed, and that was the admission to Congress of loyal Senators and Representatives from the States whose people had rebelled against the lawful authority of the General Government. This question devolved upon the respective Houses, which, by the Constitution, are made the judges of the elections, returns, and qualifications of their own members; and its consideration at once engaged the attention of Congress.

"In the meantime, the Executive Department—no other plan having been proposed by Congress—continued its efforts to perfect, as far as was practicable, the restoration of the proper relations between the citizens of the respective States, the States and the Federal Government, extending, from time to time, as the public interest seemed to require, the judicial, revenue, and postal systems of the country. With the advice and consent of the Senate, the necessary officers were appointed, and appropriations made by Congress for the payment of their salaries. The proposition to amend the Federal Constitution, so as to prevent the existence of slavery within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction, was ratified by the requisite number of States; and on the 18th day of December, 1865, it was officially declared to have become valid as a part of the Constitution of the United States. All of the States in which the insurrection had existed promptly amended their Constitutions, so as to make them conform to the great change thus effected in the organic law of the land; declared null and void all ordinances and laws of secession; repudiated all pretended debts and obligations created for the revolutionary purposes of the insurrection; and proceeded, in good faith, to the enactment of measures for the protection and amelioration of the condition of the coloured race. Congress, however, yet hesitated to admit any of these States to representation; and it was not until towards the close of the eighth month of the Session that an exception was made in favour of Tennessee, by the admission of her Senators and Representatives.

"I deem it a subject of profound regret that Congress has thus far failed to admit to seats loyal Senators and Representatives from the other States whose inhabitants, with those of Tennessee, had engaged in the rebellion. Ten States—more than one-fourth of the whole number—remain without representation; the seats of fifty members in the House of representatives and of twenty members in the Senate are yet vacant—not by their own consent, not by a failure of election, but by the refusal of Congress to accept their credentials. Their admission, it is believed, would have accomplished much towards the renewal and strengthening of our rela-

tions as one people, and removed serious cause for discontent on the part of the inhabitants of those States. It would have accorded with the great principle enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that no people ought to bear the burden of taxation and yet be denied the right of representation. It would have been in consonance with the express provisions of the Constitution, that 'each State shall have at least one representative,' and, 'that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.' These provisions were intended to secure to every State, and to the people of every State, the right of representation in each House of Congress; and so important was it deemed by the framers of the Constitution that the equality of the States in the Senate should be preserved, that not even by an amendment of the Constitution can any State, without its consent, be denied a voice in that branch of the National Legislature.

"It is true, it has been assumed that the existence of the State was terminated by the rebellious acts of their inhabitants, and that the insurrection having been suppressed, they were thenceforward to be considered merely as conquered territories. The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Departments of the Government have, however, with great distinctness and uniform consistency, refused to sanction an assumption so incompatible with the nature of our republican system and with the professed objects of the war. Throughout the recent legislation of Congress, the undeniable fact makes itself apparent, that these ten political communities are nothing less than States of this Union. At the very commencement of the rebellion each House declared, with an unanimity as remarkable as it was significant, that the war was not 'waged upon our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as these objects were accomplished the war ought to cease.' In some instances Senators were permitted to continue their legislative functions, while in other instances representatives were elected and admitted to seats after their States had formally declared their right to withdraw from the Union, and were endeavouring to maintain that right by force of arms. All of the States whose people were in insurrection, as States, were included in the apportionment of the direct tax of $20,000,000 annually laid upon the United States by the Act approved the 5th of August, 1861. Congress by the Act of March 4, 1862, and by the apportionment of representation thereunder, also recognized their presence as States in the Union; and they have, for judicial purposes, been divided into districts, as States alone can be divided. The same recognition appears in the recent legislation in reference to Tennessee, which evidently rests upon the fact that the functions of the State were

not destroyed by the rebellion, but merely suspended; and that principle is of course applicable to those States which, like Tennessee, attempted to renounce their places in the Union.

"The action of the Executive Department of the Government upon this subject has been equally definite and uniform, and the purpose of the war was specifically stated in the proclamation issued by my predecessor on the 22nd day of September, 1862. It was then solemnly proclaimed and declared that 'hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.'

"The recognition of the States by the Judicial Department of the Government has also been clear and conclusive in all proceedings affecting them as States, had in the Supreme, Circuit, and District Courts.

"In the admission of Senators and Representatives from any and all of the States there can be no just ground of apprehension that persons who are disloyal will be clothed with the powers of legislation; for this could not happen when the Constitution and the laws are enforced by a vigilant and faithful Congress. Each House is made the 'judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members,' and may, 'with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.' When a Senator or Representative presents his certificate of election, he may at once be admitted or rejected; or should there be any question as to his eligibility, his credentials may be referred for investigation to the appropriate Committee. If admitted to a seat, it must be upon evidence satisfactory to the House of which he thus becomes a member that he possesses the requisite constitutional and legal qualifications. If refused admission as a member for want of due allegiance to the Government, and returned to his constituents, they are admonished that none but persons loyal to the United States will be allowed a voice in the legislative councils of the nation, and the political power and moral influence of Congress are thus effectively exerted in the interests of loyalty to the Government and fidelity to the Union. Upon this question, so vitally affecting the restoration of the Union and the permanency of our present form of government, my convictions heretofore expressed have undergone no change; but on the contrary, their correctness has been confirmed by reflection and time. If the admission of loyal members to seats in the respective Houses of Congress was wise and expedient a year ago, it is no less wise and expedient now. If this anomalous condition is right now—if, in the exact condition of these States at the present time, it is lawful to exclude them from representation—I do not see that the question will be changed by the efflux of time. Ten years hence, if these States remain as they are, the right of representation will be no stronger—the right of exclusion will be no weaker.

"The Constitution of the United States makes it the duty of the President to recommend to the consideration of Congress 'such measures as he shall judge necessary or expedient.' I know of no measure more imperatively demanded by every consideration of national interest, sound policy, and equal justice, than the admission of loyal members from the now unrepresented States. This would consummate the work of restoration and exert a most salutary influence in the re-establishment of peace, harmony, and fraternal feeling. It would tend greatly to renew the confidence of the American people in the vigour and stability of their institutions. It would bind us more closely together as a nation, and enable us to show to the world the inherent and recuperative power of a Government founded upon the will of the people, and established upon the principles of liberty, justice, and intelligence. Our increased strength and enhanced prosperity would irrefragably demonstrate the fallacy of the arguments against free institutions drawn from our recent national disorders by the enemies of Republican Government. The admission of loyal members from the States now excluded from Congress, by allaying doubt and apprehension, would turn capital, now awaiting an opportunity for investment, into the channels of trade and industry. It would alleviate the present troubled condition of those States, and, by inducing emigration, aid in the settlement of fertile regions now uncultivated, and lead to an increased production of those staples which have added so greatly to the wealth of the nation and the commerce of the world. New fields of enterprise would be opened to our progressive people, and soon the devastations of war would be repaired and all traces of our domestic differences effaced from the minds of our countrymen.

"In our efforts to preserve 'the unity of Government which constitutes us one people,' by restoring the States to the condition which they held prior to the rebellion, we should be cautious lest, having rescued our nation from perils of threatened disintegration, we resort to consolidation, and in the end absolute despotism, as a remedy for the recurrence of similar troubles. The war having terminated, and with it all occasion for the exercise of powers of doubtful constitutionality, we should hasten to bring legislation within the boundaries prescribed by the Constitution, and to return to the ancient landmarks established by our fathers for the guidance of succeeding generations. 'The Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all.' 'If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation, for it is the customary weapon by which free Governments are destroyed.' Washington spoke these words to his countrymen when, followed by their love

and gratitude, he voluntarily retired from the cares of public life. 'To keep, in all things, within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the Federal Union as the only rock of safety' were prescribed by Jefferson as rules of action to endear to his 'countrymen the true principles of their Constitution, and promote a union of sentiment and action equally auspicious to their happiness and safety.' Jackson held that the action of the General Government should always be strictly confined to the sphere of its appropriate duties, and justly and forcibly urged that our Government is not to be maintained, nor our Union preserved, 'by invasions of the rights and powers of the several States. In thus attempting to make our General Government strong, we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and States as much as possible to themselves; in making itself felt, not in its power, but in its beneficence; not in its control, but in its protection; not in binding the States more closely to the centre, but leaving each to move unobstructed in its proper constitutional orbit.' These are the teachings of men whose deeds and services have made them illustrious, and who, long since withdrawn from the scenes of life, have left to their country the rich legacy of their example, their wisdom, and their patriotism. Drawing fresh inspiration from their lessons, let us emulate them in love of country and respect for the Constitution and the laws.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.—"The report presents a much more satisfactory condition of our finances than one year ago the most sanguine could have anticipated. During the fiscal year ending the 30th of June, 1865, the last year of the war, the public debt was increased $941,902,537, and on the 31st of October, 1865, it amounted to $2,740,854,750. On the 31st day of October, 1866, it had been reduced to $2,551,310,006, the diminution during a period of fourteen months, commencing September 1, 1865, and ending October 31, 1866, having been $206,379,565. In the last annual report on the state of the finances it was estimated that during the three quarters of the fiscal year ending the 30th of June last the debt would be increased $112,194,947. During that period, however, it was reduced $31,196,387, the receipts of the year having been $89,905,905 more, and the expenditures $200,529,235 less, than the estimates. Nothing could more clearly indicate than these statements the extent and availability of the national resources, and the rapidity and safety with which, under our form of government, great military and naval establishments can be disbanded, and expenses reduced from a war to a peace footing.

"During the fiscal year ending the 30th of June, 1866, the receipts were $558,032,620, and the expenditures $520,750,940, leaving an available surplus of $37,281,680. It is estimated that the receipts for the fiscal year ending the 30th of June, 1867, will be $475,061,386, and that the expenditures will reach the sum of $316,428,078, leaving in the Treasury a surplus of $158,633,308.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868, it is estimated that the receipts will amount to $436,000,000, and that the expenditures will be $350,247,641; showing an excess of $85,752,359 in favour of the Government. These estimated receipts may be diminished by a reduction of excise and import duties; but, after all necessary reductions shall have been made, the revenue of the present and of following years will doubtless be sufficient to cover all legitimate charges upon the Treasury, and leave a large annual surplus to be applied to the payment of the principal of the debt. There seems now to be no good reason why taxes may not be reduced as the country advances in population and wealth, and yet the debt be extinguished within the next quarter of a century[1].

The Navy.—"It is stated in the report of the Secretary of the Navy that the naval force at this time consists of 278 vessels, armed with 2,351 guns. Of these, 115 vessels, carrying 1,029 guns, are in commission, distributed chiefly among seven squadrons. The number of the men in the service is 13,600.

Foreign Relations.—"It is a subject of congratulation that no foreign combinations against our domestic peace and safety, or our legitimate influence among the nations, have been formed or attempted. While sentiments of reconciliation, loyalty and patriotism, have increased at home, a more just consideration of our national character and rights has been manifested by foreign nations.

Atlantic Telegraph.—"The entire success of the Atlantic Telegraph between the coast of Ireland and the province of Newfoundland is an achievement which has been justly celebrated in both hemispheres as the opening of an era in the progress of civilization. There is reason to expect that equal success will attend, and even greater results follow, the enterprise for connecting the two continents through the Pacific ocean by the projected line of telegraph between Kamtschatka and the Russian possessions in America.

Mexico.—"In the month of April last, as Congress is aware, a friendly arrangement was made between the Emperor of France and the President of the United States for the withdrawal from Mexico of the French expeditionary forces. This withdrawal was to be effected in three detachments, the first of which, it was understood, would leave Mexico in November, now past, the second in March next, and the third and last in November, 1867. Immediately upon the completion of the evacuation, the French Government was to assume the same attitude of non-intervention in

[1] The extraordinary elasticity of the United States' revenue was remarkably shown by a statement published by the Secretary of the Treasury of the receipts and expenditure of the Treasury during the quarter ending on the 30th of June in the present year. From this it appears that there had been a net reduction of the National Debt during that quarter of upwards of 57 millions of dollars. The total receipts of the quarter were 321,433,092 dollars, and the expenditure, including the reduction of the debt, 322,442,701 dollars. The revenue of the Treasury was estimated to *exceed* the expenditure by not less than two millions and a half of dollars *every week*.

regard to Mexico as is held by the Government of the United States. Repeated assurances have been given by the Emperor since that agreement that he would complete the promised evacuation within the period mentioned, or sooner.

"It was reasonably expected that the proceedings thus contemplated would produce a crisis of great political interest in the Republic of Mexico. The newly-appointed Minister of the United States, Mr. Campbell, was therefore sent forward on the 9th day of November last to assume his proper functions as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to that Republic. It was also thought expedient that he should be attended in the vicinity of Mexico by the Lieut.-General of the army of the United States, with the view of obtaining such information as might be important to determine the course to be pursued by the United States in re-establishing and maintaining necessary and proper intercourse with the Republic of Mexico. Deeply interested in the cause of liberty and humanity, it seemed an obvious duty on our part to exercise whatever influence we possessed for the restoration and permanent establishment in that country of a domestic and republican form of government.

"Such was the condition of affairs in regard to Mexico, when, on the 22nd of November last, official information was received from Paris that the Emperor of the French had some time before decided not to withdraw a detachment of his forces in the month of November past, according to engagement, but that this decision was made with the purpose of withdrawing the whole of those forces in the ensuing spring. Of this determination, however, the United States had not received any notice or information; and so soon as the information was received by the Government, care was taken to make known its dissent to the Emperor of the French.

"I cannot forego the hope that France will reconsider the subject, and adopt some resolution in regard to the evacuation of Mexico which will conform as nearly as practicable with the existing engagement, and thus meet the just expectations of the United States. The papers relating to the subject will be laid before you. It is believed that, with the evacuation of Mexico by the expeditionary forces, no subject for serious differences between France and the United States would remain. The expressions of the Emperor and people of France warrant a hope that the traditionary friendship between the two countries might, in that case, be renewed and permanently restored.

CLAIMS AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.—"It is a matter of regret that no considerable advance has been made towards an adjustment of the differences between the United States and Great Britain, arising out of the depredations upon our national commerce and other trespasses committed during our civil war by British subjects, in violation of international law and treaty obligations. The delay, however, may be believed to have resulted in no small degree from the domestic situation of Great Britain. An entire change of

Ministry occurred in that country during the last session of Parliament. The attention of the new Ministry was called to the subject at an early day, and there is some reason to expect that it will now be considered in a becoming and friendly spirit. The importance of an early disposition of the question cannot be exaggerated. Whatever might be the disposition of the two Governments, it is manifest that goodwill and friendship between the two countries cannot be established until a reciprocity in the practice of good faith and neutrality shall be restored between the respective nations.

Fenianism.—"On the 6th of June last, in violation of our neutrality laws, a military expedition and enterprise against the British North American Colonies was projected and attempted to be carried on within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States. In obedience to the obligation imposed upon the Executive by the Constitution to see that the laws are faithfully executed, all citizens were warned, by proclamation, against taking part in or aiding such unlawful proceedings, and the proper civil, military, and naval officers were directed to take all necessary measures for the enforcement of the laws. The expedition failed, but it has not been without its painful consequences. Some of our citizens who, it was alleged, were engaged in the expedition, were captured, and have been brought to trial, as for a capital offence, in the Province of Canada. Judgment and sentence of death have been pronounced against some, while others have been acquitted. Fully believing the maxim of Government, that severity of civil punishment for misguided persons who have engaged in revolutionary attempts which have disastrously failed is unsound and unwise, such representations have been made to the British Government in behalf of the convicted persons as, being sustained by an enlightened and humane judgment, will, it is hoped, induce in their cases an exercise of clemency, and a judicious amnesty to all who were engaged in the movement. Counsel has been employed by the Government to defend citizens of the United States on trial for capital offences in Canada; and a discontinuance of the prosecutions which were instituted in the courts of the United States against those who took part in the expedition has been directed.

"I have regarded the expedition as not only political in its nature, but as also in a great measure foreign from the United States in its causes, character, and objects. The attempt was understood to be made in sympathy with an insurgent party in Ireland, and, by striking at a British province on this continent, was designed to aid in obtaining redress for political grievances which, it was assumed, the people of Ireland had suffered at the hands of the British Government during a period of several centuries. The persons engaged in it were chiefly natives of that country, some of whom had, while others had not, become citizens of the United States under our general laws of naturalization. Complaints of misgovernment in Ireland continually engage the attention of the

British nation, and so great an agitation is now prevailing in Ireland that the British Government have deemed it necessary to suspend the *habeas corpus* in that country. These circumstances must necessarily modify the opinion which we might otherwise have entertained in regard to an expedition expressly prohibited by our neutrality laws. So long as those laws remain upon our statute books, they should be faithfully executed, and if they operate harshly, unjustly, or oppressively, Congress alone can apply the remedy, by their modification or repeal.

CONCLUSION.—"In the performance of a duty imposed upon me by the Constitution, I have thus submitted to the representatives of the States and of the people such information of our domestic and foreign affairs as the public interests seem to require. Our Government is now undergoing its most trying ordeal, and my earnest prayer is that the peril may be successfully and finally passed without impairing its original strength and symmetry. The interests of the nation are best to be promoted by the revival of fraternal relations, the complete obliteration of our past differences, and the re-inauguration of all the pursuits of peace. Directing our efforts to the early accomplishment of these great ends, let us endeavour to preserve harmony between the co-ordinate departments of the government, that each, in its proper sphere, may cordially co-operate with the other in securing the maintenance of the Constitution, the preservation of the Union, and the perpetuity of our free institutions."

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1866.

We propose to commence our Annual Retrospect in the usual manner, by recording the publication of such works relating to English history as are either interesting at present or likely to be useful hereafter. So long as England continues to be a great Power, the records of her successful efforts to gain an honourable position—a position alike independent of foreign control and of internal tyranny, must necessarily claim the attention of all thinking people both at home and abroad. How long the prestige of England may last, it is impossible to tell. With every element of success about her, she may yet fail to preserve her leading position, by neglecting opportunities, or by ungratefully ignoring the motive causes of the advantages which she at present possesses. No nation of which we read in the world's annals has been so entirely favoured by the combination of productive discoveries and the manly energy required to make such discoveries useful, as England within the last sixty or seventy years. Now, however, we seem to be confronting two separate dangers; first, that of forgetting that iron, coal, and cotton have given us our present wealth; and secondly, that of imagining that iron, coal, and cotton ought to become our capricious masters, instead of continuing to be our useful servants. Our readers may ask, What has this to do with Literature, Art, and Science? We answer, that although at first sight our remarks may seem irrelevant, they will appear on a closer inspection to belong strictly to this particular department of the "Annual Register." Literature, Art, and Science must always be supported by the surplus money of the country in which they flourish. Apart from all questions as to what may conduce, in the way of climate, race, or the like, to the qualifications required for the production of Literary, Artistic, and Scientific works, it is clear that unless the nation can afford to pay for the results of composition and investigation, the classes who are wont to devote themselves to these things must gradually cease to exist. In the interest, therefore, of Literature, Art, and Science, we may fairly be allowed to lament any circumstance that tends to produce a wasteful expenditure of money; any thing that tends to make people in general less comfortably off than they are.

No doubt matters are going on very well just now; pictures fetch very high prices; books are published in great quantities; magazines increase in number, and although some die out, others start up very soon to take their place. But the question is, whether this prosperity will continue. If we have constant strikes, the masters must in the end become impoverished, and of course the unfortunate workmen will come to ruin, as each employer will have to reduce the number of his establishment. It is not for us, in this place, to attempt to follow out all the various ramifications by which a gradual depression of trade would necessarily act upon the whole nation; any body may work the problem out for himself by approximation, though no one can predict the precise result; but the end, in the main, must be this,—that as trade becomes depressed by internecine contentions between the employers and the employed, wealth will rapidly diminish, and, as wealth diminishes, there will be less money to spare, in every successive year, for the encouragement of pursuits for which the rich can afford to pay, but which the poor must usually regard, erroneously but perhaps not unnaturally, as a deduction from their earnings and a tax upon their aggregate receipts.

No more of this, however. We are here to record what has been done during the year 1866, not to write an essay upon the question whether England is likely to sink from her proud position among the nations of Europe, or whether, as her political importance decreases, her literary, artistic, and scientific reputation will also suffer a blow. We shall, therefore, at once proceed to our appointed work, and cease to indulge in speculations which, however natural they may appear to us to be, would possibly fatigue our readers if we venture to carry them to a greater extent.

In English History Mr. Froude first claims our notice. His reputation is already assured by the general favour accorded to the previous volumes of his History. He now comes before the public with two new volumes (3 and 4) of his "History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth." These volumes comprise a very short period, including only about six years, from the early part of 1567 to the middle of 1573. During these years, however, many important events occurred; but, what is more to the purpose, these few years were fruitful in unexpected events which led to ultimate results not uninfluential on the subsequent history of Great Britain and Ireland. As to this the "Athenæum" says:—

"They were eventful years generally; very critical years for England especially. Within their limit Mary Stuart married the murderer, probably her own confederate in the murder of her husband. The comedy, or rather the tragedy, of the marriage was soon played out. A short month or so brought separation to the guilty couple, at Carberry Hill. Mary resigned her crown; her half-brother, the Regent Murray, placed it on the brow of her infant son, and the Scottish Parliament condemned her as an accomplice in her husband's murder, and confined her in Lochleven Castle. Meanwhile, in England, Gresham was creating facilities for the extension of British commerce, by laying the foundation of the Royal Exchange; Elizabeth was paying homage to learning, by attending the public disputations at Oxford, and was trifling with the serious interest which the country, anxious for an undisputed succession and fearful of a renewal of the Wars of the Roses, took in the question of her marriage. With the pretensions of the Archduke of Austria and of the Duke of Anjou, with the suits of less likely men abroad and the hopes of aspiring men at home, Elizabeth partly amused herself, partly served her own purpose.

"Therewith she had other and heavier business on hand than O'Neil in rebellion,

Desmond and Ormond in arms in Ireland;—there was this serious matter to deal with, and it was dealt with not to our national glory. More difficult still was the position into which both Mary Stuart and Elizabeth fell when the issue of the day at Langside sent Mary a refugee, then a prisoner and conspirator, into England, and condemned Elizabeth to crooked policy, tempered by some compassion, to cruel uncertainty of feeling, followed by politic cruelty of action, towards her sister-queen, and which made of herself a stern but suffering, though successful woman to the hour of her death."

These volumes, or a great part of them, are necessarily occupied with the history of Mary Stuart, the most unfortunate Queen of modern history. It is Mr. Froude's misfortune, not his fault, that he has been obliged, in order to escape the imputation of shirking his work, to enter fully into those painful episodes of history which deal with the public and private character of "Mary Queen of Scots." How difficult such a task must be, is shown by the well-known fact that she is exhibited by many authors of note as a person of abandoned character and guilty of countless crimes, while other writers of equal authority represent her as guilty of no offence but that of having been born the helpless Queen of a turbulent country. To any person who should undertake to write the history of Scotland, the time of Queen Mary would present serious difficulties; to those who attempt the history of England, the obstacles to be surmounted can scarcely be considered less important. No one can get over the reign of our English Queen Elizabeth, without dealing fully with the unfortunate period of Queen Mary's residence and imprisonment in England, which terminated with the death of the unfortunate Scottish Queen by decapitation. It was not a usual thing—nay, it was probably an event entirely without precedent in the annals of civilized nations, for the Sovereign of one country, fleeing from her rebellious subjects, to be imprisoned and ultimately beheaded by her cousin, the Queen of the neighbouring State, whose successor she would have been if she had had the good fortune to survive her. Deeds of blood, unless warranted by strict law or by the natural instinct of self defence, must necessarily place the historian and panegyrist —and what is an historian now-a-days but a panegyrist, or, on the other hand, a detractor?—under the necessity of blackening the victim in order to excuse the judicial slayer. Accordingly, we find that Mr. Froude, an ardent admirer of the pure Tudor dynasty, is somewhat severe upon the unfortunate Queen Mary, and seems scarcely able to make up his mind to give her a fair trial at the bar of public opinion.

"We have noticed that a great portion of the two volumes before us is devoted to the history of Mary Stuart. We may add, moreover, that the result of Mr. Froude's dealing with the story of the Queen of Scots will probably be some increase, not exactly of sympathy, yet of pity for the heroine. She was guilty, no doubt, if not of every crime laid to her charge, yet of much from which modern feeling revolts, but which was not construed so harshly when the standard of judgment and the moral point of view were altogether different from what they are now. The author seems less to care to officiate as a judge, with Mary Stuart at the bar of public opinion, than as an advocate of the strongest partisan spirit. When retained for the defendant, Henry the Eighth, he almost persuaded the world of the complete innocence of the client. Holding now a brief against Mary Stuart, he is not merely violent, but merciless, in the destruction of her character. Or, if Mr. Froude presents himself occasionally to us in the character of a judge, he does not wear the aspect of a calm, unimpassioned, discriminating, anxious awarder of justice, as we are accustomed to see in our courts, where justice sits,

heeds, and decrees; but rather of a French judge, who always assumes that the prisoner is guilty, is eager to prove him so, and fumes and frets, occasionally abusing the witnesses to character, till he obtains a conviction. The verdict would have been to the same purport, probably, without the judge being not only judge, but a party in the cause. It is the ferocity with which some French judges assail the guilty wretch before them, that provokes French jurors to snatch him from the extremity of punishment to which the judge would condemn him, by adding to the verdict of 'Guilty,' the saving words, 'with extenuating circumstances.'

"In Mary Stuart's case, these saving words seem to Mr. Froude, we think, altogether inadmissible. She was guilty enough. The woman who slept on the bosom of her husband's murderer, a brief month or two after the husband's slaying, was guilty of all the crime, even if she had not talked of its possibility before it was done, nor been so near at hand when it was doing. But it is not therefore necessary to catch at every straw carried on the hot air of an accuser's breath. Yet nothing comes amiss to Mr. Froude that serves to make 'the murderess,' 'the adulteress,' as he, with much iteration, proclaims her, as baser than most murderesses, more unclean than most adulteresses. If proof could possibly arise at this late hour, that Mary was guiltless of the blood of that wayward, cruel, treacherous, and loathsome wretch who was, nevertheless, her husband, her character would not be established, that is, if we are to adopt Mr. Froude's estimate of it, and accept as good testimony against her all that he adopts himself and would fain force upon our acceptance."

After all, it must be admitted that Mr. Froude is a very fine historian, as historians go. His style is pure and forcible, his thoughts are carefully and intelligibly expressed; if we cannot find in him in an unadulterated state the qualities of a truly good historian, it is perhaps because the disease of using historical writing as a vehicle for promulgating a certain set of opinions has become epidemic, and Mr. Froude has not entirely escaped the contagion. But we are here rather for the purpose of recording the opinions of others than of expressing our own; and the following extract from the "London Review" will give a fair idea of the estimate formed of Mr. Froude's merits by a certain class, probably a very considerable class, of the reading and thinking men of our day.

"It is creditable both to the writer and the public, that Mr. Froude's history should exert so wide-spread an influence as it does over the opinions of Europe. No portion of our annals, except that which relates the fortunes of the Commonwealth, is so deeply fraught with interest as the reign of Elizabeth, abounding as it did with remarkable men, and big throughout with those mighty principles—the superiority of the State over the Church, and complete liberty of conscience, which, in their development have placed Great Britain in the van of civilized nations. The contests then going on were all more or less tinctured by religious zeal bordering upon wild fanaticism. Scarcely any person could be found who thought calmly, or could endure calmness of thought in others. The dense clouds of ignorance were slowly rising from the surface of society, to be blown away ultimately by the breath of philosophy under the name of Protestantism, which from its birth has taught that every man has a right to think for himself, and to accept the conclusions to which his reason conducts him. In Elizabeth's age this was heresy, not only among the populations of the Continent, but in England also, and Scotland. Mr. Froude has been at great pains to place himself mentally in a position to judge without prejudice of the condition and men of those times—has weighed the claims of the Reformers as well as of the Catholics—

has watched, as far as existing documents would enable him, the shock of parties, political and religious,—and has sought conscientiously and fairly to do full justice to all. In talent, learning, and moral dignity, he stands far above those writers who have made themselves the apologists of the regal courtezan; neither could a writer so gifted stoop to sympathize with so sanguinary a wretch as Bothwell; but in his earnest desire to justify before the world the sentence which his sense of justice compels him to pronounce, he is betrayed into a degree of prolixity which at last becomes tedious. English affairs are kept too much out of sight in order to give full development to the crimes of the Scottish Queen and her partisans. Still, the story has at length been told, told ably, told fairly, told with a boldness and plainness which must for ever hereafter close the mouths of those who are capable of being convinced by reason, or evidence, or the truth of things."

In contrast to Mr. Froude's estimate of Queen Mary of Scotland, we have a work by Mr. Alexander M'Neel Caird, entitled "Mary Stuart, her guilt or innocence; an Inquiry into the Secret History of her Times." Although purporting to be an "inquiry," and apparently written with care and honesty, this book must be looked upon to some extent as a defence; the Queen of Scots being, as the "Athenæum" expresses it, "Mr. Caird's illustrious and unfortunate client." So many apologies for Queen Mary have been published, that even in the last century it was remarked (we are told) by Sir David Dalrymple, that the Marian controversy had already become too angry and too voluminous. Mr. Caird stands out favourably, however, from those who have imported violent passions into the conflict, and we may accept the favourable verdict of the "Athenæum," without much risk of going wrong:—

"Although we differ on many points from Mr. Caird concerning Mary, for whom there is universal sympathy, despite her offences, we can recommend his volume as an agreeable and useful *résumé* of the story of the hapless Queen, and of the ruthless men among whom she lived, sinned, and suffered."

The papers published from official records are issued from the press with increased activity, thanks to the good sense of the Master of the Rolls and other persons in authority, and to the industry of those who continue to dig up these ancient memorials from the hard and repulsive soil in which they have lain imbedded for so many centuries. When all has been done in this way that the energy of antiquarian students can accomplish, it is possible that the History of England may have to be re-written in a very different form from any in which it has hitherto appeared. It is impossible to calculate the amount of light that may be thrown on facts, and still more on motives, by the examination of documents which will speak, as it were, from the tomb, unassailed by the detraction of enmity, and unaided by the gloss of partisanship. In "Annales Monastici," edited by H. R. Luard, and published with the concurrence of the Lords of the Treasury and the Master of the Rolls, we find the following singular passage:—

"About the Feast of St. Augustine, the Apostle of the English (26th May) in this year, the King and Queen went to the Tower of London, Sir Edward remaining at the Hospital of Clerkenwell. Now, when all of these were destitute of money in their coffers, and there was no one in London to lend them one halfpenny, Sir Edward being unwilling to be thus disgraced, on the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, taking with him Robert Waleran and many others, went to the New Temple, the doors of which were shut. The keys, however, being given up at his request, he said he would see the jewels belonging to the Queen, his mother, there; and so, after sending for the keeper, fraudulently entered the Treasury of the Temple with his people. Here by means of iron

hammers which they had brought with them, they broke open certain of the chests, and taking much money from them, to the amount of 1000*l.*, the Prince had it carried off. Upon the perpetration of this crime, the citizens of London rose against him, and certain of the King's Council who were staying in the City, to such an extent that they attacked the hostel of John de Grey, without Ludgate, and carried off two-and-thirty of his horses, and whatever else they could find; John himself making his escape with the greatest difficulty across the river Flete."

Who would have expected such a trait as this in the wise King Edward I? The wild Prince Hal of Shakspeare has here a prototype; and perhaps these two are not the only warrior Kings who have been reckless and unjust in their youth.

Another work published under the same sanction consists of the "Year Books of King Edward the First, Years XX. and XXI.," edited and translated by A. J. Harwood. This record of the growth of our law has been preceded by other similar publications, and will be followed, we hope, by many more. Apart from the mere gratification of antiquarian curiosity, the growth of so extraordinary a system as that of the English law—a law indigenous to the soil, and not founded, like some foreign codes, on the institutions of Ancient Rome—must be instructive to the jurist and interesting to the philosopher. As to the present volume, the following estimate is formed by a contemporary:—

"The present volume of the series of hitherto unpublished Year Books, though not less ably and carefully edited than its two predecessors from the same hand, falls considerably below the first, and to some extent below the second, in interest to the general reader, owing to the peculiar nature of its contents, which are almost wholly devoted to the dry details of the law of real property in this country during the thirteenth century; a system of legal attack and defence, which, based upon the remote usages and requirements of feudalism, was in its full vigour in the age of Judge Lyttelton, culminated as a system in the times of Fitz-Herbert and Coke, and, after finding its most laborious, if not most able, expositor in the anonymous pages of that wondrous mass of legal lore, Sheppard's 'Touchstone,' finally received little short of its death-blow through the agency of the sweeping enactments of Statute 3 and 4 William IV. c. 27, section 36.

"These Year Books will, however, be of interest, and indeed of considerable value, on the other hand, both to the student of our black-letter law and to the critical inquirer into our earlier social history, as modified by the rules and rights of property and possession; while again, on a sifting examination, there will be found some few items here and there calculated to afford a relish to the man of purely antiquarian pursuits, and receiving an additional zest from the fact that mention of them is probably nowhere else to be found."

It is only to avoid the danger of turning this Retrospect into a catalogue, that we refrain from giving the suggestive titles of five or six other books of the class above alluded to. We must conclude our record of books on English History by mentioning the work of Mr. G. M. Towle, entitled "The History of Henry the 5th, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Heir of France." Whether our King Henry V. was really "Heir of France" according to the French law or the general feudal law in force at that time, we do not feel called upon to decide; and we leave that question for others. But it is an undoubted fact that this young King, followed by a handful of English soldiers, succeeded in putting to rout the whole army of the French Kingdom which then existed. It must of course be admitted that the France of that date, distracted by internal enmities, and weakened by the threats or defection of turbulent vassals, can scarcely be

considered identical with the compact and united France of modern times. Still the simple facts of the battle of Agincourt remain unchanged; and as long as such events are recorded, it will be known that Henry V., with a few Englishmen, entirely discomfited his continental rival, who commanded an immense army of trained and warlike soldiers. Coming down to later times, we find that when an English army engages a French army on equal terms, the former generally comes off victorious; but at the same time a prudent English General of the present day would not desire, unless compelled by overpowering circumstances, to engage a French force which much exceeded his own in numbers. How we are to account for this difference it is difficult to say, but the problem may perhaps be solved by degrees, as we study more and more the actual records of our early English History. With some slight faults, which are incident to most historians of modern times, Mr. Towle seems to possess sterling qualities which must make his book both useful and interesting. We read in the pages of a weekly contemporary:—

"Throughout the personal history of Henry the Fifth, Mr. Towle, like many biographers, is a little too much in love with his hero. Our old, bad schoolbooks affirmed that the young prince was riotously gay, extravagant in his debauchery, and outrageously addicted to intoxication. Modern research has proved this to be untrue; but we are not quite prepared to accept Henry of Monmouth for the nearly faultless hero that he is made to appear by Mr. Tyler and Mr. Towle. He was indeed heroic, but with all the blemishes to be found in heroes. Mr. Towle claims for him the distinction of being the greatest of the Plantagenets,—but that lofty appellation more truly belongs to the first Edward."

Our contemporary's judgment of Mr. Towle is, however, highly favourable in the main, as may be gathered from the concluding words in which he alludes to—

"That King whose history is gracefully, earnestly, but a little too partially told, in a book which we now commit to other judgment."

In General History, as distinguished from English History, we find works of various characters. Early in the year appeared the third volume of the Rev. G. Rawlinson's work, entitled "The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World; or, the History, Geography, and Antiquities of Chaldæa, Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia." The aspirations of Professor Rawlinson are great, but it must be remembered that he has great advantages. He is himself a thorough scholar, having in his younger days attained the honour of a first class in the Classical Schools at Oxford; and he has the good fortune to be a brother of Sir Henry Rawlinson, whose actual researches in the East have acquired for him a separate name and distinction as an Orientalist. Two persons working thus together, one with the experience of a traveller, and the other with the learning of a scholar, may produce satisfactory results if they make a fair use of their advantages and opportunities. The third volume of Mr. Rawlinson's work treats of Babylon and Media; and there is, consequently, only one more volume to come, namely, that on Persia, which, after absorbing all the previous monarchies, fell at last a victim to the superior strength of European blood. So, in later times, Greece had to give way to the more hardy Roman race; and so, some centuries after, the Romans were forced to succumb to the physical strength of the natives of central and northern Europe. As Mr. Rawlinson's task is not yet concluded, we must reserve our general observations for a future time. At present, while acknowledging that Mr. Rawlinson's labours may be valuable, we cannot but admit the justice of the following observations:—

"In tracing the glories of the Babylonian monarchy, our author, perhaps, exaggerates a little. His description of the great works constructed by Nebuchadnezzar must be taken *cum grano*. A reservoir 140 miles in circumference, and 30 fathoms deep, is a little too much for human hands in one man's lifetime, and ought rather to be ascribed to Jins and Afrits. It is something of a hyperbole, too, to say that the human race owes its civilization to Nebuchadnezzar; yet it would follow from the statements of the author pieced together. In one place he tells us, 'It is scarcely too much to say that, but for Babylon, real civilization might not even yet have dawned upon the earth.' In another, we read that, 'But for Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonians would have had no place in history.' But after all due deductions made, enough remains to prove that the Babylonian King was one of the greatest monarchs of ancient times; and the account of his reign here given deserves to be studied with the new light which recent discoveries have thrown upon it. In the vast Babil mound, and in a hundred sites about Babylon, all the inscribed bricks bear his legend, and the building of the great wall ascribed to him, which contained 500,000,000 square feet of solid masonry, would alone be a work sufficient for the glory of a line of Kings."

In connexion with the above, we may mention a modern "History of Persia," from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the year 1859," by Mr. R. G. Watson. Some difference of opinion seems to exist as to the merits of this book, and one of the most influential weekly reviews has written about it in somewhat disparaging terms. Another weekly journal takes a different view, and from the latter,—the "London Review,"—we made the following extract:—

"Mr. Grant Watson has executed his task with remarkable ability, developing his narrative with clearness, and describing events and places in a simple and masculine style. In an Introduction, very necessary to place the generality of European readers in a condition to follow with interest the story of the Persian nation, he describes the territories, government, religion, and manners of the modern Persians, and, by the easy and pleasant way in which he treats the subject, excites a preliminary interest which is well sustained by the relation that follows. Few persons who have not bestowed particular attention on the geography of Asia will be prepared for some of the observations made in this Introduction. When we talk of the wars of Persia with Turkey, the latter having forty millions of inhabitants, or with Russia and its seventy millions, or with Great Britain, commanding the resources of one-fifth of the population of the globe, we are apt to represent to ourselves a country swarming with people, and at least equalling France or Austria in the number of its inhabitants; so that we are rather startled when we find that, according to some estimates, the Shah's subjects do not exceed five millions, though others maintain they are twice that number."

Coming nearer home, we have "The Regency of Anne of Austria, Queen Regent of France, Mother of Louis the Fourteenth." This book has been compiled by a well-known writer, Miss M. W. Freer, from various hitherto unpublished sources, including manuscripts in the Imperial Library and the Royal Archives of France. It would be superfluous to remark on the interest which must always attach to a period at which France was earnestly yearning to make herself mistress of the civilized world. Any thing that can throw light on such a period must be useful, for the danger of a French ebullition still exists, and it is only half a century since it threatened the existence of liberty in Europe. As to the manner in which Miss Freer has performed her task, we read:—

"Miss Freer has already given us an admirable picture of the married life of Anne of Austria. The present work, which is devoted to the stormy period of the Queen's Regency, is distinguished by the same qualities which marked its predecessor. It bears evidence of considerable research, and casts much new light, from unpublished sources, upon many important passages in French history. The threads of the complicated intrigues which were carried on by the different great personages, or leading parties, who contended for power during the minority of Louis XIV., are carefully and clearly unravelled. The narrative of their struggles—for the most part purely selfish or factious—is full of animation, and sometimes of dramatic power."

That the Parisian nature under the old *régime* was intrinsically the same as under a "Citizen King," and under a so-called "liberty, equality, and fraternity," we may at least conjecture from the short but graphic sketch of an *émeute* caused by the arrest of a popular favourite during the Regency:—

"Twelve hundred and sixty barricades had risen in the capital; they were rapidly built up with barrels filled with earth, logs, flagstones, heavy beams, old furniture, and paving-stones. In the midst of these formidable erections, a narrow wicket, sufficiently large to admit of the passage of one person, was left, which aperture was defended by chains. The barricades were manned by hundreds of citizens, armed with muskets and pikes, who sallied from their houses at the sound of the tocsin—that well-known signal of sedition. Swarms of the lower kind of rabble clustered on and around the barricades, cheering the citizens. Several of these barricades were twenty feet high. Altogether, a hundred thousand men were under arms to rescue M. Broussel, and to vindicate the authority of the Parliament."

The "History of France under the Bourbons," by Mr. Charles Duke Yonge, extends from 1589 to 1830, and includes the most interesting portion of French history. It is the fashion in England at present to speak in a slighting manner of the House of Bourbon, and to forget that it was that dynasty that raised France to the height of her fame and international importance, and seemed at one time to threaten the very existence of European liberty. The family which attained such a position can scarcely have been a family of fools or cowards. We are far from wishing to write an apology for unscrupulous actions on the part of Kings or Emperors; but we would deprecate the absurdity of affecting to despise men who have proved their influence over mankind while they lived, and are not here to defend themselves from the attacks of modern writers. As an antidote to the criticism of the intensely self-satisfied every-day politicians, it is good that we should now and then have a book like that of Mr. Yonge; and there is all the more reason to desire the issue of such books now and then, because they recall to our memory the actual facts of portions of history as to which we have perhaps been hitherto contented to trust to ideas and impressions derived from loose and prejudiced thinkers.

The ninth volume of Mr. Bancroft's "History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent," has made its appearance; and we have also to mention the fourth volume of Mommsen's "History of Rome," Translated by the Rev. W. P. Dickson, and the fourth volume of D'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation in the time of Calvin." The translation of Dr. Mommsen's work is now complete, as far as it goes in the original. It brings us down to the battle of Thapsus, "The last struggle in the revolutionary conflict which brought about the subversion of the Republic and the establishment of the Empire." This is a very proper point of history to stop at. Dr. Mommsen must be looked

upon rather as a historical essayist than as an original historian. His theories are sometimes so bold as to border on rashness; but his style is exhilarating and his thoughts are sometimes highly suggestive. Mr. Dickson deserves the thanks of his countrymen for presenting Dr. Mommsen's views in pure and vigorous English.

In Historical Biography there is a rather important book by Mr. J. H. Jesse, entitled, "Memoirs of the Life and Reign of King George the Third." The reign of George III. (if we include, as we fairly may, the Regency during his later years) gives us the record of a time when the Anglo-Saxon race were pressed by the greatest difficulties, and deserted for a time by the whole of the civilized world. The victory of Trafalgar came, and it was seen that England was supreme at sea; but that was well known before, and caused no great surprise, while we lost our best naval commander by a chance shot. After that, however, it came to be understood by degrees that the country which had seen little land service for nearly a hundred years, could still raise and equip as potent an army as she had sent forth to victory in the days of Marlborough. Thus England, though sometimes looked upon as a non-military nation, proved by her continued successes in Spain, and by her final triumph at Waterloo, to be, in the time of the much-abused king, George III., by far the most powerful nation in the world. We have almost forgotten this now; and we hear of nothing but the obstinacy, or stupidity, or general insignificance and absurdity of the Sovereign during whose reign we were saved from the imminent peril of being driven by main force from our position as a free and influential nation. Thanks, then, to Mr. Jesse for writing the Life of George III., and thanks to all authors whose writings serve as a counterpoise to the rash spirit of partizanship which tends only to obscure our ideas, and to mix up right and wrong, truth and falsehood, in a confused and inextricable mass.

The Emperor Napoleon III. has published the second volume of his "History of Julius Cæsar." We mentioned the earlier part of this work in our Retrospect of the year 1865, and we need not add anything to what we wrote on that occasion. The third and last volume of Earl Russell's "Life and Times of Charles James Fox" has appeared. The last-mentioned book is interesting as relating to a most important period of our history, and paints with an able hand (although with something of a political bias) the character of one of the most brilliant statesmen that England has ever possessed.

In General Biography there are not many important works. To those, however, who still remember what the English army did in the early part of this century to save Europe from the tyranny of the usurping Sovereign of France, the Life of Lord Combermere will not be without interest. Our readers will remember that this officer was formerly General Sir Stapleton Cotton, one of Wellington's trusted officers in our campaigns against the armies of Napoleon in the Peninsula. He lived to a good old age, and was created Viscount Combermere, and promoted to the military rank of Field-Marshal. His Life, entitled "Memoirs of F. M. Viscount Combermere, G.C.B., from his family papers," has been written by Lady Combermere and Captain W. W. Knollys. It is an interesting record, containing not only some historical account of Lord Combermere's times, but also a number of curious anecdotes of persons well known in those days, whose names are familiar to us even now, but whose personal attributes are thus brought more vividly before us.

"President Lincoln, Self Pourtrayed," by J. M. Ludlow, is scarcely, perhaps, to be called a biography; yet it seems to be connected more nearly with this branch

of literature than with any other. It is a good thing that all authentic information should be preserved respecting this self-raised and resolute man, who could not be overcome either by insidious opponents or by open foes, and who would have lived to witness and scorn the adulation of his former detractors, had he not been treacherously smitten down by the hand of a political assassin.

Two other books of biography published during this year will seem important to Englishmen, for whom especially we write, although they would perhaps not be very interesting to the world at large. One of these is the life of Charles Lamb, by Barry Cornwall—otherwise Mr. Procter.

"In this book, full of grace and sweet thought, and grave, glad memories, and deep earnestness,—a book, however, not without errors of omission and commission,—the author, under weight of years exercising youthful power, tells his readers that Charles Lamb had little influence on his own times. We are not disposed to agree altogether with this judgment; but, however it may be, no one can dispute that Lamb, in the story of his life, will exercise considerable influence on after times. The oftener his story is told, the more true, and tender, and heroic does he appear. The effect of the telling of it should and doubtless will be, that men will cease to complain of the small evils of life, and if calamity come upon them, they will bear it uncomplainingly, almost cheerfully, as Lamb did his."

From another contemporary we extract the following observations relating to the same work:—

"Of the old friends and familiars of Charles Lamb—of those who talked and jested with him, and shared or dissented from his literary opinions, and loved him for his tender nature, or pitied him for the calamity which had desolated his life—very few indeed now remain. Mr. Procter says he believes he is nearly the only man surviving who knew much of 'Elia.' He is certainly the only one of Lamb's distinguished and intimate associates still remaining to chronicle, in literary form, his recollections of that charming essayist. For the last seventeen or eighteen years of his life, Lamb was well known to Mr. Procter; and the latter has much in his mental disposition that harmonizes with the genius of the friend whom he now celebrates. He is a poet and a critic, nursed in the lap of old English letters, and loving them with a love that touches on idolatry. Like Lamb, he has chosen the quiet and shady walks that lead nowhere but to Tempe and Parnassus, rather than the paths that conduct more certainly to success; and again like Lamb, he is better known to the select few than to the undiscriminating many. . . . Though adding but little to our knowledge of Lamb, the volume we now close is a charming summary of the events of a singular and deeply interesting life. It is tenderly and delicately written, and worthy in every respect to be placed on the same shelf with the delightful 'Elia' Essays."

The life of Archbishop Whately, by his daughter, Miss E. J. Whately, is the other work of biography to which we allude. The Archbishop died after a long life of academical and literary distinction, and his name will, at least for a time, be well remembered by all educated Englishmen. Miss Whately is not the only person who has written the life of the Archbishop of Dublin, for Mr. Fitzpatrick (as the readers of our Retrospect of 1864 will remember) set the example shortly after his decease. She has, however, had the advantage which a subsequent biographer usually possesses over the first.

"Something more than two years have elapsed since Mr. Fitzpatrick's 'Memoirs of Archbishop Whately' received due notice. The present work, by Miss Whately, is more extensive and elaborate, contains many letters, docu-

ments, and other papers, to which Mr. Fitzpatrick had no access, and corrects, without alluding to, various errors that have been committed by narrators of her father's life."

The following is probably a fair, though of course a somewhat condensed account of the leading characteristics of the late Archbishop of Dublin:—

"The saying of Archbishop Whately's enemies, 'that he had no heart,' is sufficiently refuted by several facts mentioned in these volumes. That he possessed too little sympathy with persons and opinions different from his own, is, on the contrary, an accusation that no one free from the venial prejudices of a daughter's affection will venture to deny. Neither can he be called, with truth, 'a mighty thinker,' or a man of profound learning and exact knowledge. What he saw, he saw with the most perfect clearness; but he rarely, if ever, saw all sides of a question himself, or even imagined that it presented other aspects to persons cast in a different mould to himself. For art, scenery, antiquities, travel, he appears to have had no taste whatever. Raphael's Madonnas he viewed only as 'misrepresentations of Scripture.' Como struck him as 'very inferior to Killarney;' and Milan Cathedral as 'the most gigantic idolatrous temple that he ever saw.' We might mention, besides, one or two serious defects, faintly indicated even by the loving pen of the authoress in these volumes, that diminished the Archbishop's influence among some of the most earnest and devout of his clergy; but we prefer to leave the search after these to the few who will, we hope, care to make it. Enough is told of his pastoral activity, his profuse hospitality, his noble munificence, his purity in the distribution of patronage, his grand independence of action and thought, to make us ready to pass by almost any number of defects and imperfections."

Miss Eliza Meteyard has published the second and last volume of the "Life of Josiah Wedgwood," which was mentioned in our Retrospect of the year 1865. It is a "carefully compiled and well-written book;" but we agree with the contemporary whose words we have adopted, in thinking that too many of its pages are occupied with technical descriptions of the modes of making different kinds of pottery, some of which are superseded, while all would have found a more fitting place in a work of a different character.

The "Life of Raphael," by Baron von Wolzogen, has been translated by F. E. Bunnett. The German writer, seeking for a parallel, compares Raphael in painting to Mozart in music. "The criticisms are drawn, and the parallel is maintained, with precision and elegance, and is just as far as it goes." Another interesting work among artistic biographies is that entitled "Franz Schubert," written in German by Dr. von Hellborn, and translated by Mr. E. Wilberforce. The following passage explains truthfully and succinctly the strength and the weakness, the secret of the supreme yet somewhat partial reputation, of the celebrated German melodist:—

"Schubert's best *Lieder*, we repeat, assumed their place at once, and stand alone in music. Need we name 'The Wanderer,' the 'Ave Maria,' the 'Serenade,' the 'Barcarolle,' the Page's Song, the 'Ungeduld,' 'Hark, the Lark,' as, in our estimation, unapproached among *Lieder*, save by some few of Lindblad's, by Mendelssohn's 'Frühlingslied'—the one in B flat—and now, fortunately for the world, pouring out from M. Gounod's treasury of fancy? Their melody is as clear and definite as that of the veriest Italian *cavatina*;—never common-place, and excellently lending itself to such touches of accompaniment as no Italian ever dreamed of before Signor Mariani came. In Schubert's best *Lieder*, however, the accompaniment is kept in its place, and however rich, is subordinate.

But these songs, so far as we know—and some of his *Scherzi*, his marches, and smaller instrumental movements—are the only compositions signed by him in which disproportion is not to be remarked. Overflowing as Schubert's long compositions are with melodious ideas, rich in national colour, unborrowed in point of phrase, excellent now in animation, now in pathos, now in grandeur, they weary the listener—even when such a consummate interpreter as Mr. Halle takes them in hand—from a certain prolixity and absence of moderation."

The life of David Roberts, R.A. (of whom an Obituary notice will be found in the "Annual Register" for 1864), has been written by Mr. J. Ballantine. Perhaps in the whole list of painters of all countries a more remarkable career than that of Roberts could not be found. He rose from the very lowest and most seemingly helpless position by his own energy and love of Art; and in his struggles for an honest livelihood he displayed a versatility which would have done him infinite credit even if he had not turned out to be a "genius" after all. Successively a house decorator, a scene painter, and a strolling actor, he never lost sight of his grand passion; and at last he had the rare satisfaction of being esteemed a master of the art which he had worshipped at a distance in his childhood. A contemporary concludes an interesting summary of his narrative of Roberts's life with the following words:—

"It remains for us only to congratulate Mr. Ballantine on the care and good taste which he has displayed in compiling and editing the life of his old and valued friend. The interest of the volume is greatly increased by the addition of some facsimiles of pen-and-ink sketches and etchings by Mr. Roberts, which we believe have never before been published."

In Theology and Biblical Subjects we have a very curious little work, "Apollonius of Tyana, the Pagan Christ of the Third Century," by Dr. Réville, a Walloon Pastor in Holland. Whether there ever was such a person as Apollonius of Tyana, there seems to be some doubt; but it is perhaps from this very circumstance that Dr. Réville's book derives a great portion of its interest. The history of the early Christian Church is very obscure, being overshadowed by the more pompous records of Pagan Rome; and Dr. Réville is to be commended for drawing attention in that direction.

Dr. Stanley (Dean of Westminster), has given to the world the second part of his "Lectures on the Jewish Church." Dr. Stanley has an interesting and brilliant style, and in composing "Lectures" it is his business to attract as well as to instruct. Under these circumstances we can scarcely blame the Dean, even though we may acquiesce in the correctness of the following remarks:—

"Dean Stanley has written with an insight and vividness, a feeling and eloquence, that command the interest and secure the attention of all but the learned. If he would but give labour where he spares it, and check his love of effect, he would have the admiration of even that more critical audience. We have spoken wholly without reserve, for we feel that it needs but little to make the Lectures on the Jewish Church a really standard book."

The second and third volumes of Mr. J. Donaldson's "Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council," have now been published. Nothing can be more important than this kind of work; and Mr. Donaldson appears to be an able workman. A contemporary who finds fault with him on some points, nevertheless recommends his book "as one from which a reader will derive both profit and instruction."

A curious gap in English Literature has been supplied by the publication of "A Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction;" by W. A. Wheeler. The follow-

ing lines contain a fair description of the object of this book, and an opinion as to its general usefulness in which we entirely concur:—

"The volume which Mr. Wheeler has compiled, and which also includes 'familiar pseudonyms, surnames bestowed on eminent men, and analogous popular appellations often referred to in literature and conversation,' may really be said to fill a gap in our works of reference which has always hitherto remained empty. Fictitious characters and popular phrases contribute perhaps even more than real characters and serious allusions to form the bulk of those illustrations from which literature derives so much of its point and force. Yet these things, as a rule, are not to be found in dictionaries, and a reader requiring information about them might hunt for hours in vain. Here, however, we have them arranged in alphabetical order in Mr. Wheeler's excellent volume, which, being one of Bohn's 'Philological Library,' published at five shillings, is within the reach of most lovers of books. The idea was singularly happy, as well as being perfectly original; and it has been very efficiently carried out."

A few works of great interest are to be classed under the head of Travels and Geography. The first of these in importance is "The Albert N'Yanza, Great Basin of the Nile, an Exploration of the Nile Source;" by S. W. Baker, now Sir Samuel Baker. We cannot help remarking parenthetically on the credulity of our countrymen, who deified Speke only a year or two ago for his alleged discovery of the source of the Nile, and who have since, with admirable good-humour, conferred a similar honour on Sir S. Baker. This remark, however, is not intended to be taken in the slightest degree in disparagement of the wonderful courage and skill displayed by two of the most remarkable of English travellers. What we really mean will appear more clearly from the observations of a contemporary, with whom we entirely agree:

"Mr. Baker's work is full of interest—in parts, profoundly exciting. The pictures suggested, rather than described, are often wild in the extreme, while the narrative of personal suffering has been very seldom paralleled in the annals of travel. It must be observed, moreover, that Mr. Baker has not laboured and endured in vain, since he has discovered one of the most extraordinary lakes hitherto known to exist in Africa. Having stated thus much, which we do with the greatest pleasure, we feel bound to add that, in imagining he has solved the problem of the Nile—that is, found the spot at which its mysterious head emerges from the earth—he is cherishing a mere delusion. The source of the Nile is at this moment as little known as it was in the time of Julius Cæsar; and it almost passes our comprehension how a traveller so intelligent and so well-informed as Mr. Baker should fail to be conscious of this. To make use of a common expression, Mr. Baker and all other travellers in central Africa have been simply beating about the wrong bush, while the bird they are in search of is hidden far off in another. Yet Mr. Baker, Captain Speke, and Captain Burton, may be almost said to have touched the great river with their finger, and to have looked wistfully in the direction from which, through utterly unknown lands, it comes rolling towards Victoria Nyanza, into which it flows in a deep flood two hundred and forty feet in breadth, and with a current of four miles an hour. This is the Nile whose source it is necessary to discover—a thing which no one has yet done or even attempted; but, until this shall be done, it will be wrong to take credit among civilized nations for having thrown light upon a subject which philosophers and conquerors have desired to illuminate in vain. Bruce, Burton, Speke, Grant, Baker, have deserved well of the public by exploring new regions, and adding largely to our geographical knowledge; but, in spite of their efforts

old Nile keeps his secret still, his source being a virgin spring, of whose waters no civilized man has yet tasted."

"Ten Years in Saráwak," by Charles Brooke, Tuan-Muda of Saráwak, is a very amusing book; and although the English mind has become accustomed to the idea which seemed so strange at first—that of an English subject, Mr. (now Sir James) Brooke, having become the sovereign of an independent territory—still every thing fresh from that singular country of superstitious Malays, savage Dyaks, and sharp Chinese is sure to be welcomed by the curious.

"Borneo is a country which occupies a position in many respects exceptional. Pelawan, Mayindauao, Celebes, lie always invested with obscurity; whereas, at intervals more or less distant, Borneo flashes into public observation through the publication of a remarkable book, an insurrection, a fight with pirates, or a debate in Parliament. We have now a book in hand which is likely to be talked of and read a great deal, being written by the acting ruler of the country after a residence of more than ten years, and with the advantage of having before him the works of Sir James Brooke, Mr. Spencer St. John, Mr. Temminck, Mr. Law, and others. As might have been expected, it is full of information. The ethnology of Borneo remains a slightly worked mine. Many have sought to throw light on the origin of its inhabitants, on their characteristics, on their superstitions, on their capacity for mental culture and civilization, but without definitively clearing up any one point. Meanwhile, materials for future investigation are accumulating, and among the contributions to the common stock, that now supplied by Mr. Charles Brooke is by no means the least important."

"Peking and the Pekingese during the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking," by D. F. Rennie, Staff-Surgeon, is a book of which the subject is sure to attract; for all Europeans will be anxious to know what is really the appearance of that mysterious city, of which travellers have hitherto only had an occasional glimpse. The work of Dr. Rennie (whose name has been rendered familiar by his earlier work, "The British Arms in North China and Japan,") contains a large amount of new and satisfactory information respecting the intelligence and friendly disposition of the population, and the varied character of the scenery. It is written, however, in a rather discursive style, and "the defects of this mode of treatment are aggravated by the absence of an index."

There is an American work, by Mr. S. Bowles, which may properly be mentioned here, since it is published in London as well as in the United States. It is entitled "Across the Continent; a Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States, with Speaker Colfax." This amusing book is written hastily, and is perhaps not likely to be permanently useful. But it is eminently characteristic, as may be gathered from the following observations:—

"Thoroughly in accordance with the popular theory of the American character, and with notions generally entertained respecting American life, is the frankness with which Mr. Bowles speaks about his travelling companions, and 'takes stock' of the moral, intellectual, and physical endowments of every person whom he encounters. With a facetious sprightliness which the 'haughty islanders' of the Anglo-Saxon race would be apt to stigmatize as 'impertinence,' with a strong epithet prefixed, the American editor writes of the American statesman who honours him with his friendship; 'Mr. Colfax is short, say five feet six, weighs one hundred and forty, is young, say forty-two, has brownish hair and light blue eyes, is a childless widower, drinks no intoxicating liquors, smokes *à la* General

Grant, is tough as a knot, was bred a printer and editor, but gave up business for public life, and is the idol of South Bend and all adjacencies.'

"He cannot publish his notes of a trip to Vancouver's Island and British Columbia without observing, 'More surely than the Canadas, even, when these provinces become really important and worth having, they will be ours. They will drift to the Union by the inevitable law of gravitation, and by the influence of the leaven of American nationality and sentiment, already large throughout their borders, they will grow with their growth, and flavour their whole progress.' England is deeply grateful to the editor of the 'Springfield (Mass.) Republican' for his good wishes and flattering prophecies with respect to her American dependencies."

One or two more books coming within this category remain to be noticed. One is "Madagascar and the Malagasy," by Lieut. S. P. Oliver, a beautifully illustrated book which gives us a more clear idea than we had before of that outlying country, so little explored by Europeans. Another contains an interesting account of a journey in the African dominions of the French Emperor, with rather well-drawn pictures of colonial and native scenes, in a region which will soon be more generally visited. The author, Miss M. B. Edwards, should have refrained from using the silly title "A Winter with the Swallows," a name calculated to make sensible people content themselves with looking at the outside of a book which has nevertheless very good matter within. The reader will, if we mistake not, find in Algeria something totally different from any thing that he has read of before. Here is a pretty description of an Algerian prospect:—

"Near Cherchell the scenery became magnificent. Now we dipped into the heart of a smiling gold-green valley; now we traversed the edge of a gloomy ravine; now we crossed a dry river-bed, overhung by the tasselled tamarisk and the glossy Aleppo pine; or we threaded an olive-grove through which the sun could but sparsely penetrate. A cry of admiration escaped our lips as a turn of the road brought us in sight of a wide-spreading valley, crossed at the base by a superb Roman aqueduct. Perfect, but for one arch, and standing in the midst of fertile fields, this structure impressed one with an unspeakable feeling of pleasurable surprise. One thinks so much of the Arabs and Kabyles in Algeria, that one forgets what a part the Romans first played there, till reminded of it in this way. Nothing can be prettier or more poetic than the view of Cherchell, as approached from the land side. Its white walls form an amphitheatre, above which rise the green hills and fragrant gardens, whilst below, the bright blue sea extends as far as the eye can reach. At this time of the year the almond-tree was in full flower; and I cannot describe the effect of the pure pink blossoms that flushed the hills like a rosy cloud. These brilliant colours, the enamel of the turf, the pale yellow of the sea-shore, the soft, deep turquoise of the waves, the rosy hue of the almond-tree, the glistening white of the mosques and roofs, seemed so near the eyes that one rubbed them, feeling but just awake from the blindness of partial sleep. I can still shut my eyes and revel in the night picture of Cherchell as it looked on that summer day. For though we were only in March, the weather was that of summer time."

We cannot quit this branch of literature without offering our thanks to Mr. S. Mossman for a useful little book entitled "Our Australian Colonies," where we find a succinct account of the various exploring expeditions, and a brief description of our various Colonies, their exports, imports, and general prospects of advancement.

In Philology (including translations from ancient writers), we have to men-

tion two works as more especially worthy of notice. The first of these is a collection of translations called, "The Agamemnon of Æschylus, and the Bacchanals of Euripides, with passages from the Lyrics and Later Poets of Greece." Translated by H. H. Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. The "Athenæum" reminds us that the venerable poet and scholar who thus, in the eve of life, continues to apply himself to the elegant pursuits of his youth, was Professor of Poetry at Oxford from 1820 to 1830.

"As a contribution to what we may call the art of translation, his work is, of course, highly interesting, as the work of so accomplished a writer could not fail to be. Generally, he may be classed as one of the Conservative school of translators; those who follow the forms already existing in English literature, and do not hazard innovations in language or metre in the hope of obtaining a nearer conformity to the original. This may be due to the pre-revolutionary period to which his own poetical efforts belong; it may also be due to his own scrupulous taste and refinement."

"Nearly half the volume is taken up with translations of select passages, fragmentary or otherwise, from the Greek poets generally, from Pindar to Nonnus. As before, the lyrical versions are those which please us most. There is a very successful translation of a chorus in Æschylus's 'Supplices,' undertaken, Dean Milman tells us, at the request of Elmsley, who had admired some of his previous renderings. There are several graceful illustrations from the antique, especially in the 'Bacchanals;' and the appearance of the volume generally is well calculated to attract readers of taste."

The next work we have to mention is the Æneid of Virgil, translated by John Conington, Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. The career of this eminent scholar is worthy of notice. From his early youth he has been addicted to philological pursuits with a devotion almost amounting to a passion. At Rugby school he was, as a pure scholar, far superior to most of the masters under whom he studied. At Oxford his *début* was most brilliant, as he succeeded in gaining the Ireland and Hertford scholarships almost immediately on entering into residence, having distanced with ease all who entered into the contest with him. He subsequently obtained most, if not all, of the Oxford University prizes for composition in prose and verse. After taking his degree, he came to London and studied for the Bar; but feeling himself drawn back by an irresistible inclination towards the scene of his academical success, he soon returned to Oxford, and, on the institution of a Professorship of Latin, he was preferred on account of his known merits to a large number of competitors. Professor Conington was the very man of all others who might have been pointed out as a proper person to give to the world a really good translation, both in a scholarly and a poetical point of view, of the rich and dignified narrative of the great Roman poet. We may regret that he has selected a kind of ballad metre (similar to that usually adopted by Sir Walter Scott), which is not altogether an adequate substitute for the majestic periods of Virgil. But to those who read and delight in Dryden, and yet are conscious how far he is from being a genuine translator, the efforts of Professor Conington will seem most praiseworthy, and his success in wielding the weapons he has chosen will be a subject of sincere admiration.

"In faithful accuracy of rendering, the prime requisite, he may, without presumption, claim a superiority over preceding metrical translators. Having had occasion, in preparing his commentary upon Virgil, to study closely the meaning of every word, with all the aids of modern scholarship, it would be strange indeed if he had not obtained a more thorough insight into the original than others less

favourably situated. Those who are conversant with the original cannot but observe the frequent felicity with which the precise shade of meaning is brought out. But Professor Conington's version, besides being a faithful copy of the original, has all the freshness, life and beauty of genuine poetry. Polished without coldness, easy without tameness, the verse flows on with lively rapidity, varying in its measure with the changing tone and cadence of the original, always charming, and, if not always grand, never mean. As we are enticed on and on by its magic music, we begin to doubt whether, after all, upon the principle that 'whate'er is best administered is best,' Professor Conington has not chosen the best metre; and it is only when we compare the general impression left upon the mind with our recollection of the original, that we are conscious of that deficiency in weight and dignity to which we have referred."

Two more translations of the Iliad have appeared; one by Sir John F. W. Herschel, the other by Professor J. S. Blackie. The former is in English hexameters, which metre Sir John seems to have adopted in order to prove that "readable English hexameters can be written." Sir John calls his lines "accentuated Hexameters;" but he must necessarily fail in proving his case, because he has, like all other Englishmen as far as we know, who have attempted to write in this metre, committed one or more violations of accent in every line. Constantly he puts an emphatic syllable in the second or third place in a dactyl, while, quite as frequently, he makes an unaccented syllable do duty in a spondee. That the experiment might not be carried out with success by a resolute man who resolved on no account to violate the laws of accentuation, we should be sorry to assert; but of two things we are quite certain, first that the labour of such an attempt is much greater than people generally suppose, and, secondly, that almost every hexameter hitherto written in English is either broken-backed or destitute of cæsura. Professor Blackie's choice of a metre is happier, and with a little more care he might have produced a valuable translation. As it is, the poem is readable, and the dissertation and notes contain "a rich store of learning, the fruit of a life of study and a wide range of reading."

A new metrical translation of the Tragedies of Sophocles, by E. H. Plumptre, is praised for its general accuracy, and the author is by no means destitute of poetic feeling. The Biographical Essay which accompanies it is the work of a scholar and a man of taste.

A new edition of the Iliad (Books I.—XII.), by F. A. Paley, is considered by an able judge to be "the first Commentary on any part of Homer rising above the level of a school-book, which has been produced in England for a hundred and thirty years." Mr. H. Hayman has edited the Odyssey (Books I.—VI.), and his work is pronounced by the same authority to be careful, copious, and informing, and of at least equal pretension with Mr. Paley's Iliad.

In works relating to Antiquities and Archæology the year has been very productive; indeed, in this and one or two other branches we shall be obliged to be sparing in our remarks, in order to husband our space. To an Englishman, the "Fac-similes of National MSS. from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne" (a series of Photographs executed by command of Her Majesty), must be highly interesting, and the early part of the series (Part I. comes down to the latter part of the reign of Henry VII.) is calculated to throw much new and valuable light on the progress of the English tongue during the period of the Norman domination.

"The Early Races of Scotland, and their Monuments," by Lieut.-Col. Forbes Leslie, treats of the innumerable "megalithic and sculptured stones" (as a con-

temporary calls these relics,) which are to be found in the northern section of Great Britain. The contests that are now going on as to the antiquity of man may have some light thrown upon them by such investigations, which, in every point of view, are interesting and praiseworthy. The great fault of these pursuits lies in the intense yearning of the student to persuade himself, rightly or wrongly, that his particular treasure is the heritage of an older race than that of his neighbour. We are all seeking, at the present day, to find traces of a "pre-historic," possibly "pre-Adamite" man; and the lust for fame sometimes turns philosophers into advocates. Those who are not bold enough to desire to leap voluntarily into an unknown eternity of æons will be glad to feel, with the "Athenæum," that at present "we cannot be said to have placed even the first stepping-stone of an argument which could legitimately lead us outside the Christian period."

"Denmark in the Early Iron Age, Illustrated by Recent Discoveries in the Peat-Mosses of Slesvig," by Conrad Engelhardt, is a most interesting work, respecting which we could with pleasure write at considerable length. It must suffice, however, to say, that by some agency of which we can, at best, only conjecture the nature, there are found imbedded in peat articles of use and ornament of almost every conceivable description. We cannot attempt to give a list of the articles found, even such a limited list as may be read in the columns of our weekly contemporaries; but we may mention that the catalogue includes three boats or canoes, one of which is seventy feet long, and nearly twelve feet broad; several articles of female dress, and innumerable fragments of armour, horse-trappings, and remains of agricultural implements, and pottery. How these articles, so various in their character, got into the peat-mosses, nobody knows as yet. It has been conjectured that they were sunk in lakes which have now disappeared, as offerings to the supposed tutelary deities of the country. This is a plausible conjecture; but possibly the problem may ultimately be solved in a more satisfactory way, by the proof that lake dwellings existed in Denmark in the early age during which these memorials of a primitive race must have been deposited.

Dr. Ferdinand Keller's account of the "Lake Dwellings in Switzerland," has been translated by Mr. J. E. Lee. The subject had been pretty well discussed in learned societies before; but it is satisfactory that the earliest account of the investigations of the enthusiastic German discoverer should have been placed before the general public in England. We alluded, in our Retrospect for 1865, to the fact that Herodotus describes a tribe of Lake-dwellers existing in the historical times of Greece (the "Pæonians of the Lake"), whose abode was precisely similar to that of the Lake-men of ancient Switzerland. It is rather singular that those who write on this subject generally use the expression "pre-historic man" in their opening sentences. A correspondent of the "Athenæum," writing under the signature "A. R.," quoted the descriptive passage from Herodotus as to the Pæonians of the Lake: and endeavoured to show from other instances, that to live in huts built on piles was a natural and not an abnormal condition of man. He thus placed his view of the question before the public, and invited answers from the advocates of the pre-historic theory; but his challenge was not accepted. Possibly many of the stupendous theories recently promulgated as to the antiquity of man, the development of species, and the like, would be equally at a loss for champions if the gauntlet were boldly, yet modestly, thrown down; and if the so-called philosophers were called upon to deal with authenticated facts, instead of being allowed to flutter about at large in the hazy atmosphere of a quasi-intellectual dreamland. As to the particular question

of Lake-dwellings, and the reckless use of the word pre-historic with respect to them, we know with certainty that some of the most earnest anthropologists have differed openly from their more impulsive brethren, simply on grounds connected with the actual investigation of the remains, and without remembering any thing about Darius, or Megabazus, or the Pæonians of the Lake.

The Early English Text Society has been very busy. Among other valuable reprints, translations, or adaptations that have issued from its prolific press, are "The Book of Quinte Essence, or the Fifth Being, that is to say, Man's Heaven," and "Political, Religious, and Love Poems," edited by Mr. F. J. Furnivall; "Holi Meidenhad, an Alliterative Homily of the Thirteenth Century," edited by Mr. O. Cockayne; "The Monarche, and other Poems," by Sir David Lyndesay, edited by Mr. F. Hall; and "Parallel Extracts from Twenty-nine Manuscripts of Piers Plowman," by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. As to the matter, these works consist, for the most part, of unmitigated rubbish; but the benefit that the labours of Mr. Furnivall and his coadjutors may effect by promoting the study of English philology and by lighting occasionally on unknown treasures, can scarcely be overrated.

The works of fiction by well-known authors are rather numerous. We have "Wives and Daughters," by the late Mrs. Gaskell, whose lamented decease was recorded in our Retrospect and Obituary of the previous year; "A Noble Life," by the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman;" "Falkner Lyle, or the Story of Two Wives," by Mark Lemon; "Armadale," by Wilkie Collins: "Land at Last," by Edmund Yates; "Carlton Grange," by the author of "Abbot's Cleve" (see our Retrospect for 1864); "Felix Holt the Radical," by George Eliot; "Hereward the Wake, Last of the English," by the Rev. C. Kingsley; "Griffith Gaunt, or Jealousy," by Charles Reade; "Gemma," by T. Adolphus Trollope; &c. Among so many, we can only notice the characteristics of a few. Mr. Kingsley's novel, like some that he has written before, is intended to give us a living picture of a particular period of which the ordinary reader knows little as yet. The title which he has given to his story relieves us from the necessity of mentioning what is the period selected in the present case. "Hereward the Wake" is a fair example of Mr. Kingsley's skill in the art of reproducing a by-gone era, and presenting a scene of the past in the vivid tints of modern delineation.

"A little revision would make this one of the best novels of its kind in being. The scenes are thrown off and finished with a vigour which is proportioned to their importance. There are few things better in modern romance-writing than the sack of Peterborough. After the pictures of vicious modern life and social disease with which we have been of late satiated in fiction, this study of a ruder world (yet, it may be, not a worse one) comes with a great relish. We have seen nothing from Mr. Kingsley's hand which gives us so high an idea of his powers as a literary artist."

The posthumous work of Mrs. Gaskell is worthy of her. "It would be hard to cite a novel more rich in distinctly-marked character than this."

"In the interval betwixt the publication of 'Mary Barton' and 'Wives and Daughters," she once or twice, as has been here said, lost her literary way, bewildered by her enthusiastic desire to right that which she fancied amiss. But this novel makes it no less clear that she had aspired for progress in her craft (for tale-telling is a craft), and had attained to it in performance."

Of "Falkner Lyle," and "Land at Last," novels by veteran friends of the

reading public, we may confidently say that they are calculated to sustain the reputation previously acquired by their authors. As to the first—

"'Falkner Lyle' is a clever and interesting story. It is well written; the tone is healthy; there is no straining after sensational effect; there is no false heroism in the book."

"We will not tell our readers any further particulars, for the story of the two Wives is so good that our friends should read it for themselves."

That the reader of "Land at Last" will not be fatigued with his voyage, we may feel certain, for—

"Carried away by a vigorous style and a succession of dramatic scenes, he will gallop through the book at a racing speed, and close it in good humour with the writer."

In Poetry we have a valuable contribution in Mr. Buchanan's "London Poems."

"On the whole, these 'London Poems' make good the promise of 'Undertones.' They are true and genuine work; the result of real observation and personal emotion. Nothing is here derived from the moral consciousness; no make-believes, no dreams, and no composing. These verses have been lived before they were written down."

Mr. Swinburne, whose "Atalanta in Calydon," and "Chastelard," were so much praised in the former year, has fallen somewhat low in public estimation in consequence of the alleged licentious tendency of his "Poems and Ballads." It is only fair to state that he disputes the justice of the general verdict, and that, as far as his poetical merits go, some of his most severe critics admit that "he has it in his power, by fine and noble work, to induce the public to forget the insult flung at them through his book." The public feeling, however, so decidedly endorsed the judgment of the critics, that his publishers thought it best to withdraw the book from circulation. We believe that it has since been republished by another firm.

The well-known novel-writer and statesman Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, (now Lord Lytton,) has come before the public in a new character; having published a volume of poems entitled, "The Lost Tales of Miletus," which no one can read without being astonished at the prolific imagination and versatile taste of the author.

Among other poems which are worthy of notice we may mention "The Dream of Gerontius," by J. H. N. (evidently Father Newman, formerly the leader of the High Church party at Oxford; now a Romish priest); "The Prince's Progress," by Christina Rosetti, and "Athenaïs, or the First Crusade," by W. Stigand.

The Essays are not very numerous. There is, however, one collection issued by a very popular writer, namely, "The Crown of Wild Olive," by Mr. Ruskin. Mr. Matthew Browne's "Views and Opinions," may be described as the work of a hitherto unknown author, who writes with all the calm decision of a veteran. One other collection of Essays, Mr. F. T. Palgrave's "Essays on Art," is the work of an author who, though vehemently opposed by many well-known writers on artistic subjects, has nevertheless acquired a position which makes it impossible to ignore his opinions.

A few miscellaneous works may now be mentioned, a smaller number than we should wish, as the year has produced more than an average proportion of books which might properly be placed under this head. The first in our list must be Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson's "Book about Lawyers," partly because Mr. Jeaffreson's

position as an author entitles him to our early notice, but chiefly because his book has secured that undeniable proof of popularity, a rapid succession of editions. Mr. Jeaffreson is well known from his previous writings—his novels; his "Life of Stephenson," &c. He had a good right to compose a "Book about Doctors," since there have been several eminent members of the medical profession in his family. He has an equal title to be heard on the subject of Lawyers, for he is himself a Barrister of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. We read of this, his latest work, that—

"The book is unquestionably full of amusement. It is a mine of curious anecdote, gathered, apparently, from a wide extent of reading, and if the nonsense were omitted, and the work were contracted to reasonable dimensions, it would be a welcome addition to our library shelves. As it is, the volumes will appear to the best advantage in the form of extracts. They are certainly capable of yielding no end of quotations, detailing the strangest of actual romances, the wildest of adventures, the drollest of humours, the brightest of witty sayings and repartees. Lawyers are generally a 'characteristic' race of men, with strongly-marked individuality, and a constitutional energy which finds its vent in actions as well as words. This is abundantly manifest in Mr. Jeaffreson's book, and the fact gives to these anecdotes and reminiscences a peculiar charm."

And again:—

"We feel that we need add nothing in further commendation or illustration of these volumes. They will afford pleasure and instruction to all who read them, and they will increase the reputation which Mr. Jeaffreson has already earned by his large industry and by his great ability."

"English Merchants; Memoirs in illustration of the Progress of British Commerce," by Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne, is a book of peculiar interest to the Englishman of the present day, who owes so much of his comfort to the progress and success of commerce; and such works may be instructive in after ages, to those who, perhaps after the sun of England has gone down, shall study the sciences which lead to national prosperity.

"Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian," by Mr. W. Edwards, Judge of Her Majesty's High Court at Agra, is an amusing work which comes out just at the right time. The reign of "John Company" is over, and the home government is on its trial as to its capabilities of making India rather a more profitable possession than its illustrious and singular predecessor, that "Company of Merchants trading to India," which commanded armies, subverted empires, and compelled princes to fall prostrate at her feet. Opinions are divided as to the probability of our future success in Hindostan. The age is an age of progress; Mr. Edwards' principles are retrogressive, or at least stationary; but we thank him for his book, which is pleasantly written, and affords matter for thought.

Two more books, excellent in their kind, must be mentioned; the first, entitled "English Travellers and Italian Brigands," by W. J. C. Moens, affords a remarkable illustration of the position of the Italian (late Sardinian) government, which, though strong enough to surprise and overpower a feeble neighbour, is unable to protect life and property in the territory that it has unjustly acquired. The other, "A History of Sign-boards," by J. Larwood and J. C. Hotten, is a work of much research, on a subject which, if not of the highest importance, is at any rate amusing, and not altogether useless in an antiquarian point of view.

On examining Messrs. Longman's catalogue of periodicals, corrected up to January, 1867, we find a total of 753, showing a slight increase over last year. It will be remembered that the total for January 1865 was 758. so that this

branch of the publishing business, no less than others, may be said to have resumed its buoyancy. The number of new periodicals (including, however, serial novels, newspapers, and transactions of societies) is 100. Among these are two which bear the same title, "Belgravia;" two firms of publishers having brought out magazines with the same name, and contested their right to the title in the Court of Chancery, which, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of the dispute, declined to recognize an exclusive right in either of the litigants. We notice that the "Shilling Magazine" has disappeared from the list. On the other hand, a new weekly publication of some pretension has appeared, entitled the "Imperial Review," and professing, we believe, Conservative principles. There is some difficulty in estimating the general results of the useful catalogue prepared by Messrs. Longman, in consequence of ambiguities of name or change in the mode of publication of certain periodicals. Thus we find the "Young Englishwoman," and the "Choir and Musical Record," altering their places in the list from weekly to monthly, or the like; while the "Sailor's Home Journal" of one year appears as the "Naval Chronicle" in the list for another year. The catalogue, which, like other compilations of the kind, would generally be considered rather dry reading, may raise a smile now and then by the peculiarity of some of the titles. Thus we have, in the latest list, periodicals with the singular names of "Bulwark," "Last Vials," "Latter Rains," "Light Blue," "Philatelist," "Poultry Book," "Precious Truth," "Rainbow," "Sower," "Sooner or Later," "Orb," "Owl," "Fun," "Net," "Pen," "Train," and "Tailor." There are no new periodicals of any great importance, except on special subjects; but we are glad to see that, as announced last year, the publication of the "Fine Arts Quarterly Review" has been resumed.

We have, as on previous occasions, to acknowledge our important obligations to the "Athenæum" and "London Review." We have refrained, on the present occasion, from availing ourselves of the assistance of the "Reader," for a reason that will probably appear in our next annual summary.

Every year brings with it the painful duty of recording the disappearance of some learned names from the literary roll-call. This time we have to lament the decease of Miss Frederika Bremer, who, though not an Englishwoman by race, was as well known in England as in her own native land, through the translations of her pure and soothing tales of Swedish domestic life. Dr. S. R. Maitland, a ripe scholar and antiquary, who had been for many years Librarian at Lambeth Palace, died early in the year. His works were numerous; that entitled "The Dark Ages" probably secured to him the greatest amount of fame. Francis Mahony, so well known as the "Father Prout," the humorous contributor to our magazines, has gone to his rest. A contemporary suggests that a careful selection from his papers would make a light and readable volume. No doubt it would; and certainly a "saleable" volume too. The world has suffered a loss in the decease of the Rev. John Keble, a poet and ecclesiastic of another class; one of those who, having led the van of the High Church struggle at Oxford, had sufficient steadiness to resist the fascination of alleged infallibility, and remained in the bosom of the English Church to the last. His greatest work, "The Christian Year," is read and admired even by those who dissent most widely from the opinions of which he was considered a champion. Serjeant Manning (Queen's Ancient Serjeant), whose name was so well known to all readers of the "Athenæum," a man of great industry and general knowledge, has died at the advanced age of 84. Even one year older, towards the close of 1866, died Mrs. Gilbert (formerly Anne Taylor, one of the sisters whose signatures "Anne"

and "Jane" are so well remembered by those who have delighted in childhood in the charming little book called "Original Poems." A more innocent or agreeable book for children could scarcely be found; and we can say from our own recollection, that although these poems have so much real humour as to find favour with well-educated adults, they are written with an ease and simplicity which makes them perfectly intelligible to the young. This is a most rare combination, and it bespeaks for the work of the Misses Taylor an honour seldom awarded to "children's books," a place in the catalogue of books that will go down to posterity.

Upon the whole, the year that has just come to an end has been one of satisfactory literary activity. Wars and tumults have disturbed some nations of Europe, but England has been at rest and unharmed. Still there are unquiet rumours abroad, and we could wish, for the sake of future intellectual progress, that neighbouring nations would talk less about their armaments, and would cease to look upon the maximum of warlike preparation as coincident with the minimum risk of collision with their neighbours.

ART.

The British Institution (Modern Paintings) opened early in the year, with less *éclat* than it attained on the preceding occasion. It may be remembered that a considerable effort was made, in the year 1865, to raise the character of this Exhibition, which was generally considered to have been declining for some years. The exertions of its supporters were successful so far as this, that they prevailed upon several painters of leading position to send some of their works, which gave a sufficient leaven to the whole to raise the hopes of those who desired the continued existence of the Institution. This year, however, the Modern Exhibition must be looked upon as a failure; and it seems probable that the small size of the rooms, or some other cause as yet unexplained, operates to produce a distaste for this gallery, and prevents it from securing that public patronage which can alone restore it to the high position that it once held.

The Exhibition of old Masters (including deceased British artists) derived its principal interest from the presence of an unusual number of the paintings of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Among these are "Lady W. Wynn and her Children;" "Lady Crewe," and several portraits of the Westmoreland family. There were also several of those portraits of English children which English mothers will never be tired of looking at. The English portrait school was further represented by Romney, Gainsborough, and others. Among the foreign paintings drawn from the obscurity of private galleries were "Bianca Capella," by Bronzino; an excellent Mabuse, entitled "A Merchant;" an exquisitely sunny Cuyp, and one or two works of Rembrandt, Masaccio, Jan Steen, &c. Upon the whole, this exhibition, especially when looked upon as a comparative collection of portraits of different schools, must be pronounced to have been more than ordinarily successful.

The Society of British Artists continues to exist, but can scarcely be said to merit its title. That it is *a* Society of British Artists no one can doubt; but few, if any, of our native painters would wish it to be considered their Society *par excellence*. Among the few paintings which stood out from the dead level

of mediocrity in last year's display, were "The Windmill, Evening," and "Cutting and Carrying Wheat, Hastings Coombe, Sussex," both by Mr. G. Cole; and a water-colour drawing, by Mr. J. D. Linton, bearing the title of "A Soldier of Fortune." It seems as if Art, like Commerce, had a taste for free-trade, and as if our subsidized institutions were destined never to flourish.

The French Exhibition contained, among other remarkable works, the "Phryne before the Tribunal," a painting of M. Gérôme. This work is now well known to the public from the excellent representations of it which are to be seen in the shop-windows of dealers in photographs. Three pictures by M. Leys, "The Arrival," "The Welcome," and "After the Feast;" intended to illustrate the manners of Flemish burghers of the fifteenth century, are full of character, but are said to be somewhat defective in drawing. M. Gallait had only one picture, entitled "Jeanne La Folle," which suffered from the painful nature of the subject. To sum up, we may add a few lines from the "Athenæum," written some weeks after the opening of this exhibition:—

"The famous picture by M. Gérôme, representing Cæsar dead, has been added to the French Gallery. This Exhibition now contains,—in the 'Phryne Unveiled,' by this artist, in two works by M. Meissonnier, two noble landscapes by M. Daubigny, a half-length by Madame H. Browne, examples of the highest class in the French school. The works of M. Alma-Tadema, Duverger, M. E. Frère, and Mdlle. R. Bonheur, are less pretending, but equally interesting."

The Society of Female Artists obtains a favourable verdict this time at the hands of the male critics. "This is the tenth annual gathering," we are told, "of this Society and its contributors. On the whole, although comprising some bad pictures, there is evidence of considerable improvement in technical matters." The critic goes on to remark that "it is strange to find so few who display intellectual grasp." It can scarcely be expected, however, that this female Society should produce, in the early stage of its existence, results which will bear a close comparison with the works of veteran painters of the stronger sex. The development of art is a matter of time; and whatever may be our opinion as to the possibility of women (otherwise than in certain exceptional instances) mounting to a high level, it is clear that at present sufficient time has not been allowed for ascertaining their power. In the mean time it is satisfactory to find that the female artists are improving; and it is possible that even if they cannot compete with men, they may be able to found a special and valuable school of their own.

The Exhibition of the Society of Painters in Water Colours was above the average. Among the pictures most worthy of notice as to execution, were Mr. E. B. Jones's "Le Chant d'Amour," and "Zephyrus bearing Psyche to sleep in the Palace of Love." There were, however, faults of taste, which weakened the pleasing impression that might have been produced by these paintings. Mr. Lamont, Mr. F. Smallfield, Mr. F. Walker, Mr. F. Shields, and a hundred other well-known names appear in the catalogue of one of the best Exhibitions that we have seen for some time in the gallery of this Society.

Even as the Society of Painters in Water Colours, so also its modern rival, the Institute of Painters in Water Colours (formerly called the "New Society of Painters in Water Colours"), has put its best foot foremost this year. "We have not seen at this gallery for many years," writes a contemporary, "so interesting an exhibition as the present." Among the names of those artists whose pictures are most worthy of approval, we may mention Mr. Maplestone, Mr. Hine, Mr. Sutcliffe, Mr. D'Egville, Mr. J. Fahey.

The General Exhibition of Water-colour Drawings took place last year with

considerable success. This new Society; or, we should rather say, this Exhibition which resolves to be independent of every Society, seems to be improving from year to year.

The "Athenæum" tells us that this Art-gathering surpassed even the expectations which were justified by the display of the former year. Among the most important compositions were "Bored to Death," by Mr. S. R. Lamont, "La Fontaine" (not a reproduction of the lineaments of the old French poet, but a picturesque Italian scene of a woman drawing water at a fountain), by Mr. P. H. Calderon; and "The Noble River that rolls by the Towers of Rome," by Mr. J. C. Moore. Mr. Arthur Hughes's "Ten of the twenty-five Drawings to illustrate 'Enoch Arden,'" derived an interest no less from association than from their excellent execution.

At the Exhibition of the Royal Academy several well-known names were wanting, as some painters who usually contribute liberally sent on this occasion only a single picture. The following extract gives a few particulars, and suggests a reason for this want of zeal.

"The absence of Mr. Millais as a contributor to the gathering before us is due to the non-completion of some elaborate works, which he wisely retains; the ill-health of Mr. Elmore and his sojourn in Italy delay his re-appearance among the Academicians; Mr. Phillip is, comparatively speaking, not prominent, although one of his pictures will to many afford greater satisfaction than has been bestowed by others that have preceded it; Mr. F. Goodall contributes but one picture, which will not, we fear, be so widely acceptable as was 'The Rising of the Nile' of last year, or 'The Messenger from Sinai' of that which preceded it. The continued absence of Messrs. Rossetti, Madox Brown, and Holman Hunt is injurious to the exhibition which the world desires should be representative, and comprehensive of every shade of opinion,—an equal field where all might be tested, to the advantage, doubtless, of those resolute absentees, if not of others who might learn from them, while they imparted as much or more than they received from labours the intellectual value of which none but the prejudiced deny or the ignorant overlook.

"The national Exhibition should be a neutral ground, where correctives might be applied to eccentricity, where ability could prove itself, prejudice be cut to the bone, and incompetence find its level. Good to all parties would come from the exhibition of works of all able men. The total absence of any such is to be lamented even more than the partial exclusion or disadvantageous appearance of pictures by such painters as Messrs. G. F. Watts, Anthony, and Armitage, of whom the first never sends his best works to be seen by those who might perceive how the later Italian schools are appreciated by one of the most accomplished of modern artists. The pictures of the second, one of the few living landscapists who impart something of intellectual value to their transcripts from nature, have been so wrongfully placed at the Academy for a succession of years, that it is wonderful he continues to submit them to hangers who—as also when they hung the exquisite etchings of Messrs. Whistler and Haden in the dark—show weak perception of the higher qualities of design. Mr. Armitage, although of late recognized, has had to give place to many a 'Portrait of a Gentleman,' many a feebly-painted domestic subject. It is impossible for styles to differ more than those of Messrs. Armitage and Rossetti, of the latter and that of Mr. Holman Hunt, of Messrs. Watts and Madox Brown; yet in a greater or less degree the action of the Academy has been to shut out the productions of these artists, who have *nothing in common but intellectual power* and the want of a good field for

its display. This is not a class question. The non-appearance at this public Exhibition, where men should go to learn rather than to praise, of some of our ablest architects,—Mr. Butterfield for instance,—notwithstanding that their genius is now more in demand and their art more popular than ever, is proof of something urgently needing a remedy. To strengthen that proof, we note the absence of some of our ablest sculptors, such as Messrs. Woolner and A. Stevens. All these are working on diverse principles, and are alike only in accomplishment, originality, and genius. That is worse than folly which has made them unfriendly or indifferent to the Academy, and years ago excluded such painters as Mr. Linnell from the body which welcomed the merely popular and thoroughly fallacious David Roberts, and gave to Mr. Holman Hunt one vote only when he applied for the Associateship, although 'The Light of the World' was then painted."

It must be admitted, however, that many eminent painters who are popular with the public are also popular at the Academy. It was there that Millais and Hunt first became known as leaders of a new school, and excited the ridicule of one section of *connoisseurs* and the admiration of another. Among the Exhibitors in 1866 we find the well-known names of Frith, Ward, F. Goodall, Faed, Maclise, Phillip, Calderon, Stanfield, Watts, J. F. Lewis, Landseer, and we know not how many more; and we are told that:—

"The able younger men in Art are well represented by Mr. Marks, with two pictures,—Mr. G. D. Leslie, with one, a capital work,—Mr. Crowe, with two representations of divers subjects, all unusually interesting. Mr. Prinsep has two works, showing considerable advance, Messrs. O'Neil, Cope, and Ansdell are strong; so are Messrs. Cooke, Redgrave, and Creswick, among the landscape-painters,—Messrs. Wells and Knight, among those who deal in portraiture. Sir E. Landseer makes a fine appearance. Mr. Lewis is prominent, though not unusually so. Among the ladies, Mrs. Ward makes a distinguished figure."

Upon the whole, however, the paintings seem to have been rather below than above the average; several good men being absent, as we have already mentioned; while other artists of much learning, for one reason or another, only sent pictures of small size and moderate pretensions. There were several portraits of merit, as works of this class were sent by Boxall, H. T. Wells, J. P. Knight, Maclise, Phillip, Sir C. Lindsay, &c.; but the subjects were of no great public interest. The Sculpture-room appears to have been more worthy of inspection than it usually is. We append the following remarks from the "Athenæum," to which we are indebted also for the extracts given above. It will be observed that the writer was mistaken in alleging the total absence of one particular sculptor; an error which was acknowledged afterwards, and which of course could not have much bearing on the general force of the argument.

"Among the pleasantest pieces of sculpture here is the portrait-statue, by Mr. J. Durham, 'A Perilous Plaything' (839): this does not appear to be finished, and would be better if 'carried further.' 'Waiting his Innings' (853) is prettily composed; a portrait-statue of a fine youngster of genuine English type. By far the best ideal design here is Mr. Woolner's very spirited statuette of 'Puck' (932), a masculine sprite rousing a frog from repose by a touch of his foot; the face full of glee, apt to the subject, and admirably wrought throughout; see the supremely sound modelling of the sinewy flesh of the elf.

"'The Rev. E. Goddard' (902), bust, is the best of Baron Marochetti's works here; a capital sketch for reproduction in terra-cotta, for which material its rough surface would not be unfit. Sir E. Landseer's coloured group, 'Stag at Bay'

(942), has spirited design and capital execution for a sketch; the colouring, being opaque, and not, like ancient polychromatic sculpture, clear and transparent, looks heavy, spiritless, and rough. 'Captain Field' (978), by Mr. T. Fowke, is a very spirited, sober, and cleverly-wrought little figure of a soldier. Mr. Ewing's 'Rev. Dr. N. M'Leod' (1045), bust, is bold rather than rough, full of character, and generally satisfactory."

We are here to record opinions of others, rather than to express opinions of our own; and as the unfavourable impression concerning the management of the Royal Academy is not confined to one periodical, we think it as well to give, without comment, the following extract from another, the "London Review:"—

"The Associates most decidedly come out best; but we are by no means sure that the works of painters who are not connected with the Academy at all, and who have never derived any sort of instruction from that body, are not by far the most promising in an Art point of view. It speaks but ill for the Academy, to observe, year after year, works of the highest excellence contributed by painters who are nothing to the Academy, while the Associates keep up a continual round of pictures on the Academic model, worn threadbare, as though they knew that this was the only way to curry favour with the Academicians. Whenever we observe any thing like original power and a deeper insight, it is almost certain that the influence of the Academy has not penetrated there. Not to say this without supporting it, we point to the works of Mr. Watts, Mr. Armitage, Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Yeames, Mr. Orchardson, Mr. Poynter, Mr. Burgess, Mr. E. Nicol, Mr. Crowe, and others who need not be named, amongst figure painters; and in landscapes, the Linnells, Mr. Vicat Cole, Mr. Leader, Mr. M'Callum, and Mr. H. B. W. Davis, the painter of the remarkable work in last year's exhibition of "The Strayed Herd," and the "Ploughing in the Plains of Artois" in this. Any foreigner ignorant of our great names might well be excused for mistaking at least some of the works of the painters we have named as the most interesting to those who know real Art when they see it. To the Academic eye this would be a grievous blunder."

The death of Sir C. Eastlake a few days before the end of the year 1865 (see our "Retrospect" and "Obituary Notices" for that year) rendered it necessary that a gentleman should be selected to succeed him in the important post of President of the Royal Academy. The election took place on the 1st of February, 1866, when Mr. (now Sir Francis) Grant was elected by a large majority. Sir E. Landseer had been previously elected, but had declined the honour.

Two of our most eminent painters, Mr. W. P. Frith and Mr. Clarkson Stanfield, have received from the King of the Belgians the Cross of the Order of Leopold, in recognition of their artistic merits.

The Annual Winter Exhibition at the French Gallery, which was instituted fourteen years ago by M. Gambart, opened, as usual, a few weeks before Christmas; and Mr. Wallis's Winter Exhibition, in Suffolk-street, (a gathering of more recent origin, but of excellent promise,) took place about the same time. The former, as may be remembered, is entitled an "Exhibition of Cabinet Pictures by British Artists," while the latter is of a wider scope, and affords us the rare opportunity of seeing the French and English styles contrasted. The Exhibition of Cabinet Pictures is generally considered to have been somewhat above the average. It contained pictures by Messrs. E. M. Ward, G. F. Watts, J. T. Linnell, Stanfield, F. M. Brown, T. Faed, &c. Mr. Wallis's Exhibition contained some excellent examples of the French and Belgian schools, but was rather weak in English pictures. This, as a contemporary observes, is to be regretted,

for the general effect must be illusory. In order that the public taste may derive the full benefit designed by Mr. Wallis's praiseworthy efforts, it is necessary that first-class foreign pictures should be seen side by side with English works which are up to the same standard. This, however, is a result that the enterprising founder has no power to command; and we can only hope that time will effect a change which will make this interesting exhibition still more useful than it is. Among the most notable foreign pictures were Mr. L. Bonnat's "St. Vincent of Paul taking the place of the Galley Slave," M. Dubufe's "Charity" (which, however, might better have been called "Rich and Poor" or "Contrast"), M. H. Merle's "Marguerite trying on the Jewels," M. Edouard Frère's "The Young Student," and a large historical painting called "Lierven Pyn," by M. Panwels, the Belgian artist whose pictures of "The Widow of Van Artevelde" and "Proscribed Party of the Duke of Alva's Victims escaping in a Boat" attracted so much notice at the International Exhibition of 1862. There were also some noticeable works by Gérome and Meissonier, and by the English artists, Mr. Poole, Mr. F. Goodall, Mr. Creswick, and Mr. Hook.

The Society and Institute of Painters in Water Colours have also established Winter Exhibitions; and those who like to amuse themselves by roaming in picture galleries need be at no loss for occupation in London during the dull season. The annual events of this kind have now become so numerous, that our space will not admit of our noticing more than a moderate portion of them.

In the opening sentences of our Art Retrospect last year, we stated that a National Portrait Exhibition was in contemplation, and would probably take place during the year. This came to pass in due time, and a marvellous collection of old family faces appeared at South Kensington, suggesting to the spectator the idea of an illustrated History of England, or of an extinct peerage transferred to canvas. It would be impossible in our short space to give an idea of the vast number of ancient lines that were represented at this exhibition; and we cannot even attempt to give the names of all the painters. Some of these, indeed, are lost in the mist of antiquity, the first two portraits in the catalogue being those of Fair Rosamond and Sir William Wallace, both of whom died long before the birth of the earliest known English painters. Even in Italy, the cradle of European Art, the dawn of modern painting cannot be said to have fairly shone out till the time of Giotto, who was born A.D. 1276, while Fair Rosamond died before Henry II., whose life and reign terminated in 1189; and even William Wallace, who lived about a century later, must have been a full-grown man when Giotto was born. If the alleged portrait of the unfortunate Rosamond Clifford is genuine, it must probably have been taken by some foreign artist (probably painter, sculptor, architect, and mathematician all in one), attracted hither for a time by the rising splendour of the House of Plantagenet. But it is scarcely necessary to indulge in speculations on this head, as the picture is more likely to have been executed as a fancy portrait long after poor Rosamond had gone to her rest. As we come down to later times, of course we feel that there is more chance of authenticity. Few pictures, perhaps, have absolutely unassailable pedigrees, but we must take these things as they are, and not as we should wish them to be. Allowing for all possible controversies as to the subject and authorship of individual works, we may nevertheless fairly assert that this endeavour to assemble the portraits of our eminent countrymen was so decidedly successful as fully to justify the boldness of the conception. Almost every old baronial family was here represented. The effigies of innumerable persons eminent in politics, in law, in arms, in science, and in other pursuits, as for instance, Sir Thomas

More, Edmund Spenser, John Bunyan, Thomas Linacre (founder of the College of Physicians), Oliver Cromwell, General Lambert, Algernon Sidney, &c., were brought to light. From Memlinck and Holbein down to Lely and Kneller, the gradual fluctuations of Art could be studied, not only in the works of native artists, but also in those of foreign painters, whom the wealth and liberality of England drew to our shores, and, in some instances, almost naturalized amongst us. We should have wished to give a more minute account of this most interesting exhibition, but we find on approaching it that the task is too great, the subject too comprehensive. Out of the vast mass of pictures, almost each one would require a history of its own, or at least a few remarks in the way of criticism or explanation. It is clear that our space will not allow of our entering into such a detailed account of even a moderate proportion of so large a gallery; and to select some half-dozen out of so important a collection would be a course equally unsatisfactory to our readers and to ourselves. We must therefore perforce content ourselves with the general remarks which we have made above, and quit the National Portrait Exhibition, for the purpose of alluding to other matters which are usually included within the scope of this Retrospect.

Some important acquisitions of pictures have been made for the National Gallery. One of these is a Rembrandt, "Christ Blessing Little Children," rather larger than most of the works of that inimitable painter, being about five feet and a half in height. His picture cost the nation no less a sum than 7000*l*. This and four other acquisitions are described in the following paragraph:—

"Two of them are of the school of Melozzo da Forli, if not by that master himself. They have peculiar interest on account of their realism and precision in the treatment of subjects which, for lack of a better name, must be called allegorical. They are styled 'Music' and 'Rhetoric' respectively. The former, which was recently the property of Mr. Spence, had once belonged to Signor Conti, and was believed to have been originally placed in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Urbino. It represents what may be a Muse, or sixteenth-century notion of one, seated on a grand architectural throne, before the steps of which kneels a student, to whom she presents a book, while pointing to a pair of regals or hand-organs which stand on the ground at her feet. 'Rhetoric' is similar in composition to its companion; the Muse and kneeling student are different in character and apt to the title. The thrones and accessories do not differ materially. These pictures, notwithstanding a hard manner of execution, show extraordinary firmness of painting and drawing; they are well lighted, their colouring is cold in parts, as in the dress of the kneeler in 'Rhetoric,' and, as might be expected from the school to which they are ascribed, remarkable in foreshortening. The third new acquisition is the bust portrait of a lady, by Piero della Francesca, one of those finely-drawn profiles which delight artists. The fourth work of this year is the last purchase by Sir C. Eastlake (the others here mentioned were procured by Mr. Boxall). It is by Lippo Dalmasio, bought from Signor Gualandi, of Bologna, for 400*l*. The subject is a 'Virgin and Child,' who are represented with a gilt circular aureole, and attended by six angels. The most important acquisition is a large picture by Rembrandt, alluded to by us at the date of the purchase. 'Christ Blessing Little Children' came from the Schönbein Gallery at Vienna, and is remarkable not only for the life-size of the figures, but—even with Rembrandt's works in general—for the extraordinary freedom, boldness, and solidity of its handling, its nearly perfect chiaroscuro, solidity, and relief. Notwithstanding the 'dirtiness' of the colouring, which is noteworthy in itself, this picture must be accepted as singularly vivid and attractive in that quality.

Christ stoops before some women, who are accompanied by a little child, and, placing one of his hands on the head of the latter, draws the reluctant infant towards him with the other; the child turns from the caress and blessing with an action that is perfectly true, and with an expression that tells its own tale. The character in the women's heads is worthy of the most careful study; their execution, from an artistic point of view, is not less worthy of note."

In addition to the above, some valuable paintings have come to the nation by the liberality of donors. Mr. Newman Smith has bequeathed to the National Gallery Sir E. Landseer's well-known picture of a magnificent Newfoundland dog, entitled "A Distinguished Member of the Royal Humane Society;" and the National Gallery, British School (now located at South Kensington), has received, by the kindness of Mrs. Martha Beaumont, an addition of two portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

In the early part of the year the Government invited several architects to enter into a limited competition for the important task of designing a building for the new National Gallery,

The long-debated question, whether the nation should give way to the Royal Academy, or the Royal Academy to the nation, has been patriotically settled by Parliament in favour of the country; and the "National Gallery Enlargement Bill," which passed in September last, finally decides that our small but beautiful collection is not to be banished from Trafalgar Square. There are few unbiassed judges who will not rejoice at this termination of so many years' doubt and bickering. "The youngest gallery in Europe is ours; but owing to the wisdom and tact of successive managers, it is by far the most remarkable in the quality of its contents." These are the words of a respected contemporary; and although we may perhaps venture to think that they involve a little exaggeration, we still agree with the writer so far as to believe that our collection may in time become one of the most complete and important in the world.

A valuable collection of modern pictures belonging to Mr. Flatow was sold in March. The most important lots were Mr. Frith's "Coming of Age" (1464*l.*); Mr. T. Faed's "The Reapers going out" (with the copyright, 1092*l.*); a "Landscape in Cumberland," by Turner (1029*l.*); and Mr. A. Egg's "Launce's Substitute for Proteus's Dog" (735*l.*). The other lots were sold at comparatively small prices; but as the collection was numerous, it realized a large sum. In June, a small but interesting collection, the property of the late Mr. H. Farrer, was sold. The list included the names of Canaletti, Margharita Van Eyck, Wouvermans, N. Berghem, Jan Steen, Ruysdael, &c. Upon the whole, this branch of commerce may be pronounced to have been rather slack during the past year.

On the other hand, there were one or two very interesting sales of old drawings and engravings. The collection of the late Dr. Wellesley, Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, comprised about 200 etchings by Claude, as well as a great number of excellent examples of a number of painters of all schools. Equally curious, though not so great in names, was the collection of engravings and etchings belonging to Mr. Drugulin, of Leipzig, which were sold in the same month, and realized good prices.

The Arundel Society, at a Special General Meeting held in February, considered a scheme for enlarging the scale of its operations. The meaning of this will be understood from the statements made at the meeting, which were to the effect that 330 associates were then waiting for admission as subscribers, and that the number of subscribers being limited by rule to 1500, a number which had actually been slightly exceeded already, it was probable that all the Associates would

have to wait a long time for vacancies. A proposition was therefore made for forming a new class of subscribers, who should occupy an intermediate position, and succeed to vacancies in the old or first class in order of priority. This plan was generally approved, and the Council was authorized to revise the existing rules of the Society, and to submit the rules so revised to the annual general meeting to be held in the ensuing spring. During the year the Society exhibited copies made by M. Schultz from the central portions of the celebrated picture by Hubert and John Van Eyck in the church of St. Bavon at Ghent. The Society has also had several very important works in progress, which, it is expected, will be issued during the year 1868.

The architectural works executed during the year do not call for any special notice. The architectural world, however, has been in a continual state of excitement in consequence of the coming competitions for the New Law Courts and the New National Gallery. These matters are usually managed in England with an extraordinary parade of care and impartiality. Unhappily, no one can tell what secret influence, or what bad taste, prejudice, or simple ignorance may exist in the background. For ourselves, we have the strongest wish that our metropolis may, in these two instances, acquire ornaments that shall be worthy of it. So many opportunities, however, have been lost during the last few years, that we are by no means sanguine; and we look forward to the result of the competitions with the gravest anxiety.

Among the most interesting publications on artistic subjects, is Mr. F. G. Stephens's "English Children, as painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds." It is a book full of interesting description and careful criticism, and it is beautifully illustrated with photographs of some of Sir Joshua's portraits of children. The use of photographs for purposes of illustration and reproduction is rapidly gaining ground, and promises to become, at least, an important auxiliary to Art. Several valuable works of the past year bear testimony to the merits of the *camera* in this point of view. One of these is Colonel Briggs's splendid work, "The Architecture of Ahmedabad," in which each rich moulding and each delicate piece of tracery is brought out with a perfection which no pencil could rival. The text is written by T. C. Hope and J. Fergusson. The "Ruins of Pompeii" and Mr. Birket Foster's "Summer Scenes" are interesting applications of photographs, each in its particular sphere; and the value of the former is much enhanced by Mr. T. H. Dyer's descriptive text. "The Most Celebrated of Rembrandt's Etchings," a reproduction of thirty drawings enshrined in various collections, does the greatest credit to Mr. Cundall's industry and skill, and to the liberality and public spirit of the owners of the originals.

We have to lament the decease of the well-known sculptor, John Gibson, R.A. He died at Rome, which had long been his usual place of residence. The number of works that he has left is very great, including (besides a multitude of gods, goddesses, and the like) some of the most distinguished Englishmen of his time. We have also lost the veteran wood engraver, John Thompson, who, for more than half his long life had been at the head of his art in England; and William Harvey, the pupil of Bewick, well-known in his youth as an engraver, but still more distinguished afterwards as a designer for copper-plates and wood engravings. In one sense, perhaps, William Harvey was the best-known artist living; for wherever English illustrated works could penetrate, there was his name familiar to every reading man.

There is not much to relate as to music. That the English Opera (so called) should have perished ignominiously in the midst of its season, was perhaps of

little consequence, except to the unfortunate persons engaged in performing there. It may be remembered that the principal feat of this "English" establishment, during its short existence under a Joint-Stock Company, was to bring out the last new piece imported from France, the "Africaine" of Meyerbeer. This season Covent Garden did not open its doors till Christmas, and then its only attempt at lyrical drama consisted of a kind of ballad opera of about half-an-hour's length, as a *lever le rideau* to a huge overgrown pantomime, which filled up the rest of the evening. In short, for the time being, the English Opera may be said to be extinct.

At Her Majesty's (Italian), two new tenors appeared. One of them, Signor Mongini, proved to be an efficient *tenore robusto*, and held his ground. The other, Mr. Hohler (a young Englishman who had left his desk in a public office to present himself at the foot-lights) proved unequal to the arduous work of filling so large a house. He has, however, a pure and sweet voice, and will probably, with further study, be successful in quarters where there is a smaller auditorium. Mr. Mapleson was not more fortunate in Mdlle. Lichtmay, a *débutante* whose powers and cultivation were not considered equal to the requirements of the Opera-going public. Nevertheless the manager of Her Majesty's is to be commended for his energy in making experiments. Among the points which showed the enterprising spirit of the manager, were the revivals of Weber's "Oberon," and Mozart's "Nozze de Figaro," Glück's "Iphigenia in Tauris," and Mozart's "Il Seraglio," all of which Mr. Mapleson introduced to a public which, if it ever knew them, had at any rate had quite time enough to forget them. At the Royal Italian Opera (Covent Garden), the only novelty in the performances consisted of a comic trifle, "Crispino e la Comare," by the brothers Ricci. A new performer, however, appeared, who seems likely to hold her ground. This was Madame Vilda, a powerful soprano, who was highly successful in the trying part of Norma. As an actress, Madame Vilda will, we trust, improve; as a singer, she has fairly established herself in the good graces of an audience which is, perhaps, as difficult to please as any in Europe.

At the Old and New Philharmonic Societies, there is nothing in particular to notice, except, perhaps, that the former, in spite of its well-known conservative tendencies, made some concessions to a rather prevalent opinion by performing one or two of the works of Schumann.

The Crystal Palace Concerts now surpass all the Societies in the number and boldness of the novelties there produced. Among the works new to England which Mr. Manns gave last year, were Ferdinand Hiller's Cantata, "Loreley," Gounod's Hymn, "St. Cecilia," Schubert's overture to "Alfonse and Estrelle," and the *entr'actes* to Schubert's "Rosamunde." He also produced two new works by Mr. A. S. Sullivan, thus inspiring a hope that native composers will not always be kept out of sight, and that, with due encouragement, a school of modern English music may gradually arise. English composers and *artistes* are of opinion, perhaps not altogether unjustly, that they must step into the background as soon as a foreign competitor appears. We remember that many years ago an English musician who was then a rising young man, and is now an established favourite, published a collection of songs under the assumed name of Czapek, believing that English people would prefer an unknown foreigner to a fellow-countryman of recognized ability. Last year we remember seeing it recorded somewhere, that Mr. Cooper, the eminent violinist, had for some time been at the head of a migratory opera company, with his wife, under the name of Madame Tonnelier (or "Mrs. Cooper" in French) as *prima donna*. Instances

of a similar character might probably be multiplied; and although we cannot approve of false pretences, we must recognize the existence, on some ground or other, of a misgiving which has led our musicians to have recourse to them. We believe, for many reasons, that there is no musical incapacity in our nation; and we trust that before many years have elapsed we may see some English composers, as we have already seen one or two performers, placed unmistakeably in the first rank.

The Music Halls have not yet got to the end of their struggle with the Theatrical Managers, but it is expected that there will be legislation on the subject before long. Why there should be any distinction of privilege between a Theatre and a Music Hall, we cannot understand. Both are places of public entertainment which depend for their existence solely on the merit of their performances. The Lord Chamberlain, however, is able, in his irresponsible right, to license one building and to refuse to license another. Perhaps we may have next year to record the passing of a Parliamentary measure which will abolish this unlimited and illogical discretion, and compel that officer to confine himself to his really useful function, that of exercising a censorship which will protect the public from being corrupted or shocked by immoral or indecent performances.

SCIENCE.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Society took place on the 30th of November, when the President, General Sabine, delivered his address, and the medals were awarded as usual.

General Sabine had the satisfaction of announcing that the printing of the Catalogue of Scientific Papers or Memoirs, in the preparation of which the Society had been so long engaged, was at length commenced. At the date of the Meeting eight quarto sheets were actually printed off, and eight more in type. The work had been delayed in consequence of the discovery, by the Superintending Committee, of a considerable quantity of additional matter which it was thought desirable to insert. The correction of the proofs was entrusted to several members of the Library Committee who separately revised them. This mode of proceeding, as the President observed, must necessarily protract the work; but it was thought worth while to adopt it, in order, as far as possible, to secure perfect accuracy.

The President communicated some satisfactory information as to the progress of the Indian Trigonometrical survey. He said:—

"The results of the first year's experiments with the pendulums which were noticed in my last year's Address, as having been supplied to the Indian Trigonometrical Survey, have been received from Colonel Walker, R.A., F.R.S., superintendent of the survey. They were made by Captain Basevi at several stations where the triangulation is now proceeding. In a letter to myself accompanying them, dated August 30 of the present year, Colonel Walker says, 'Already these experiments are beginning to throw light on the subject of Himalayan attraction.'"

The value and importance of the Kew Observatory are constantly on the increase. Not only at Melbourne (of which we shall speak presently), but also in the Island of Mauritius, and at the Roman Catholic College of Stonyhurst,

there are now magnetic observatories, "supplied with the Kew instruments, and using the same methods of observation and reduction." The Kew Observatory itself has added another item to its list of useful labours:—

"This is the fortieth year," the President remarked, "since Mr. Schwabe began at Dessau his series of observations on the solar spots, which he has continued without intermission from 1826 to the present time. Impressed with the extreme desirableness of continuing beyond the limits of a single life a series already so valuable, the Committee of the Kew Observatory concerted with Mr. Schwabe for the commencement last year at Kew of a series which should run parallel with his for a time, and which afterwards, when the identity or proximate identity of the two should have been established, might, it was hoped, be prolonged indefinitely through future years. Mr. Schwabe's observations and those at Kew have accordingly been proceeding contemporaneously, and the comparison between their results during the ten months from January to October, 1866, inclusive, gives reason to believe that the object will be satisfactorily attained."

In his Address, delivered in 1865, the President, as our readers will remember, announced that a great reflecting telescope had been ordered by the Legislature of Victoria, to be set up at Melbourne. The Royal Society cordially gave their advice and assistance to the enterprising colonists, and the work progressed rapidly. Concerning this, General Sabine said:—

"We selected for the task one of our Fellows, Mr. Grubb, of Dublin, whose well-known optical and mechanical talents gave sure promise of success, and we obtained for him the advantage and assistance of a Superintending Committee, consisting of our late President the Earl of Rosse, Dr. Robinson, and Mr. Warren De la Rue. The contract for the work was signed on the 19th of January; the progress has been rapid, and I have great pleasure in informing you that, according to all appearance, the instrument will be ready for trial in the spring of 1867. All the large parts of it are ready for mounting, and the rest considerably advanced. The lattice-tube, the appearance of which is known to many of us from the photographs, is put together. It is made of ribs of steel to combine lightness and strength; they are rolled taper to effect this in the highest degree. The equilibrated systems of levers which support the great speculum, with their boxes, are of the same material and are also completed. Three specula have been cast, on a plan differing from that of Lord Rosse only by such modifications as were made necessary by their having central apertures. The first speculum came out sound from the annealing furnace, but had two blemishes on its surface which would have required a month to grind out, and Mr. Grubb broke it up without hesitation, though not many years ago such a disk would have been almost inestimable. The second cast has been successfully ground, and its surface is faultless. The third, a duplicate speculum, was cast on the 24th of October. The grinding has been performed by the polishing machine and steam engine which belong to the telescope, and will accompany it to Melbourne."

Mr. Albert Le Sueur, a Wrangler of Cambridge, has been appointed Observer, and is to go out to Melbourne. As a further proof of the scientific ardour of the Victorians, the President stated that the Colony has remitted to this country a sum of money for the purchase of a set of self-recording magnetical instruments on the model of those at the Kew Observatory.

The Copley Medal was awarded to Professor Julius Plücker, Foreign Member of the Royal Society, for his researches in Analytical Geometry, Magnetism, and Spectral Analysis. In the absence of Professor Plücker, the medal was handed

to Professor Miller for transmission to him. The President, in presenting the medal, gave an outline of Professor Plücker's scientific investigations, which are of too recondite a nature to be minutely described here. It will be sufficient to state that Professor Plücker is not one of those who stand still and are content to know what has been known before. Both in Mathematics and in Natural Science he has for many years been a man of progress; and, although his studies are too abstruse for the general reader even to comprehend their meaning, they will conduct perhaps, sooner or later, to practical results which will be useful and intelligible to the world at large.

One of the Royal Medals was awarded to Mr. Huggins, for his Researches on the Spectra of some of the Chemical Elements, and on the Spectra of certain of the Heavenly Bodies; and especially for his Researches on the Spectra of the Nebulæ, published in the "Philosophical Transactions." It is impossible to calculate the future scientific consequences of the wonderful power recently discovered, which enables us, by mere ocular observation, and without dialysis of component particles, to ascertain what are the elementary substances which are held in combination in a given object. In this novel and interesting branch of research Mr. Huggins and Dr. Miller are perhaps the foremost men we have; and they appear, in their Investigations of the Spectra of Heavenly Bodies, to have succeeded completely where other eminent observers have failed.

The other Royal Medal was awarded to Mr. W. K. Parker, for his Researches in Comparative Osteology, and more especially on the Anatomy of the Skull, as contained in papers published in the "Transactions of the Zoological Society," and in the "Philosophical Transactions." In presenting the medal, the President reminded the Society of Mr. Parker's important investigations among the Foraminifera, but stated that the award of the medal was more especially due to the merit of certain papers on the Osteology of *Balæniceps Rex*, on the Osteology of the Gallinaceous Birds and Tinamous, and on the Skull of the Ostrich Tribe, respecting which he said:—

"In these elaborate and beautifully illustrated memoirs, Mr. Parker has not only displayed an extraordinary acquaintance with the details of Osteology, but has shown powers of anatomical investigation of a high order, and has made important contributions towards the establishment of the true theory of the vertebrate skull."

The Rumford Medal was awarded to M. A. H. L. Fizeau, for his Optical Researches, and especially for his Investigations into the Effect of Heat on the Refractive Power of Transparent Bodies. In handing the medal to Professor Miller (who took charge of it in the absence of M. Fizeau), the President made some brief but interesting observations on the works and experiments of the learned foreigner, whose devotion for many years to the investigation of the phenomena of light and heat has been most consistent and remarkable.

The Royal Astronomical Society held its Annual General Meeting in February, when Mr. A. Brewin and Mr. A. Finch were elected Fellows. The President, Mr. Warren De la Rue, presented to Professor J. C. Adams, Director of the Cambridge Observatory (the joint discoverer, with M. Le Verrier, of the planet Neptune), the Gold Medal awarded to him by the Council for his contributions to the development of the Lunar Theory. The Meeting then proceeded to elect the Officers and Council for the ensuing year. The gentleman elected to fill the office of President was the Rev. Charles Pritchard, a Cambridge Wrangler of high mathematical distinction, who was for many years the head master of a large school at Clapham, but has retired for some time, and now devotes himself

exclusively to scientific pursuits. Mr. De la Rue, the outgoing President, was elected a Vice-President.

The Royal Geographical Society held its Anniversary Meeting on the 28th of May, when the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year were elected. Sir R. I. Murchison was once more re-elected President. Mr. C. R. Markham retains his post as one of the Secretaries, and Mr. R. H. Major is his new coadjutor, in the place of Mr. L. Oliphant, M.P., who, on relinquishing the Secretaryship, was elected one of the Council. The discoverer of Lake Albert N'yanza, Mr. S. W. Baker (now Sir S. W. Baker), to whom a Gold Medal was awarded in his absence in 1865, was also placed on the Council. The Founder's Gold Medal was given to Dr. T. Thomson for his labours in the Western Himalayas and Thibet, and the Patron's, or Victoria, Gold Medal, to Mr. W. Chandless, for his exploration of the Purus river, a tributary of the Amazon. The Society also presented 100 guineas as a testimonial to M. P. B. Du Chaillu, so well known by his narratives of African travel; and a watch, value 25 guineas, to Moola Abdul Medjid, for his journey over the Panier Steppe, in Central Asia.

The Archæological Institute, which has been wont to assemble in provincial towns, has at length conferred a benefit on the learned by meeting in the metropolis, and devoting itself, to a great extent, to the curiosities of antiquity to be found in London and its vicinity. The Congress took place in July, and many interesting papers were read on the origin of London, the origin of Westminster, and the like. Among these, perhaps, there was no more important contribution than that of Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon, "On the Tower of London." Mr. Dixon's literary ability and experience enable him to place in an attractive form that which, in the hands of a dry antiquary, might degenerate into a mere mass of statistics. Accordingly, his observations on the most ancient structure of London were heard with unusual interest, as placing before the world, in a concise historical narrative, all that is most worthy of recollection respecting that time-honoured monument, successively a royal abode, a fortress, and a state prison.

The town of Nottingham was selected as the place of meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Although Nottingham is probably somewhat rougher and less accustomed to receive distinguished visitors than most of the appointed places of meeting within the last few years, yet the result showed that the choice was not injudicious, and that the Association had done well in putting a favourable construction on the invitation of the civic authorities.

The Presidents of Sections were :—

A. Mathematical and Physical Science . .	Prof. Wheatstone.
B. Chemical Science	Dr. H. Bence Jones.
C. Geology	Prof. A. C. Ramsay.
D. Biology	Prof. Huxley.
Department of Physiology . . .	Dr. Humphry.
Department of Anthropology . . .	A. R. Wallace, Esq.
E. Geography and Ethnology	Sir Charles Nicholson.
F. Economic Science and Statistics . . .	Prof. Rogers.
G. Mechanical Science	T. Hawksley, Esq.

The proceedings commenced, as usual, with the Report of the Treasurer, W. Spottiswoode, Esq. Mr. Spottiswoode is a distinguished Mathematician, having obtained a place in the first class in the University of Oxford many years ago. He holds the lucrative appointment of Queen's Printer; but in spite of the

great expenditure of time and labour that his duties in that capacity must necessarily involve, he is still able to keep up his studies, and hold an honourable position in the scientific world. In 1865 he was President of Section A., and we still see him, in 1866, occupying the position of Treasurer of the Association, though another gentleman, in the usual course, takes his place in the Section. The balance declared by Mr. Spottiswoode on this occasion was not quite so large as that of the former year; but still, it was perfectly satisfactory, as there was a clear surplus of 503*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* This balance is arrived at by subtracting the payments and liabilities from the receipts and assets, commencing the account from the opening of the meeting at Birmingham, September 6, 1865, and bringing it down to August 22, 1866, when the meeting at Nottingham commenced.

The next feature in the proceedings was (as it had been in previous years) the reading of the Report of the Kew Committee. The expenses of that Committee are not large, considering the extent of its labours. The total expenditure of the year was 732*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* The balance in hand was 22*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*; the receipts and assets amounting to 754*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*, of which no less than a sum of 600*l.* was contributed by the British Association through their General Treasurer.

The President, Mr. Grove, Queen's Counsel, then commenced his Address, which is not one of the least remarkable that have been heard by the British Association during the last few years. We cannot attempt to give even a summary of this comprehensive speech, for, if we did, we should be obliged to use the space which we must reserve for other matters. We must therefore be content, on this occasion, to offer one or two extracts which seem most remarkable in thought and suggestion. After speaking of the serious and business-like position that has been attained by science, once merely a plaything (and a dangerous plaything too) in the hands of empirics, Mr. Grove said:—

"May we hope that the slight infiltration of scientific studies, now happily commenced, will extend till it occupies its fair space in the education of the young; and that those who may be able learnedly to discourse on the Æolic digamma will not be ashamed of knowing the principles of an air-pump, an electric machine, or a telescope, and will not, as Bacon complained of his contemporaries, despise such knowledge as something mean and mechanical.

"To assert that the great departments of Government should encourage physical science may appear a truism, and yet it is but of late that it has been seriously done; now, the habit of consulting men of science on important questions of national interest is becoming a recognized practice, and, in a time which may seem long to individuals but is short in the history of a nation, a more definite sphere of usefulness for national purposes will, I have no doubt, be provided for those duly-qualified men who may be content to give up the more tempting study of abstract science for that of its practical application. In this respect, the Report of the Kew Committee for this year affords a subject of congratulation to those whom I have the honour to address. The Kew Observatory, the petted child of the British Association, may possibly become an important national establishment; and if so, while it will not, I trust, lose its character as a home for untrammelled physical research, it will have superadded the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade, with a staff of skilful and experienced observers."

The idea of the connexion between heat and motion has become to some extent known to the world; and is probably quite familiar to all scientific men. Mr. Grove, with pardonable self-gratulation, reminded his audience that he had made an experiment at the London Institution no less than twenty-five years ago

on the subject. "The experiment differed," said the learned President, "from that of Rumford's cannon-boring and Davy's friction of ice, in showing that there was no heat while the motion was unresisted, but that the heat was in some way dependent on the motion being impeded or arrested. We have now become so accustomed to this view, that whenever we find motion resisted we look for heat, electricity, or some other force, as the necessary and inevitable result."

What is to be the end of scientific investigation? The polished Greeks and Romans, as the basis of their science, were taught that there were four elements, fire, air, earth, and water, out of which all things were made. Even when we approach our own modern times, we find Lord Bacon recording as an important experiment, that water, if left alone, will disappear into the air, but that grease requires a hot iron and a piece of brown paper to suck it up; whence, the only conclusion arrived at by the father of modern philosophy (as some writers have called him) is, that water has an affinity for air, and grease has an affinity for heat. To compare this primitive kind of reasoning with the scientific speculations and discoveries of such men as Faraday or Arago, is to remind ourselves once more of the undoubted fact, that man, educated and civilized, is to man in his natural state as a giant to a child. The great advance of modern nations in natural science, and their comparative, or perhaps entire, lack of progress in matters of taste and elegance, are briefly contrasted in Mr. Grove's concluding words.

"By this patient investigation how much have we already learnt which the most civilized of ancient human races ignored! While in ethics, in politics, in poetry, in sculpture, in painting, we have scarcely, if at all, advanced beyond the highest intellect of ancient Greece or Italy, how great are the steps we have made in physical science and its applications!

"But how much more may we not expect to know? We, this evening assembled, Ephemera as we are, have learnt by transmitted labour to weigh, as in a balance, other worlds larger and heavier than our own, to know the length of their days and years, to measure their enormous distance from us and from each other, to detect and accurately ascertain the influence they have on the movements of our world and on each other, and to discover the substances of which they are composed; may we not fairly hope that similar methods of research to those which have taught us so much may give our race further information, until problems relating not only to remote worlds, but possibly to organic and sentient beings which may inhabit them,—problems which it might now seem wildly visionary to enunciate,—may be solved by progressive improvements in the modes of applying observation and experiment, induction and deduction?"

In the several Sections, the varied work of the Association was carried on with diligence.

In Section A, after the Report of the Committee on Luminous Meteors, the Report of the "Lunar Committee for Mapping the Surface of the Moon" was read. Why luminous meteors and lunar geography should pertain especially to the section of Mathematical and Physical Science, we cannot exactly understand. We find, however, that the Committee are working hard on the moon question—by the aid of a photograph taken by Mr. De la Rue in 1865; and that, considering the difficulty of obtaining suitable photographs, they are of opinion that this branch of investigation is going on quite as rapidly as could possibly be expected. Many important papers were read in this Section; but they varied so much in character that we think every well-wisher of the Association who has read them would prefer to see the "Mathematical and Physical" Section divided into two branches. That Mathematics and Physics aid one another, there can be no

doubt; but it is ridiculous to attempt to bind them irrevocably together, since they are wont to try their chance alone more often than to work in concert. The mere titles of the papers read in Section A last year sufficiently illustrate this truth; and we could almost draw a straight line, so to speak, between the Mathematical papers on the one hand, and the Physical papers on the other. In Mathematics we find Professor H. J. S. Smith in full force, with a "Report on the Theory of Numbers" (a continuation, we presume, of his Report on the same subject last year), and a paper "On a Property of Surfaces of the Second Order." Papers were also read by Professor Plücker (whose name is mentioned with honour in another part of our Retrospect) "On Complexes of the Second Order;" by Professor R. Harley, "On Differential Resolvents," &c. Among the Physical papers of importance were Mr. J. P. Harrison's, "On the Heat obtained by the Moon under Solar Radiation;" Professor Jellett's, "On a Fluid possessing Opposite Rotatory Powers for Rays at Opposite Ends of the Spectrum;" Mr. F. Galton's, "On the Conversion of Wind Charts into Passage Charts," and many others.

In Section B, the President reminded his audience of the extraordinary progress of Chemistry within the last few years. He said among other things, "It seems but a few years ago when we were taught that the animal and vegetable kingdoms were composed of entirely different kinds of substances." After illustrating this remark by examples, he added: "At the present time, no chemical distinction whatever between vegetables and animals can be made; and except in the mode in which these different substances are produced in the two kingdoms of nature, no chemical difference exists." It is rather unfortunate that men of high scientific attainments should not always possess the power of expressing themselves intelligibly. Dr. H. Bence Jones tells us that our modern education is far inferior to that of a Greek or Roman youth "say twenty centuries ago." He is wrong in making that assertion, as it seems to us; but he himself affords a curious illustration of the idea. With his mind full of knowledge, he seems totally unable to place his information properly before the public. The quotations which we have made above as to the animal and vegetable kingdoms are almost incomprehensible as they stand. What Dr. Jones meant to say, we presume, was this: that all known organic matter, whether animal or vegetable, is resolvable into two or more of a limited number of component elements, which, for the present, as we know no better, we designate as simple substances.

Numerous papers were read in this Section, but they were for the most part of a minute and technical character. That of Mr. H. Larkin, however, "On the Magnesium Lamp," was interesting in a practical point of view. Mr. Larkin showed by experiment that a brilliant light might be obtained from magnesium in powder (instead of riband or wire), and stated that the cost would be only 1*d*. per hour.

In Section C, the President drew attention to the composition of the crust of the earth, partly of igneous and partly of aqueous rocks, and endeavoured to show, from the admitted position of the various strata, that the ancient changes in our globe had not been due to sudden cataclysms, but to the gradual working of physical causes. He enforced this argument by the consideration that many species of organic beings which are still in living existence are also found in a fossil state.

"This reasoning," he continued, "assures us that there never has been universally over the world any complete destruction of life, but that the succession of

existences has gone on in regular order and sequence; but that we have lost a great number of the records,—whole chapters, whole books, by the immense disturbance of the earth's crust in the late periods of time. We must remember, looking at this duration, that we have still a large percentage of the marine life which has managed to live on to the present day; this must show that there has not been any universal catastrophe which destroyed the life of the world; there cannot possibly have been so, because so many of the forms are still alive."

Among the many valuable papers read in this Section, was that of Mr. R. A. Peacock, "On a Case of Gradual Change of Form and Position of Land at the South End of the Isle of Walney;" on which a debate arose, in the course of which the encroachments of the sea in some parts of the country and the compensating recovery of land in other parts were noticed, the latter being ascribed to a gradual rising of the solid crust. Two more papers gave rise to interesting debates. These were Sir R. I. Murchison's, "On the various Tracts of England and Wales in which no Productive Beds of Coal can be looked for," and that of the Rev. J. Gunn, "On the Anglo-Belgian Basin of the Forest-bed of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Union of England with the Continent during the Glacial Period." Both these papers had been drawn forth by the desire of considering a theory of Mr. Godwin Austen, as to the supposed extension of the coal measures of France and Belgium under the British Channel to the south-east of England. If Mr. Godwin Austen is right, we shall have plenty of coal for thousands of years. But even if (as Sir R. I. Murchison is inclined to suppose) the theory of Mr. Austen is erroneous, we have still no serious ground for apprehension, as the sea contains an immeasurable store of hydrogen, which, sooner or later, we shall probably learn to extract in some cheap and practical manner.

In Section D, the President made no formal Address; but on one of the days he made some observations to the members of the Section and of its two Departments or sub-sections, which were assembled in the same place for the purpose. In the Section itself, amongst a vast number of other papers, that of Mr. F. Buckland on "Oyster Cultivation," and that of Mr. J. K. Lord "On the Indians of Vancouver Island," were among the most attractive, the one from its obvious utility, the other from its treating of a race, within our own dominions, which is fast disappearing before the advance of civilized man. In the Department of Physiology one of the prominent speakers was Dr. Richardson, who gave some amusing "Physical Demonstrations of Local Insensibility." Dr. Richardson's experiments seem to have been unusually successful, for we read that—

"Dr. Richardson submitted the arm of Mr. Grove, the President of the Association, to his process for producing local anæsthesia, and then proved the result by sticking needles into Mr. Grove's arm; which seemed a proceeding rather pleasing than otherwise to the learned President."

In the Department of Anthropology some interesting discussion took place as to the Lake Dwellings in Ireland; and statements were made as to the existence of some "Crannages," as they are called, as late as the time of Cromwell. This information tends to confirm the view which we have more than once ventured to throw out, as to the rashness of hastily assuming such habitations to be of prehistoric date.

The President of Section E opened the proceedings with a very interesting Address. He commenced by passing in review the recent acquisitions and speculations in Geography and Ethnology. After touching upon the various present topics of interest, and upon the doubts still hanging over some of the

most recent geographical theories, he drew attention to the value of language as an aid to the study of Ethnology.

"The Celtic and the Hindoo, the early Persian, the Hellenic and Latin races betray the community of their origin in the dialectic affinities of the tongues they speak. On the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates the Arab employs a language which is the lineal descendant, with few fundamental changes, of that spoken by his forefathers in the days of the Hebrew patriarchs; whilst in the Semitic names scattered along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and eastern coasts of Africa, we have unerring indications of the progress and settlements of early Semitic tribes. However plastic and evanescent, under certain local conditions, characteristic forms of speech may be, they still afford, in the history of man, the key to many of the vicissitudes that have marked his migrations."

Sir S. W. Baker then delivered an unwritten Address respecting the Nile and its source, which is recorded under the title "On the Relations of the Abyssinian Tributaries of the Nile and the Equatorial Lakes to the Inundations of Egypt." His Address could not fail to engage attention, coming as it did from one who gathered his stock of knowledge both from ancient narrative and from personal observation. Sir S. W. Baker's friends, however, will probably regret, for his sake, that he appears to insist rather too confidently on the finality of his discovery, and claims, in fact, as Speke claimed before him, to have put the question of the source of the Nile beyond dispute. Dr. C. T. Beke afterwards read a very interesting paper "On the Possibility of Diverting the Waters of the Nile into the Red Sea," and argued that the feat he spoke of had, in all probability, been partially accomplished in ancient times. Sir S. W. Baker opposed this theory, denying that there existed any natural facility for such a diversion of the waters. Among the other papers read in this most attractive Section were Sir J. Crawfurd's, "On Cæsar's Account of Britain and its Inhabitants;" Mr. T. Baines's, "On the Zambesi River and its probable Westernmost Source;" M. P. B. Du Chaillu's, "On the Physical Geography and Tribes of Western Equatorial Africa," and a large number of others, very little, if at all, inferior to the above in interest and importance.

In Section F, the President's Address was not of a particularly lucid character. This, however, was perhaps a necessary consequence of the nature of the subject. The principal topics to which allusion was made, were the supposed likelihood of exhaustion of our coal measures, and the causes of the recent monetary crisis. The President inclined to the opinion that the crisis was due, in the main, to the imprudent action of certain banks, which had made advances at long dates or on securities not readily convertible. As to the probable consequences of the panic, he said:—

"The distrust which has followed on the failure of some of these banks had led to an absorption of a large amount of the note currency by the solvent banks, with a view to making their position impregnable. But this retention of notes, as it has limited the amount of accommodation, has indirectly raised the rate of discount; and thus it follows, that as long as the rate is high, the notes are hoarded, and as long as the notes are hoarded, the rate will be high."

The learned Professor probably meant that the hoarding of notes and the high rate of discount must act and react upon one another. For the proposition thus stated, there is probably sufficient ground; but the President, losing sight of logical accuracy in his search for antithesis, has made it appear that the notes must always be hoarded, and the rate of discount must for ever be high!

Among the papers read in this Section we may mention, "On the Practicability

of employing a Common Notation for Electric Telegraphy," by Mr. J. G. Joyce; "On the Classification of the various Occupations of the People," by Mr. F. J. Wilson; "On the Lace and Hosiery Trades of Nottingham," by Mr. Felkin. Several other papers were read, attacking at various points the present state of the Law of Real Property and the like; and the Reports of the Committees of the Association on "Scientific Evidence" and on "Uniformity of Weights and Measures" were brought forward by Professors Williamson and Leone Levi respectively.

In Section G, the President, after pointing out the importance of Mechanical Science as a means of protecting the country from external violence, changed the topic, and made graceful allusion to the manufacturing greatness of Nottingham.

The papers read were very numerous, and in many cases they were too technical to be mentioned here. Captain Noble's paper, however, "On the Penetration of Shots and the Resistance of Ironclad Defences," and that of Captain D. Galton, "On the Chalmers Target," related to subjects in which a maritime nation must be deeply interested. Among other papers of practical value, were Mr. S. J. Mackie's, "On Zinc Sheathing for Ships;" Mr. W. E. Carrett's, "On an Hydraulic Coal-cutting Machine;" and Mr. F. Ingle's, "On Recent Improvements in the Application of Concrete to Fireproof Constructions."

The most important scientific triumph of the year is, unquestionably, the completion of the Atlantic Telegraph. By the help of a level bottom, or "submarine plateau," as it is called, a telegraphic cable has been laid from continent to continent, and Europe and America may converse as rapidly as they please. We cannot expect to find such a plateau in many places; but that which has, after numerous attempts, been now effected in one manner, may, some day, be accomplished in another. The recovery of the lost end of the cable of 1865 from the bed of the ocean was perhaps even a more marvellous feat than the successful completion of the new communication.

In a less conspicuous but not less important sphere, many laborious philosophers are at work with the spectroscope, the camera, and the telescope. During the last year Mr. Huggins has ascertained, by the aid of the first-mentioned instrument, that the nucleus of a comet (Comet 1 of 1866) is probably gaseous. Although this information is scarcely conclusive, yet it proves a useful step in advance of the mere conjectures which were indulged in before, as to the composition of comets.

The theory of the identity or convertibility of heat and force is gaining ground, and, with it, the impression that no heat or force is lost, and that all that seems to be needlessly expended now (as, for instance, the sun's rays shed on the sand of the desert) may hereafter become beneficial by some remote and as yet unknown result.

A new metal, allied to those of the alkaline series, and giving a sharp dark-blue line in the spectroscope, has been discovered by MM. Meinecke and Rossler. The recently-discovered metal called Indium is now readily procured by a process invented by Winckler.

M. Boussingault continues his researches on the Action of Foliage (to which allusion was made in the previous Retrospect), and would seem to have arrived at some tangible results. From various experiments, he has been led to believe that the leaves of plants placed in the sunshine decompose carbonic acid rapidly when that gas is in a mixture with atmospheric air, or with nitrogen or hydrogen. The oxygen of the atmosphere appears to play no part in the so-called "respiration." That figurative term, however, is applicable so far as

this, that plants, as well as animals, would appear to require oxygen for their existence.

Mr. Grove, President of the British Association, stated in his opening Address, that the recognized number of known planets could now be stated at eighty-eight, instead of seven.

Professor Owen has added to his wide reputation by the publication of two volumes of his work on "The Anatomy of Vertebrates," including fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals. Among other scientific works which have not been mentioned under special heads in our Retrospect of Literature, are Mr. C. Bray's treatise "On Force and its Mental and Moral Correlates;" Mr. Evan Hopkins's "Geology and Terrestrial Magnetism;" Sir John Herschel's "Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects;" and translations of M. Louis Figuier's "World before the Deluge" and "Vegetable World."

Mr. George Rennie, the eminent engineer, died in March. He was eldest son of John Rennie, the builder of Waterloo Bridge, and brother of Sir John Rennie, in conjunction with whom he executed the great dock gates at Sebastopol and a large number of similar works in England, besides harbours, bridges, and machinery of various kinds, both in England and abroad. George Rennie himself constructed several foreign railways, and was the author of many works on subjects relating to his profession.

Dr. William Henry Harvey, Professor of Botany in the University of Dublin, died in February. He was a great traveller, and a man of indefatigable industry. Among his most important works are the "Phycologia Britannica" and "Phycologia Australica."

In March died the Rev. William Whewell, D.D., for many years Master of Trinity College. Although conversant with both natural and moral science, and well known in every learned Society, he is not, perhaps, to be reckoned among those who have aided their countrymen by making important steps in advance. But although he will thus be less known to posterity than many men in a more obscure position, he was an able officer of the educational body to which he belonged; and his name will long be remembered as that of one to whom the University of Cambridge owes much.

Lastly, we have to record the decease of Dr. John Lee, a gentleman of considerable fortune, who had for some years devoted himself to the study of astronomy, and had been President of the Astronomical Society. His name originally was Fiott, but he assumed the name of Lee on taking possession of the estate of Hartwell, near Aylesbury, which had been the property of his relative, Sir George Lee. Many people are still living who can remember that Hartwell was the residence of the exiled King of France before the selfish power of the first French Empire was crushed beneath the tardy but effective indignation of outraged Europe.

We now conclude our Annual Retrospect, which we present for the fourth time to the readers of the "Annual Register." The great object we have in view is to gather together in a small space such a collection of facts and opinions as may be agreeable and useful to the general public. Thus we desire, on the one hand, to avoid prolixity, and, on the other, to guard against omitting important circumstances. Considering the somewhat unusual nature of the undertaking, we trust that we have not been altogether unsuccessful; but we shall count upon gaining experience as we proceed, and we hope that, although the quantity of this brief summary may long remain the same, its quality will be judged by no fixed standard, but will steadily improve from year to year.

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CHRONICLE.

PART II.

CHRONICLE

OF REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

IN 1866.

JANUARY.

1. Great Fire at St. Katharine's Dock.—A fire of a very destructive kind broke out at St. Katharine's Dock, making the third that has occurred in that great commercial shipping depôt within the last few years. The flames raged with terrible fury during the whole day and up to late the next night, consuming part of two of the bonded warehouses, and destroying property to a large extent. The warehouses formed part of the letter H stack, occupying one-half of the north side of the docks, next to East Smithfield. The stack comprised some eight or ten letters of the alphabet, each five or six floors in height, all communicating by means of double iron folding-doors, the import basin of the dock, with its shipping, flanking its south side. The principal goods stored in these warehouses are spirits, tallow, palm oil, cotton, flax, jute, and other merchandise, to the extent of upwards of two millions in value. The warehouses had been open several hours, and labourers were on every floor, receiving goods raised from the quays and wheeling them through the entire length of the stack for storing, when people came running into the dock from the adjacent streets, with intelligence that one of the warehouses was on fire, and that they had seen the flames issuing from the roof. The police at the entrance gates regarded the information with suspicion, for to them there was no appearance even then of danger. But a few minutes, however, sufficed to convince them that a most dangerous fire had broken out in the warehouse letter F. The dock managers, with the superintendents, dock masters, and police officials, were immediately summoned to the spot, and several gangs of dock labourers were set to work with buckets to extinguish the fire. The class of goods stored on the

floor in question consisted chiefly of coir fibre and bales of jute. There was an immense pile of these goods on the floor, and this was evidently all on fire, and sent forth such a blinding and suffocating smoke, that the labourers were compelled to beat a speedy retreat. The dock officers, finding it impossible to extinguish the flames, commenced securing all the iron doors, so as to shut off communication with the rest of the warehouses. This they effected with one exception,—that connecting the fifth floor of F warehouse with the same floor lettered H. The door was wide open, and several men attempted to reach it by crawling on their hands and knees; but they were soon overpowered by the smoke, and were dragged back almost insensible. The flames were now spreading furiously throughout the two uppermost floors of F warehouse, while the dense clouds of smoke which poured forth completely darkened the neighbourhood. The dock fire-engines were brought out the instant the alarm was given, and the company's engineer put full pressure on the hydrants throughout the docks, so that, when hose were affixed to them, very powerful jets of water were brought to bear upon the conflagration. Captain Shaw, the chief of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade—which force came into operation under the Act of Parliament on the first day of the year—heard of the outbreak about 11·40, and instantly summoned by telegraph nearly the whole of the engines and men to the spot, proceeding himself to the dock with a steam fire-engine from Watling-street. For hours the firemen laboured incessantly to get the flames under, and by five o'clock they managed to get the mastery over them; but about nine o'clock at night the flames broke out again in a fresh place, and were not subdued till the morning of the 3rd. On the 4th, the water of the import basin was covered with tallow and oil to a considerable thickness. The grease had flowed from the warehouse while on fire, and had run down the quay into the dock, spreading over the broad expanse of the basin, which presented the appearance of snow and ice upon the surface of the water. Labourers were engaged skimming the fat off and throwing it into barges. The quantity of tallow stored in the four warehouses that were on fire was between 2000 and 3000 casks, about 500 of which are believed to have been destroyed. The value varies from 35*l.* to 40*l.* per cask. Several hundred barrels of palm and cocoa-nut oil are included in the loss account, and the quantity of jute, flax, and coir fibre burnt was very great. It was estimated that 200,000*l.* would not cover the loss. The property was largely insured in several offices. The origin of the fire was unknown. Happily there was no loss of life.

— The Loss of H.M.S. "Bulldog."—Her Majesty's paddle-sloop "Bulldog," 6, Captain Charles Wade, was, on the 23rd of October last, blown up, and quite destroyed, to avoid the possibility of her falling into the hands of the enemy, she having grounded fast on a spit of sand and coral while engaging the shore batteries and

ships of the insurgent Haytians, in the harbour of Cape Haytien, in vindication of certain insults and outrages perpetrated against the British flag. Captain Wade, with his officers and men, was arraigned before a court-martial, assembled on board the "Royal Adelaide" guardship, in Hamoaze, Devonport, to answer for the loss of the ship. After hearing evidence, the Judge-Advocate announced that the court were of opinion that negligence was shown on the part of Captain Wade and Mr. Behenna, the acting master, in running the "Bulldog" ashore by allowing her to run within the marks laid out on the chart. The court were also of opinion that sufficient exertions were not subsequently made to get the ship off; also that the ship was prematurely destroyed. Captain Wade was therefore dismissed the ship and severely reprimanded, and Mr. Behenna was reprimanded. The court were also of opinion that Lieut. J. L. Way and Lieut. F. Rougemont had committed errors of judgment in agreeing in counselling with the captain to destroy the ship. The court could not however separate, after excepting the above officers, without expressing its full approbation of the very satisfactory conduct of the other officers and the crew under such disadvantageous circumstances.

3. Destruction of Crewe Hall.—Crewe Hall, Cheshire, the seat of Lord Crewe, was destroyed by fire. It appeared that shortly after Lord Crewe and the visitors in the mansion had retired to rest, the attention of his Lordship was arrested by a strong smell of fire, and he rang for his valet, to whom he communicated his suspicions. The servants were aroused, and an examination was made of the premises, but the seat of the fire was not then discovered, and the domestics were about to retire, when, on a second alarm being raised, a fire was ascertained to be raging on the top part of the eastern wing. Messengers on horseback were instantly despatched to Crewe and Nantwich for assistance, and a telegram was forwarded to Chester, requesting the immediate help of the fire brigade from that city. Meanwhile two small engines, belonging to the Hall, were brought out, and attempts were made to arrest the flames, which, fanned by the strong breeze then blowing, quickly enveloped the eastern wing of the building, but from some unexplained cause they could not be used. It was supposed that in the excitement of the moment the means of turning on the water, which was communicated to the house from the lake, was overlooked, and consequently the fire continued its career of devastation entirely unchecked.

At the moment that the telegram reached Chester, requesting the aid of the fire brigade, a portion of that body was engaged in attempting to extinguish a fire in a shop in Northgate-street, but with as little delay as possible Mr. Superintendent Goblet and a party of his men in charge of an engine started for the scene of the conflagration. Engines from Nantwich and one from the railway works at Crewe also arrived on the spot, but the latter was unable to render effective service until extra lengths of hose

had been procured. From the moment the fire was discovered, its progress was extremely rapid; and before any thing like combined efforts were made to arrest it, the flames spread along the marble hall, picture gallery, drawing-room, and the chapel on the north side of the mansion, the ceilings and walls of which were adorned with most valuable paintings, and enveloped them all. A magnificent stained-glass window over the Communion Table was also completely destroyed.

The fire continued to burn with uncontrolled fury throughout the morning. At the time of the outbreak of the fire, Lady Houghton, sister to Lord Crewe, and other distinguished visitors were staying at the hall, and it is matter for congratulation that its timely discovery enabled all the inmates to effect their escape before either life or limb was jeopardized.

It is said that provision was made against fire by hydrants placed at certain distances round the house, supplied with water from the lake, and also by taps in the rooms communicating with an immense reservoir on the top of the house; but it appears that the taps were not thought of till access to them was cut off by the flames, and during the early part of the conflagration the hydrants were also forgotten.

Nothing could exceed the zeal and activity of the whole establishment, by means of which a large portion of the family memorials, including the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Sir Joshua Reynolds, were placed in security. Nevertheless, the loss was very great. The fine cabinets and other costly furniture of the gallery, the whole of the library, including many valuable and rare works, the curious decorations of the carved parlours, and the whole of the property in Lord Crewe's private apartments, were destroyed. The great hall suffered less, the large oak screen being only partially injured, and the quaint mantelpiece not at all. The restoration of this room, and even of the beautiful staircase, can easily be accomplished by the resources of modern art. The main walls of the house remain in apparently safe condition, with the exception of one end of the gallery. The mansion was finished by Sir Randal Crewe early in the reign of King James I., but it had fallen into much decay by the process of time, and was completely and skilfully restored by its present owner, under the superintendence of Mr. Blore. After this present disaster, it is still to be hoped that Lord Crewe may be able to effect a second restoration.

7—9. Disastrous Storms and Losses at Sea.—Heavy gales swept over England during these three days, and numerous disasters both by land and sea took place. From Liverpool and other ports numerous wrecks were reported. The life-boats of the National Institution were instrumental in saving lives. Writing from the Lizard, the Rev. P. Vyvyan Robinson reported that a fatal accident had occurred to the life-boat on that station:—"I was out in the life-boat with her crew, and for two hours she behaved as gallantly as possible in a very heavy sea; but while returning, a tremendous

wave overwhelmed her and capsized the boat, breaking every oar except one. Out of ten of us in the life-boat, seven succeeded in getting into the boat; but with one oar only we could not manage her, and she was quickly carried on to the rocks, over which, with great difficulty and hazard, and many bruises, we got into a place of safety. Meanwhile, the three lost men, whom I saw and heard on rising to the surface, had been carried into a counter-current, behind the great Slay Rock, where they could neither get backwards nor forwards. One was shortly carried out to sea, but the other two might have been saved had we had the rocket apparatus at the Lizard; but when that arrived from Cadjwith it was too late, the men were dead. The boat held on with her anchor marvellously for more than an hour, bumping about on the edges; but at last it parted, and she was quickly knocked to pieces on the rocks, for by this time the gale had increased to a hurricane. The names of the poor fellows who were lost are Peter Mitchell (the coxswain, who has left a widow and three children), Richard Harris (the second coxswain, who also leaves a widow and two children), and Nicholas Stevens (a widower, without children)."

9. Execution at Stafford.—Charles Christopher Robinson was executed in front of the gaol at Stafford, in presence of 4000 spectators. Before his death he acknowledged the justice of his sentence. On the scaffold he exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." His death was not instantaneous. He made a statement to the chaplain, but wished it to be kept from the public. Robinson would have been 19 next May. His victim was somewhat older, but she would have been only in her 19th year. They had for a long time been affianced, and lived together in the house in which the murder was committed. The facts of the murder may be briefly told. On the afternoon of the 26th of August, Mr. and Mrs. Fisher went out for a drive into the country, leaving Robinson and Harriet Seager alone in the house, with a young man named Wilson, a companion of Robinson, in the garden. During the afternoon the girl was seen by a servant girl of Mr. Fisher's brother, who had gone to the house on an errand, crying as she stood cleaning knives in the brewhouse, Robinson at the time stood leaning against the door. Shortly afterwards a nephew of Mr. Fisher, a little boy, saw Robinson strike Seager with his open hand in her face because she would not allow him to kiss her. The young man alluded to left about four o'clock, and Robinson, who had been shooting sparrows with him in the garden with a small gun, went into the house. About a quarter past four the neighbours were alarmed by a cry that Robinson had shot Harriet, and upon entering the brewhouse the poor girl was found lying dead on the floor in a pool of blood, with her throat cut. At the time the neighbours entered the house Robinson was observed coming down stairs, with an open razor in his hand. He was then in his shirt sleeves, for he had not washed or dressed himself during the day. He went into the

scullery where his victim lay dead on the floor, and, standing in front of a looking-glass that was hanging upon the wall, he deliberately cut his throat three times with the razor. At this juncture he was secured, a surgeon was sent for, and his self-inflicted wounds were sewn up after some resistance on his part. The defence upon the trial, however, was, first, that Seager had committed suicide, and that the prisoner in grief attempted his own life; and next, that he was insane when he committed the murder, insanity being hereditary in his family, as was shown by the fact of his half-sister being then in a lunatic asylum. It could not, however, be shown that he was insane either before or after the murder.

11. Foundering of the Steam-ship "London," with Loss of 220 Lives.—The steam-ship "London," Captain Martin, from London to Melbourne, foundered at sea with about 220 persons on board. The survivors, 16 of the crew and 3 passengers, were landed at Falmouth by the Italian barque "Marianople."

The "London," 1752 tons register, 800-horse power, was one of the finest passenger-ships out of the port of London, and belonged to Messrs. Money Wigram and Sons, one of the oldest-established and most justly-renowned of our shipping firms. She was launched at Blackwall little more than a year ago. She had already made two successful voyages to Melbourne, one in fifty-nine days, under Captain Martin, one of the ablest and most experienced commanders in the mercantile marine.

The "London" left Gravesend on the 30th of December, and met with such severe weather in the Channel that she was obliged to put into St. Helen's Roads for shelter. From St. Helen's Roads to Plymouth she had steamed down Channel against a whole gale of wind and a heavy rolling sea; and the pilot-boat which put off to take her into the Sound was capsized and the pilot drowned. At Plymouth she arrived on the 4th inst., and embarked an unusually large number of passengers. At midnight on the 5th, she left Plymouth for her destination, with calm weather and a light wind ahead. All the next day she was under full steam, and making steady way. On the morning of the 7th the wind increased and a heavy head sea got up, and the next morning, it blowing a whole gale, Captain Martin stopped his engines and made the ship snug under reefed topsails, just to keep her on her course. The gale lulling a little at noon, the engines were again set going; next morning the force of the wind carried away the jibboom, fore-topmast, fore-topgallantmast, and royalmast, and these spars could not be secured. Two hours later the main royalmast was blown clean out of the socket. Still Captain Martin endeavoured to keep his ship slowly steaming ahead. About three p.m. on the 9th a tremendous sea carried away the port life-boat. All that evening and night the sea was running mountains high; but the screw was still kept moving. It was not till four a.m. on the 10th inst., that Captain

Martin resolved to put back to Plymouth, the "London" being then about 200 miles south-west of Land's End. At half-past ten that night a tremendous sea swept the ship, broke into the engine-room, and put out the fires. This was the night on which the thirty vessels were wrecked at once in Torbay. All the passengers of the "London" worked at the pumps, while the gale became a hurricane, and the ship was losing all control. At length, at ten a.m. on the 10th, Captain Martin called his passengers together, and told them that they must prepare for the worst. The ship had already sunk as low as her main chains. One boat was lowered and instantly swamped, but the five men in her were dragged on board the ship. No attempt was made to launch the other boats, but the passengers gathered into the chief cabin, and having been calmly assured by Captain Martin that there was no hope left, they quietly joined with a clergyman in prayer. There was no wild and selfish terror, no screaming, no rushing to the boats; there was the agony of sudden partings; but, with the example of Captain Martin before them, all these dying men and women were composed and resigned; while the children wondered and asked why their fathers and mothers looked so sad. Captain Martin remained at his station on the poop, once or twice only going forward, and once or twice into the saloon to join in the devotions of the passengers. At two p.m. the few men who were destined to survive to bring the sad story home, determined to trust themselves to the chances of the sea, lowered the pinnace, and launched her clear of the ship. These men called to the captain to come with them; but this brave seaman declined, saying, "No; I will go down with the passengers; but I wish you God speed, and safe to land." The boat then pulled away, and five minutes afterwards the "London," with 200 souls on board, went down, and all was over.

Mr. John Greenhill, the engineer, one of the survivors, reports:—

"We left Plymouth on Jan. 6. On the 7th we experienced heavy weather, with rain. 8th, the same. 9th, lost jibboom and fore-topmast, topgallantmast, and royalmast. About nine a.m. we lost the port life-boat, a heavy gale prevailing at the time. On the 10th, at three a.m., the ship put about, intending to run back to Plymouth. About the same time the starboard life-boat was washed overboard by a heavy sea, which also stove the starboard cutter. At noon, lat. 46° 8′ N., long. 0° 57′ W., we were shipping heavy seas, which carried away the engine-room hatch, the water going down and putting the fires out. The passengers were baling the water out of the ship with buckets. On the 11th, the gale was still increasing, with heavy cross seas, nearly all coming over the ship. During the morning all who could were trying to stop the leak in the engine-room hatch, but to no purpose. About four a.m. four of the stern ports were stove in. Efforts were made to stop them, but it was found to be impossible. At ten a.m. lowered the starboard pinnace, which foundered. At one p.m.,

we could see the ship was gradually sinking, it being then as low in the water as the main chains. At two p.m. the following persons left in the port cutter:—D. G. Wain, John Munro, and J. E. Wilson, passengers; John Greenhill, engineer; John Jones, second engineer; John Armour, third engineer; Thomas Brown, fireman; W. M. Edwards, midshipman; D. T. Smith, boatswain's mate; William Daniels, quartermaster; John King, Benjamin Shield, Richard Lewis, James Gough, Edward Quin, able seamen; William Crimes, ordinary seaman; A. G. White, boatswain's boy; William Hart, carpenter's mate; and Edward Gardner, second-class steward. About five minutes after leaving the vessel we saw her go down stern foremost, with about 220 persons on board, all of whom are supposed to have perished. There were two other boats getting ready when we left, but they were too late. The persons who were saved were picked up by the 'Marianople,' and treated with the greatest kindness by her captain, Carasa."

The survivors were driven before the gale in the cutter for twenty hours before they were picked up, and had one very narrow escape of being swamped, the boat being half filled with water.

Among the passengers who perished on board the "London" were the following:—

Mr. Gustavus Vaughan Brooke.—This gentleman had, when taking his passage, omitted part of his name, in order to obtain privacy and that repose during the voyage which was necessary to recruit his health and vigour before commencing a long engagement which he had undertaken with Mr. Coppin, of Melbourne. Mr. Brooke was forty-eight years of age, and was born at Dublin, the son of a gentleman of property. He was educated for the bar, but neglected this profession for that of the stage. His first appearance was as *William Tell*, in 1833, when he was fifteen years of age. He was successful, and till 1847 played in most of the great provincial cities. In 1848 he came to London, and appeared as *Othello* at the Olympic Theatre. Two years afterwards he was equally successful with the same character in New York. In 1853 he was back in London, whence, after an extended professional tour, he returned to America, and from there went to California and Australia. In each place he met with varying success, but won much reputation—in Australia most. Having come back to the old country, he was induced to accept once more an engagement at Melbourne, and in going out to fulfil it found a watery grave in the Bay of Biscay.

George Harry Palmer, Esq., M.A.—Editor of the "Law Review." Mr. Palmer was born in Wales, and originally studied for the Christian ministry. Incipient pulmonary affection and other circumstances induced him to abandon his original design and to study for the bar. He was called to the bar by the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, on June 6, 1861, and joined the Western Circuit. There are many who remember him as a student with feelings of the warmest attachment. His

studies were prosecuted with zeal and success. He became the secretary of the Law Amendment Society, and ultimately the editor of the "Law Review." Suffering during the recent autumn from pulmonary weakness, his physicians advised him to take a long sea voyage. The voyage to Melbourne was selected, and it was his intention to return in about a year and resume his professional duties.

Rev. Daniel Draper.—A Wesleyan minister, well known and highly respected in Australia, where he had been resident about thirty years, and had successively filled the most important offices in his own community. He came to this country about eight months ago in the capacity of representative of the Methodist Conference of Australia, to the Wesleyan Conference of Great Britain. In his native county (Hampshire), in Ireland, and Scotland, as well as in London and in other parts of England, he endeared himself to a large circle of friends by his genial disposition and his able public services. It is hardly necessary to say that his loss was severely felt, but the sorrow occasioned by his removal was mitigated by the comforting assurance that he was enabled to afford spiritual instruction to his numerous fellow-sufferers to the close of his life. His amiable and devoted wife, who was also much lamented, was the daughter of one of the first missionaries to Tahiti, who sailed by the ship "Duff," at the end of the last century. Mr. Draper left only one son, resident in Australia.

The Rev. Dr. Woolley.—The Rev. Dr. Woolley was a distinguished member of Oxford University, where many friends mourned his untimely end. He entered as a Commoner at Exeter in 1832, and was shortly elected to an open scholarship in that college. He took his B.A. degree in 1836, and was placed in the first class *in literis humanioribus.* A year later he became Scholar, and soon afterwards Fellow of University, then remarkable for the number of most distinguished persons who were members of its foundation. He married young, and was successively head master of Hereford, Rossall, and Ipswich Schools. In 1848 or 1849 an offer of the headship of the University of Sydney tempted him to quit England for Australia, where he had since resided continually, with the exception of two short visits to his native country. He left a widow and a large family of young children, and to the University of Sydney the difficult task of finding a successor capable of carrying on the important educational work into which he had thrown all his energies, and of which those who know Sydney can alone appreciate the benefits.

12. Loss of the "Amalia."—Another steam-ship, the "Amalia," one of the new line recently established in connexion with an overland route to India, left Liverpool for Alexandria on the same day as the "London" left Plymouth; got into the same latitude about the same time, encountered the same weather, and met with the same fate, though, happily, her crew and passengers were saved.

She was a first-class steamer, 3000 tons burden, and owned by Messrs. Pagavanni and Co., Liverpool. She left Liverpool on the 6th inst. On the 10th, the day on which the "London" experienced her worst weather, she was in a hurricane. Nearly every thing on deck was swept away, the bunker-lids were washed off, and the water got down to the fires and extinguished them; the engines soon stopped, the ship became unmanageable in the heavy seas, in which she rolled helplessly. The crew did their best at the pumps, and tried to make sail. All day on the 11th these efforts were persevered with. Meantime another vessel, the "Laconia," had come up, and remained by the "Amalia" all night. But the night made matters worse. Despite all the pumping, the water increased from 9 ft. to 12 ft. in the engine-room. At nine on the following morning it increased to 14 ft. The crew and passengers then gave up in despair, got on board the "Laconia," and in the course of the afternoon the "Amalia" went down.

FEBRUARY.

1. The Presidency of the Royal Academy.—A meeting of the Royal Academicians was held at their house in Trafalgar-square, to decide on the election of a President, in the room of Sir Charles Eastlake, deceased. On the 24th ult. Sir Edwin Landseer was elected by a large majority of the Royal Academicians who were then present, but he declined to serve. So strong a feeling, however, was evinced that he should be the new President, that an adjournment was at once agreed upon until the 1st. At that meeting it appeared that Sir Edwin Landseer persevered in his intention not to serve, and the result was that Mr. Francis Grant, R.A., was elected President. The new President of the Royal Academy is the fourth son of Mr. F. Grant, of Kilgrasdon, Perthshire, and a brother of General Sir J. H. Grant, G.C.B. At the commencement of his artistic career he applied himself to the painting of sporting pieces, but, abandoning this part of the profession, he devoted himself to the higher branches of the art, and in 1834 exhibited at the Royal Academy. In 1842 he was elected an Associate, and in 1851 was advanced to the rank of a Royal Academician.

6. Opening of Parliament by the Queen in Person.—The first session of the seventh Parliament of the reign of Queen Victoria was opened by Her Majesty in person. The ceremony attracted a considerable amount of interest, as this was the first occasion since the death of the Prince Consort, in December, 1861, on which Her Majesty assisted at any State ceremony. The interior of the House of Peers was not opened until twelve o'clock, at which hour an uninterrupted line of carriages stretched down

Parliament-street, and on to Old Palace-yard to the rear of Westminster Abbey, all of them occupied almost exclusively by ladies. At twelve o'clock the living stream poured along the corridors to the different places allotted to the bearers of the different species of tickets. Within the splendid hall the most conspicuous object was the throne, over which were spread in ample folds the royal state robes. The front row of crimson benches on either side was retained for the Peers, but all the back rows were appropriated to the accommodation of ladies, with the exception of those to the rear of the episcopal bench, which were railed off for the use of the diplomatic corps. The side galleries and the great gallery at the end of the building were also set apart for ladies. The Peers, arrayed in red cloaks and ermine, attended in unusually large numbers, and the Prelates were also numerous. Amongst the foreign ministers were the French, Austrian, and Prussian Ambassadors, the Italian and other ministers. A considerable number of the learned judges also attended. The Queen did not go down to the house in her principal state carriage. Her Majesty entered by the Peers' entrance, and not by the Royal passage commencing at the Victoria Tower. She did not wear her robes of state, which were merely laid upon the throne, and the Royal Speech was not read by Her Majesty, but by the Lord Chancellor, in obedience to Her Majesty's commands.

At twenty-five minutes past one o'clock the Lord Chancellor entered the house. The Duke of Cambridge took his seat at the head of the ducal bench. Soon afterwards the Prince and Princess of Wales entered, and the whole House rose in honour of the illustrious visitors. The Prince took his seat immediately above the Duke of Cambridge, and the Princess was escorted by the state officers in attendance to the woolsack, on which she sat facing the throne, and with her back to the Lord Chancellor. She had for attendants the Hon. Mrs. Stonor and another lady, while Earl Spencer and a few other officers formed the suite of the Prince.

Prince Christian of Augustenburg formed another of the late arrivals. He was accommodated with a seat near the end of one of the ambassadors' benches.

At two o'clock the Lord Chancellor left the house, accompanied by the Usher of the Black Rod, for the purpose of being in readiness at the Peers' entrance to receive Her Majesty, and twelve minutes afterwards the royal procession made its appearance. First came a number of heralds and pursuivants, then followed the great officers of state, and, finally, Her Majesty advanced in person, accompanied by the Princesses Helena and Louisa, who, on passing the Princess of Wales, kissed Her Royal Highness. Her Majesty then seated herself on the throne, and the Prince of Wales passed to his chair of state on her right. On her left stood the Princesses Helena and Louisa, Earl Granville bearing the sword of State, the Duke of Argyll in his capacity of Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of Bessborough, the new Lord Chamberlain. Behind her, to the right,

were placed the Duchess of Wellington, the Mistress of the Robes, and another lady in waiting; and more in front of her, at the same side, stood the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Lansdowne, bearing the crown on a cushion, and the Marquis of Winchester, bearing the cap of maintenance. Her Majesty wore a dark purple dress with a border of white ermine. She also carried a tiara of diamonds, and behind her head flowed a white gauze veil.

The assembly, which had all risen on the entrance of the royal procession, were now informed by the Lord Chancellor that he was commanded by Her Majesty to tell them that it was her pleasure they should be seated, and they all resumed their seats accordingly.

Sir Augustus Clifford (Usher of the Black Rod) then, by order of the Lord Chancellor, proceeded to the House of Commons to summon the members to attend at the bar to hear Her Majesty's Speech.

MARCH.

7. INSTITUTION OF THE ALBERT MEDAL.—The "London Gazette" contained the following Warrant under Her Majesty's Royal sign manual to institute a new decoration, to be styled the Albert Medal, to be awarded, "in cases where it shall be considered fit, to such persons as shall, after the date of the warrant, endanger their own lives in saving, or endeavouring to save, the lives of others from shipwreck or other peril of the sea:"—

Warrant instituting a new Decoration, to be styled the Albert Medal.

VICTORIA R.—Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c., to all to whom these presents shall come greeting:

"Whereas, we, taking into our Royal consideration that great loss of life is sustained by reason of shipwrecks and other perils of the sea, and taking also into consideration the many daring and heroic actions performed by mariners and others to prevent such loss, and to save the lives of those who are in danger of perishing by reason of wrecks and perils of the sea; and taking also into consideration the expediency of distinguishing such efforts by some mark of our Royal favour: Now, for the purpose of attaining an end so desirable as that of rewarding such actions as aforesaid, we have instituted and created, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, institute and create a new decoration, which we are desirous should be highly prized and eagerly sought after, and are graciously pleased to make, ordain, and establish the following rules and ordinances for the government of the same, which shall from henceforth be inviolably observed and kept:—

"1. It is ordained that the distinction shall be styled 'The Albert Medal,' and shall consist of a gold oval-shaped badge or decoration, enamelled in dark blue, with a monogram composed of the letters V. and A. interlaced, with an anchor erect, in gold, surrounded with a garter, in bronze, inscribed in raised letters in gold 'For gallantry in saving life at sea,' and surmounted by a representation of the crown of His Royal Highness the lamented Prince Consort, and suspended from a dark blue ribbon of five-eighths of an inch in width, with two white longitudinal stripes.

"2. It is ordained that the medal shall be suspended from the left breast.

"3. It is ordained that the names of those upon whom we may be pleased to confer the decoration shall be published in the 'London Gazette,' and a registry thereof kept in the office of the Board of Trade.

"4. It is ordained that any one who, after having received the medal, again performs an act which, if he had not received such medal, would have entitled him to it, such further act shall be recorded by a bar attached to the ribbon by which the medal is suspended; and for every such additional act an additional bar may be added.

"5. It is ordained that the medal shall only be awarded to those who, after the date of this instrument, have, in saving, or endeavouring to save, the lives of others from shipwreck or other peril of the sea, endangered their own lives; and that such award shall be made only on a recommendation to us by the President of the Board of Trade.

"6. In order to make such additional provision as shall effectually preserve pure this most honourable distinction, it is ordained that if any person on whom such distinction is conferred be guilty of any crime or disgraceful conduct which, in our judgment, disqualifies him for the said decoration, his name shall forthwith be erased from the registry of individuals upon whom the said decoration shall have been conferred by an especial warrant under our Royal sign manual, and his medal shall be forfeited; and every person to whom the said medal is given shall, before receiving the same, enter into an engagement to return the same if his name shall be so erased as aforesaid under this regulation. It is hereby further declared that we, our heirs and successors, shall be the sole judges of the circumstances demanding such expulsion; moreover, we shall at all times have power to restore such persons as may at any time have been expelled to the enjoyment of the decoration.

"Given at our Court of St. James's, this 7th day of March, 1866, in the twenty-ninth year of our reign. By Her Majesty's command, "G. Grey."

13. The Queen's Review of the Troops at Aldershott.—For the first time during five years, the Queen visited the camp at

Aldershott, and reviewed the troops in garrison. Her Majesty, with their Royal Highnesses Princess Helena and Princess Hohenlohe, attended by General Grey, General Seymour, Colonel Ponsonby, and the Duchess of Roxburghe, left Windsor in a couple of open carriages, with a cavalry escort of the 1st Life Guards. Generals Grey and Seymour were in full uniform, and rode near the Royal carriage on the journey, the escort from the castle being relieved at Bagshot by a troop of the 3rd Hussars, which regiment furnished the escort for the remainder of the distance to the camp. Her Majesty arrived opposite the Queen's Hotel, at the entrance to the north camp, about noon, the Royal approach being heralded by a salute from the field battery near the church. Lieutenant-General Sir J. Yorke Scarlett, K.C.B., commanding the division; Colonel Herbert, Assistant Quartermaster-General; Lieutenant-Colonel Luard, Captain Lockhart, Captain Milligan, Lieutenant Trout, &c., rode out of the camp to receive the Queen, who then drove to the parade and inspected the First Brigade, under Major-General Russell, C.B., and consisting of the 69th, 71st (Highland), and 17th Regiments of foot, commanded respectively by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackirdy, Lieutenant-Colonel Hope, C.B., and Colonel Gordon. The troops received Her Majesty with a salute, the band playing the National Anthem. The Queen then drove slowly by the ranks and inspected the men. The Royal party, attended by a brilliant cavalcade, next returned to the Farnborough-road and proceeded to the south camp. On the parade were several regiments of infantry, forming the Second Brigade, mustered under the command of Brigadier-General Campbell, C.B. The brigade included the 28th Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, the 63rd by Colonel Carter, the 13th by Major Peel, the 52nd by Colonel Peel, and a company of the Royal Engineers under Captain Stockley. The troops, as in the case of the First Brigade, were formed in line, and saluted as the Queen drove on to the parade. Her Majesty inspected the ranks, and then, as a variation, the regiments marched past the Queen in grand divisions to the music of their bands. It was nearly one o'clock before the inspection of the infantry terminated, and at its conclusion the Royal party drove through the south camp by way of the Prince Consort's library to the artillery and cavalry barracks, and then by the main road past the memorial church to the Pavilion, where the illustrious party lunched. The review of the cavalry, artillery, pontoon, and military trains was left for the afternoon, and formed the most important part of the proceeding.

21. Installation of Prince Alfred as Master of the Trinity House.—His Royal Highness Prince Alfred was formally installed in the office of Master of the Corporation of the Trinity House, which had become vacant by the death of Lord Palmerston, who had held it for nearly four years, and up to the time of his decease. His immediate predecessor in the office was the Prince Consort, who, succeeding the Duke of Wellington, held it from

October, 1852, down to his lamented death in December, 1861, upwards of nine years. The dignity is understood to have been conferred upon Prince Alfred by an unanimous resolution of the Court of Elder Brethren, and His Royal Highness was graciously pleased to accept it. The ceremony took place in the court-room of the Corporation at their house in Trinity-square, Tower-hill, before Captain Arrow, Deputy Master, Lord Northbrook, Sir John Pakington, M.P., and many more of the Elder Brethren, convened as a special Court for the occasion. His Royal Highness, attended by Lieutenant Haig, arrived punctually at two o'clock, the hour appointed, and was received with every mark of consideration and respect by the whole Court. Their resolution conferring the office of Master upon the Prince having been read, His Royal Highness was formally inducted, having previously taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of fidelity to the Corporation of the Trinity House and its interests, which were administered by Mr. Berthon, the secretary. He then received the hearty congratulations of the members of the Court, with which the ceremony ended. From the court-room His Royal Highness was conducted to the banqueting-hall, where he partook of luncheon with the whole of the Elder Brethren who had attended the installation. Such of the members of the Government and of the Opposition as are Elder Brethren had been invited to the ceremony, but a Cabinet Council convened for the same hour prevented the Government being represented on the occasion. The Earl of Derby, much to his regret, was detained by indisposition.

24. The University Boat-race.—For the sixth time in succession, Oxford carried off the great aquatic honours of the year by defeating Cambridge, though not till after a very severe struggle. Oxford won eventually by a considerable lead, but only by a most gallant effort, which taxed the powers of both crews to the utmost. None but those who have regularly attended these contests for the last ten or twelve years can have any idea of the extent to which the public interest in them has increased. Little more than twelve years ago, they were not annual, but may rather be described as only occasional. Even when they did become of yearly recurrence, the public feeling was as nothing when compared with the excitement with which the race is looked forward to now. The disappointment, therefore, was great and general when it was found this year that the absolute exigencies of time and tide made it necessary to row the race not only early in the severity of an English spring, but in the still greater inclemency of early morning. The race of last year was probably one of the greatest ever seen. It was rowed in the middle of the day, the season was more advanced, the weather superb, and not even the Derby ever drew such a concourse together as that which thronged the banks of the Thames on that occasion, and cheered on Oxford to its well-won victory. There was not so much of this great public interest shown this year, as might naturally have

been expected, owing chiefly to the time fixed for the contest, and the cold tempestuous night which preceded it. Still, the attendance of spectators was very great, and the number of steamers which followed the boats was even larger than usual. The competitive athletic sports between the Universities, resulting in almost equal honours to both, have, no doubt, done much to keep alive the interest in the boat-race, and led to its being looked forward to as the final test of supremacy. Oxford, from the very first, was the favourite. But those who had seen the two crews in training could never see any thing in their performances to account for the wide difference which prevailed in betting estimation. The Oxford men seemed rather to have departed from their long, deep, slow stroke. They both rowed quicker and feathered higher than is usual with them, and this on rough water gave them an appearance of looseness which the neat, close rowing of the Cambridge men never showed. The latter in their trials on the Cam were admitted to pull well, and the rowing of this day showed beyond a question that Cambridge had seldom, if ever, sent a finer crew to London.

At a quarter to eight both crews simultaneously manned their boats, and paddled out to their respective stations, amidst the plaudits of the assembled multitude.

OXFORD.	st.	lb.	CAMBRIDGE.	st.	lb.
1. R. T. Raikes, Merton	11	1	1. J. Still, Caius	11	7
2. F. Crowder, Brasenose	11	11	2. J. R. Selwyn, Trinity	11	6
3. W. F. Freeman, Merton	12	7	3. J. W. Bourke, Trinity	12	3
4. F. Willan, Exeter	12	2	4. H. Fortescue, Magdalene	12	6
5. E. F. Henley, Oriel	13	0	5. D. H. Steavenson, Trin. Hall	12	7
6. W. W. Wood, University	12	4	6. R. A. Kinglake, Trinity	12	11
7. H. P. Senhouse, Ch. Ch.	11	3	7. H. Watney, St. John's	10	12
8. M. Brown, Trinity	11	5	8. W. R. Griffiths, Trinity	11	12
C. R. W. Tottenham, Ch. Ch. (cox.)	7	13	A. Forbes, St. John's (cox.)	8	0

Oxford, having won the toss, took the Middlesex side. The start took place off Simmon's yard at ten minutes to eight o'clock. The oars of both crews caught the water at exactly the same moment; the boats, answering to the stroke, were immediately under weigh, neither appearing to gain any thing upon the other for the first dozen strokes. Cambridge, settling to her rowing sooner than her opponents, inch by inch stole away until, off Craven Cottage, she was a quarter of a length in advance. The shouts from the partisans of Oxford induced Mr. Brown to quicken, but the Cambridge stroke was not to be hurried from his steady, well-rowed-through drag, with which he was gradually working his crew to the front, and at the Bishop's Creek, Cambridge, well out in mid stream, were three-quarters of their length ahead, but this was partly attributable to the Oxford hugging too closely the Middlesex shore. At this point both crews were rowing forty strokes a minute. Mr. Brown here quickened, and the spurt, after three or four strokes, was taken up by his crew, which brought them nearly level with Cambridge. Mr. Griffiths was not to be entrapped into hurrying his stroke by this gallant challenge of his

adversary, and preserving his form, being still well backed up by his crew, again drew to the front, and when opposite the Dung Wharf he had placed his own oar level with the bow of the Oxford boat. The Oxford coxswain appeared determined not to be washed, and calling on his crew they answered in a determined manner to his appeal, and by the time they commenced to divide the reach in making for the bridge the nose of their boat was once more up to the bow oar of Cambridge. The latter, without quickening, kept their own till past the Soap Works, when Mr. Brown, again not to be denied, tried another spurt, and this time Mr. Griffith accepted his offer, slightly sharpened his crew, and shot Hammersmith Bridge three quarters of a length ahead, in 8 min. 15 sec. from the time they first dashed their oars into the water. Oxford here seemed to lose her form, two or three of them appearing to show the effect of the continuous spurts which the indomitable pluck of their stroke had demanded of them. From this point up to the tail of Chiswick Eyot, Cambridge, still in excellent form, and kept in the proper course, gradually improved her position, and by the time they had reached the head of the island there was an interval of a length and a half between the contending boats. The race was here pronounced to be over, but "there's many a slip;" and a boat race, composed of crews of the proper material, is never finished till one of them has passed the flagboat. Corney Reach, with its troubled waters, was now entered, which, always a severe task to be overcome, on the present occasion opposed unusual difficulties; but instead of succumbing to adversity both crews actually seemed to improve in form and strength. Another spurt on the part of Oxford somewhat diminished the distance between them. Up to this point the steering on the part of Cambridge was without a fault, but, unfortunately, a barge was here standing across the Middlesex shore, astern of which they should have been taken, whereas Mr. Forbes, misjudging, no doubt, the speed both of his own craft and that of the barge, made up his mind to go ahead of her, so that nothing but a sharp spurt, and a great sheer of the boat, saved them at last from being run down. This severe call upon the powers of the crew enabled Oxford at this most critical period to come up with and almost magically to take the lead of the Cambridge boat; and it could easily be understood how such a sudden change in the state of things would affect a crew already nearly worn out with the tremendous struggle. We do not mean to say that this unlucky barge actually settled the race one way or the other, for the strong wind then blowing was evidently telling more on Light Blue, who were here more exposed to it, than their opponents, whose rowing against it seemed to come more from the legs; and here, too, might especially be noticed the singular vigour and well-maintained form of No. 5 in the Oxford crew, who worked throughout this race with that precision and apparent ease which mark only the consummate oarsman. In a moment the Oxford rowing, which had at times been rather wild,

assumed an entirely different form; and their chief, giving a longer stroke than he had hitherto done, appeared as in a moment to instil the proper art into his crew, which they never lost again. Barnes Bridge was reached by Oxford in 20 min. 25 sec., Cambridge being half a boat's length astern. From this point Oxford gradually, foot by foot, crept away, notwithstanding the judicious course taken by the Cambridge coxswain, in abandoning the Middlesex shore and the wash of his opponents, and seeking for, at any rate, dead water in the centre of the river. Though astern so near the fatal flagboat, Mr. Griffiths, did not attempt to hurry his crew, still maintained the excellent stroke he had rowed throughout, and thereby preserved his own and their form to the last of one of the severest races that has ever been witnessed upon these waters. The goal was not yet attained, for, in consequence of the start taking place opposite Simmon's, the winning boat was placed about 200 yards below Barker's Rails, and was passed by Oxford in 25 min. 48 sec., and nine strokes or 15 sec. ahead of Cambridge.

Both crews used the boats in which their predecessors of last year rowed, and both were built by Messrs. Salter, of Oxford. Mr. J. W. Chitty, of Exeter College, Oxford, was umpire.

Time by Benson's chronograph: Started 7h. 49 min. 49 1-10th sec.; arrived, 8h. 10 min. 11 sec.; time occupied, 20 min. 21 9-10th sec.

28. AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF THE QUEEN TO MR. PEABODY.—The eminent American merchant, Mr. Peabody, having added to his splendid gift of the preceding year for the improvement of the dwellings of the poor of London another munificent donation, Her Majesty addressed to him the following autograph letter:—

"Windsor Castle, March 28, 1866.

"The Queen hears that Mr. Peabody intends shortly to return to America, and she would be sorry that he should leave England without being assured by herself how deeply she appreciates the noble act of more than princely munificence by which he has sought to relieve the wants of the poorer class of her subjects residing in London.

"It is an act, as the Queen believes, wholly without parallel, and which will carry its best reward in the consciousness of having contributed so largely to the assistance of those who can little help themselves.

"The Queen would not, however, have been satisfied without giving Mr. Peabody some public mark of her sense of his munificence, and she would gladly have conferred upon him either a baronetcy or the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, but that she understands Mr. Peabody to feel himself debarred from accepting such distinctions.

"It only remains, therefore, for the Queen to give Mr. Peabody this assurance of her personal feelings, which she would further

wish to mark by asking him to accept a miniature portrait of herself, which she will desire to have painted for him, and which, when finished, can either be sent to him to America, or given to him on the return which, she rejoices to hear, he meditates, to the country that owes him so much."

The following letter was transmitted to the Queen, through Earl Russell, in reply to Her Majesty's gracious letter:

"The Palace Hotel, Buckingham Gate, London, April 3.

"Madam,—I feel sensibly my inability to express in adequate terms the gratification with which I have read the letter which your Majesty has done me the high honour of transmitting by the hands of Earl Russell.

"On the occasion which has attracted your Majesty's attention of setting apart a portion of my property to ameliorate the condition and augment the comforts of the poor of London, I have been actuated by a deep sense of gratitude to God, who has blessed me with prosperity, and of attachment to this great country, where, under your Majesty's benign rule, I have received so much personal kindness, and enjoyed so many years of happiness.

"Next to the approval of my own conscience, I shall always prize the assurance which your Majesty's letter conveys to me of the approbation of the Queen of England, whose whole life has attested that her exalted station has in no degree diminished her sympathy with the humblest of her subjects.

"The portrait which your Majesty is graciously pleased to bestow on me I shall value as the most precious heirloom that I can leave in the land of my birth, where, together with the letter which your Majesty has addressed to me, it will ever be regarded as an evidence of the kindly feeling of the Queen of the United Kingdom towards a citizen of the United States.

"I have the honour to be your Majesty's most obedient servant,

"George Peabody.

"To Her Majesty the Queen."

APRIL.

2. University of Edinburgh.—Installation of Mr. Carlyle as Rector.—Mr. Thomas Carlyle was installed in office as Rector of the University of Edinburgh, and delivered his inaugural address. The event had been looked forward to with the keenest expectation, and the demand for tickets was far beyond the power of accommodation of the Music-hall. The students, as the constituents of the Rector, especially looked forward with enthusiasm

to the visit of Mr. Carlyle, who, though not in the first instance unanimously chosen, was at least unanimously welcomed. By a little after one o'clock the front gallery had been filled by ladies, who were admitted by the Rose-street entrance, and before the half-hour the front doors were thrown open, when the entire area of the hall was filled in a few minutes by the students and by graduates who had the fortune to obtain tickets. The back of the platform was also quickly filled by the overflow from the area of the hall. The assemblage must have numbered altogether about 2200. In the interval that elapsed before the ceremony, the students amused themselves by lively demonstrations, but at the same time keeping perfect order. The academic body moved in procession to the platform, the Rector, who wore the robe of office, being immensely cheered.

The Rev. Dr. Lee opened the meeting with prayer.

Mr. Gibson, chairman of Mr. Carlyle's committee, said,—"Mr. Vice-Chancellor, in the name of the students of this University, I present to you Mr. Carlyle as the Rector whom we have chosen. It would be strange indeed if we were to omit from the list of those we wish to honour our University's most distinguished son—the foremost of living Scotchmen. More than fifty years ago he was a student in our class-rooms, and now we rejoice that it has been our good fortune to bring him back to you, and to give to him the highest of all the honours we have to bestow. I beg you will install him as our Lord Rector."

The ceremony of presentation for the degree of LL.D. then took place.

Professor Muirhead then severally presented to the Vice-Chancellor, as gentlemen whom the Senate had adjudged worthy to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Law, Mr. Erskine, of Linlathen, advocate, a gentleman who had attained a high reputation for elegant scholarship both in classical and Biblical literature; Professor Huxley, who had vindicated his claim to be regarded as one of the most accomplished naturalists of the day; Dr. John Rae, who had, by personal exploration, largely extended our knowledge of the Arctic regions; Professor A. Crombie Ramsay, to whose personal services the success of the geological survey of the United Kingdom was mainly to be attributed; and Professor Tyndal, the worthy successor of Davy, and colleague of Faraday. These gentlemen were severally invested with the doctor's hood.

Mr. Carlyle then addressed the students in a discourse of more than an hour. He recommended them to pursue historical studies, pronounced eulogies upon Cromwell and Knox, and urged the cultivation of pure and high thoughts as a noble ambition, better than the acquisition of all California, or "getting all the suffrages on the planet." His address was received by his auditory with enthusiastic applause.

— The Annual Volunteer Review at Brighton.—The great annual gathering of the volunteers took place this year on the

Brighton Downs, the weather being unpropitious for such a display. Nevertheless, the town was early astir, and the continuous arrival and mustering of the volunteer regiments in their appointed places of rendezvous, told that, whether in rain or sunshine, the spectacle would take place. True to military time, at 10.45 a.m. the signal gun announced that the moment had arrived for the march off, and the Honourable Artillery Company's Infantry Regiment led the van from the north end of the Level, and was rapidly succeeded by the various brigades and battalions in their prescribed order. The clock of St. Peter's had scarcely chimed the hour of eleven, when the booming of the cannon from the heights, firing a Royal salute, announced the arrival of the Royal visitors at the railway station, and in about half-an-hour the cheers of the crowds assembled in the frontage of the Royal Albion Hotel, announced that the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Royal *cortége* had reached that point, where, at the entrance to the Marine Parade, the volunteers were pursuing their march in fours to the Race Hill. The next moment the Prince and Princess of Wales and Royal *suite* were in the midst of them, and from this point the scene was most animated. The balconies crowded with ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs, and ribbons of various hues, the hurrahs of the people and the volunteers, mingled with the martial music of the bands of the respective regiments, and the general enthusiasm which prevailed, gave a grand effect to the progress. The Royal *cortége* reached the Grand Stand, at the race course, a few minutes before twelve o'clock, and at that time the Artillery and the larger proportion of the first division of infantry were on the Downs, and massed in columns of battalions, ready for the march past. The Prince and Princess of Wales in the first instance rode, accompanied by the Duke of Cambridge, to the Grand Stand, where the Royal party were received by the Mayor of Brighton and the race-course trustees, and conducted to the gallery assigned for them, facing the saluting-flag (the Royal Standard), in charge of which was a seaman whose breast was covered with medals. The Princess of Wales was accompanied by the Princess Mary of Cambridge and the Hon. Mrs. Stonor, and the Lady Mayoress, Major-General Knollys, and other members of the *suite*, and having taken her seat, the Prince of Wales rode off to take his post at the head of the first brigade of the first division, under command of Major-General Lord F. Paulett, whilst the Duke of Cambridge, as Commander-in-Chief of the forces, accompanied by the commander of the movements of the day, General Sir Robert Garrett, K.C.B., the Prince of Tieck, the Prince of Hohenlohe, and the staff, took post at the saluting-flag. The mounted band of the 1st Dragoon Guards were ranged in front of the Grand Stand, and in a few minutes the serried squadrons, twelve in number, of that splendid regiment were seen advancing up the hill on the southern end of the race-course, and the march past commenced. Immediately following the Royal Dragoons

came the Light Horse Troop of the Hon. Artillery Company. At the head of this troop rode the Prince of Wales, in his full-dress uniform, as Captain-General of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, and, after saluting his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, the Prince wheeled round and took post with his Royal relative at the flag-staff. Next followed the first brigade of field-batteries of the 1st Middlesex Artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel H. Creed, two light guns of the Hon. Artillery Company, and eight light guns of the 1st Middlesex. The second brigade, under Lord Truro, composed of five batteries of light guns, one each of the 1st Hants, the 3rd Middlesex, and the 2nd Surrey; these were succeeded by the first division of infantry, consisting of Lord Bury's brigade, viz. the Infantry Battalion of the Hon. Artillery Company, four companies; 21st Middlesex (Civil Service) and Artists', five companies; 26th Middlesex (Her Majesty's Customs), six companies; the 3rd City of London, seven companies; the 2nd City (incorporated with some other corps), five companies; and two companies of the 1st Northampton, to which permission had been granted to be present. The second brigade, under command of the Marquis of Donegal, consisted of the West Middlesex, four companies; the London Scottish, five companies; the London Irish, nine companies; the 19th Middlesex, six companies; and the St. Goorge's, five companies. The third brigade, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bigge, consisted of his own corps, the 20th Middlesex, which with some other corps made up four companies; the 7th Surrey, six companies; the London Rifle Brigade, eight companies; the 1st Kent Administrative Battalion, seven companies; and the 37th Bloomsbury and 39th Finsbury, together, seven companies. The fourth brigade, under Sir John Shelley, was made up of an engineer battalion, composed of the 1st Middlesex, 1st Tower Hamlets, and 1st City of London, seven companies; the 29th North Middlesex, six companies; the 46th Middlesex (London and Westminster), four companies; the 22nd Middlesex (Queen's Westminster), nine companies; and the 4th Middlesex, five companies. The fifth and last brigade of the first division, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, consisted of the 40th Middlesex and one company of the 1st Lancashire, which, by the permission of the War Office, had come from Liverpool to attend the review, and acquitted themselves with the highest credit; 1st Tower Hamlets, six companies; 6th Tower Hamlets, eight companies; 4th Tower Hamlets, four companies; and the 2nd and 8th Tower Hamlets.

The second division was headed by its general, Brigadier-General J. Campbell, C.B., and his staff. The first brigade of this division was made up of twenty-eight companies of Garrison Artillerymen, under Lieutenant-Colonel W. Richards. This force constituted the 1st Hants, 3rd Essex, 2nd Middlesex, 1st London, 1st and 2nd Sussex, 9th and 14th Kent, and 2nd Surrey Artillery. The second brigade was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel G. H. Money, and

consisted of the 2nd Administrative Battalion of Middlesex, four companies; the 10th, 19th, and 28th Surrey, nine companies; the 3rd Administrative Battalion of Essex, eight companies; the 2nd Essex Battalion, six companies; and the 48th Middlesex, five companies. The third was Lord Ranelagh's brigade, and consisted of three companies of the Victorias, and two of the Paddington (36th Middlesex), in one battalion; 7th Middlesex Administrative Battalion, four companies; 1st Surrey, three companies; 19th Surrey, four companies; 2nd Administrative Battalion of Surrey, eight companies; and 1st and 3rd Surrey Battalions, six companies; the rear being brought up by Lord Ranelagh's "Lambs," the 2nd, or South Middlesex, six companies. This regiment, in addition to its pioneers, had a new feature, in the shape of a juvenile vivandiere, who attracted the marked attention of the Princess and the Royal party at the flag-staff. The fourth brigade, under Colonel W. Bartelott, consisted of the 1st Sussex (Brighton), five companies; 2nd Administrative Battalion of Sussex, ten companies; 1st Sussex Battalion, six companies; and the 1st Administrative Battalion of Cinque Ports, six companies. The last infantry brigade was made up of twenty-four companies, exclusively from the county of Hants, and consisted of the 1st Battalion of the 1st Hampshire Engineer Volunteers, 2nd Battalion of the 4th Administrative Battalion, 3rd Administrative Battalion, and 2nd Administrative Battalion, without doubt, as a whole, the finest body of men on the ground.

Following the second division of Infantry came the 3rd and 4th Brigades of Field Batteries, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonels F. A. Durnford and T. H. Johnston. These brigades consisted of heavy 18 and 24-pounder guns of position, and the way in which they were drawn over the ground by the heavy cart-horses lent by the brewers of the town and farmers of the county, excited the highest admiration.

With regard to the marching past generally it was a vast improvement on that of the preceding year, and it was only in some very few instances that the proper wheeling distances were not kept, and that remark more particularly applied to country than to metropolitan corps. Whilst the second division was marching past, the first division, which had preceeded it, was quietly taking up its position for the attack on the heights of Upper Bevendean and the ridge of that portion of the downs in the direction of the Lewes Road, known as Newmarket Hill, a distance of some two miles from the windmill at the northern end of the racecourse, which forms the summit of the hill, commanding an uninterrupted view of the valley of Lower Bevendean, with its farmhouse, yard, gardens, and outhouses, and which formed a species of Hougumont, where the heat of the battle was expected to rage. It was at this point that the Princess of Wales and *suite* took up their position in the Royal carriages to witness the field-day evolutions; but the same fault which has characterized all

previous similar exhibitions on these downs was again persisted in, and had the effect of preventing the Royal party during the time they remained seeing any thing of the real action. For upwards of half-an-hour the guns as well as the forces of the attacking division were kept at so great a distance, that the firing of the guns could only be distinguished by the small puffs of white smoke which were now and then emitted from the hills, and along the thin and diminutive lines of red and dark green and grey-coated volunteers; and the small puffs from the solitary rifles of the skirmishers, sent over to cover the front of the advancing army, could scarcely be distinguished at all. Meantime, the enemy were slowly advancing, and, by a right flank movement, were seeking to turn the left of that of the defenders. At this point a smart shower of hail caused a forest of umbrellas to be raised, and the ground to clear rapidly; and it was not long after that the Prince and the Staff were seen riding through the valley of Bevendean on their return to their starting point, and the whole of the Royal party speedily quitted the ground. It was not until after this that the real action of the day was fought, the capture of the farm of Lower Bevendean effected, the left flank of the first division of the defenders turned, and driven up the hills upon their supports. By this time the rain came down in torrents; and, but for this circumstance, that which was really the grand climax of the day would have been, without doubt, the most brilliant sight ever beheld by the English public in the shape of a mimic battle. The whole of the hills surrounding the valley of Bevendean, as well as the valley itself, were suddenly filled with troops, which kept up an incessant and rattling fire, whilst the cannon belched forth its thunder in one endless din from every available point, until, at a given signal, the troops of the first division were seen in motion, and an indication was given that the interesting, though bloodless, volunteer battle of the Sussex Downs for 1866 was brought to a close.

The Prince and Princess of Wales and party reached the Pavilion at Brighton shortly before four o'clock, and having partaken of luncheon, quitted it about half-past five, passing under the triumphal arch at the southern entrance to the grounds, up North Street, and through Queen's Road to the railway station, where thousands had assembled to greet them. In the evening there was an illumination, which, although not a very brilliant one, attracted thousands of the Brightonians and country folks, as well as hundreds of volunteers, and kept the streets in motion till a late hour.

So far as the numerical strength of the force is concerned, the volunteers on the ground were less by 374 than those assembled at the Brighton Review of last year, namely, 20,095 men, as against 20,469; but it was an increase of upwards of 3000 over that of 1863, and of upwards of 4000 over the muster of 1864, when the Easter Monday Review took place at Guildford. There were also 2515 less than the returns made to the War Office of the numbers

expected to be present, although there were detachments of two regiments, namely, the 1st Lancashire, from Liverpool, and the Northampton Corps, which were not in the original programme; the numbers estimated to be present being 22,610. The War Office authorities have not adopted the usual course this year of publishing the field state of each corps on the ground, but have confined their returns to the brigades, which show the following result:—

Cavalry, 401; Horse Artillery, 35; Artillery, 52 guns; 1st Brigade of Field Batteries, 201; 2nd, 294; 3rd, 209; 4th, 368—total artillery, 1072; as against the estimated strength, 1424.

First division of Infantry: 1st brigade, 1590; 2nd, 1660; 3rd, 2127; 4th, 1977; 5th, 2229—total field state of division, 9583; estimated strength, 11,143.

Second division: 1st brigade, 1700; 2nd, 2078; 3rd, 2188; 4th, 1593; 5th, 1445; total field state, 9004—estimated strength, 10,043. Making a grand total as regards the field state of the forces of 20,095, against the estimated strength of 22,610.

Colonel M'Murdo was on the ground throughout the whole of the movements, attired in the uniform of the Inns of Court Volunteers, and was accompanied by two Colonels of the Engineer Volunteer Staff.

3. Funeral of the Ex-Queen of the French.—The funeral of Queen Marie Amélie took place at Weybridge. The hearse, drawn by eight horses and preceded by mounted mutes bearing wands, left Claremont at a quarter-past eleven, all the mourners following to the park gates on foot. Only the Princes of the House of Orleans wore cloaks; all others invited to take part in the ceremony being in plain evening dress, without either cloaks or hatbands. Outside the park gates, and drawn up on the left to precede the hearse, were two mourning coaches and four, one for Bishop Grant and the clergy of his diocese who assisted, the other for the late Queen's private chaplains. Immediately following the hearse three mourning coaches conveyed the King of the Belgians, who arrived in London the previous night, and stayed at Marlborough House, and the Princes of Orleans, viz.:—The Comte de Paris, the Duc de Chartres, the Comte d'Artois, the Prince de Joinville, the Duc d'Aumale, and other members of the family. Among the diplomatic body who attended were the Austrian Ambassador, the Prussian Ambassador, the Belgian Minister, the Bavarian Minister, the Italian Minister, the Portuguese Minister, the Saxon Minister, the Spanish Minister, the Brazilian Minister, and the Mexican Minister. MM. Guizot, Thiers, Duchâtel, and Rémusat occupied the same coach. The ladies attending the funeral were the Countess of Paris, the Duchess of Chartres, the Princess Marguerite, the Princess de Joinville, the Duchess of Aumale, the Duchess of Wurtemburg, the Princess Salerne, the Countess Aueroper, the Marquise de Lastigne, the Baroness Finguerlui, the Countess de Chabannes,

the Marquise de Beauvoir, Mdlle. Muser, Mdlle. Boeris, Madame de Porquet, Mdlle. Bernard, the Countess Barnels, the Baroness Wangenheim, and Mdlle. St. Aubin.

5. THE QUEEN AT ALDERSHOTT.—Her Majesty paid a short visit to the Camp at Aldershott. The cause which induced to this almost unexpected honour was the occasion of presenting a new pair of colours to the gallant 89th Regiment, in lieu of the battered shreds which the corps has borne in all parts of the world for the last thirty-three years, and always borne with honour to themselves and credit to their country. This visit, however, was so strictly private that none but a few chief officers of the Camp were aware of it, and the pretty Pavilion in which Her Majesty used to stay when the Camp was honoured with her presence frequently, was used on that occasion. Little more notice was given, however, than was actually necessary to get it into order, and it was not till the morning of the day when the regiments turned out that the Camp was gladdened by the news that the Queen was at last again about to visit it. The compliment intended to be paid to the forces was known in the early part of this week, yet nevertheless the actual date of the visit was left uncertain. The early part of the day was cold and very wet, and those who know Aldershott can understand what that description means, as applied to its bleak, wintry-looking plains. Fortunately as the morning wore on the weather cleared up beautifully, and during the whole time Her Majesty was in Camp the weather was splendidly clear, though still cold even for an English spring. Her Majesty, accompanied by the Princess Helena, and attended by an escort of the Life Guards, left Windsor in an open carriage and four at twelve o'clock. On the road, when near Camp, the horses were changed, and an escort of the 17th Lancers followed Her Majesty thence to the Pavilion. As the Queen entered the precincts of the Camp a Royal salute was fired from the hill, and Lieutenant-General Sir J. Yorke Scarlett, with the principal brigade officers, were in attendance to meet her. Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of Cambridge and Prince Arthur came down to meet Her Majesty by the South-Western Railway. The Duke wore his uniform as Field-Marshal, and the Prince a Highland dress of the Royal tartan. While the Royal party were at lunch in the Pavilion the troops began to assemble, and poured in dense colums from all parts of the Camp to the parade-ground on the north side facing Cove-common. Here they were drawn up in a massive double line, the Horse Artillery and Cavalry being stationed on the right flank, the infantry in the centre, the field batteries on the left. In the rear of all were the Royal Engineers, and the Pontoon, Commissariat, and Military Train. In all, nearly 11,000 men were on the ground. The Cavalry Brigade, under the command of Major-General Hodge, consisted of the 3rd and 8th Hussars and 17th Lancers, with troops of Horse Artillery attached. The 1st Brigade of Infantry, under the command of

Brigadier-General Renny, consisted of the 1st battalion 17th Regiment, with the 52nd and 81st Regiments of the Line, The 2nd Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General G. Campbell, included the 1st battalion 13th Regiment, the 28th and 63rd Regiments. Sir Alfred Horsford commanded the 3rd Brigade, of the 69th, 71st, and 89th Regiments. The corps of Royal Engineers was under the charge of Colonel Laffan; and Colonel J. P. Robertson led the Military Train. The 89th Regiment, which was to receive its colours, was drawn up in front and facing the position which the Royal party was to occupy. Soon after three o'clock Her Majesty's carriage, followed by a magnificent Staff, drove on to the parade-ground.

There were, comparatively speaking, very few spectators present, but these greeted Her Majesty's arrival with the most enthusiastic cheers. The Queen wore the plainest and most simple of widow's weeds. She looked remarkably well in health. The Princess Helena was also attired in deep mourning for the late Queen Marie Amélie. As the Royal carriage approached the parade-ground the whole mass of troops saluted with presented arms and lowered colours in excellent style. No mechanism, in fact, could exceed the precision with which this movement was executed, all the bands at the same time playing the National Anthem. As soon as Her Majesty had taken her position the bands of the 3rd Brigade marched out slowly along the face of the line, playing a sad and rather melancholy tune as they proceeded to "troop" the old colours for the last time. Having marched slowly past to this music the bands were joined by the 1st company of the 89th, led by its officers and the two senior Ensigns. These, again, marched past till nearly in front of the Queen, when the company was met by the colour-sergeants, who brought forward the standards and uncased them. Both the Ensigns saluted them twice before advancing to receive them, which, when they had done, they turned and planted them in front of the company, which also saluted them with Royal honours. It was evidently not a day too soon that this gallant corps was to get fresh banners. As the old ones were unfurled, or rather, to speak more correctly, as their remnants blew out in the cold wintry breeze, it was seen that one had scarcely sufficient tatters left to fringe its staff, while even of the Queen's flag so little remained that it was barely possible to recognize it. All remains of colour had almost entirely disappeared; the Sphinx (the distinctive emblem of the regiment, gained for glorious services in Egypt) was no longer to be seen, while the old historic names of "Niagara," "Egypt," "Java," "Ava," and "Sebastopol" had utterly disappeared. With these tattered remnants of by-gone services the Ensigns, followed by the company, and preceded by the band, marched slowly towards their regiment, which received them with a Royal salute. In this way, and held high aloft, the old flags were taken down past the front of the 89th for the last time. As they turned

from the line of motionless soldiers, who stood with presented arms, the band played "Auld Lang Syne," and in another minute the old colours were in their cases, never to be used again. As they were thus furled and stored away the colour-sergeants brought forward the two new standards, which were bright with all that gold and colour and embroidery could do for them. With these unfurled and blowing stiffly out the Ensigns stood while Colonel Boyle formed the 89th into three sides of a square facing inwards. The colours were then laid on the drums near the Queen's carriage while the Chaplain-General, with the Rev. Mr. Rogers, principal Chaplain to the Camp, and the Rev. Mr. Abbott, Chaplain to the 3rd Brigade, pronounced the customary benediction over them. The Ensigns then took them to the Royal carriage, and placed them, the Queen's colour first, and the regimental colour afterwards, in the hands of Her Majesty. The Queen bowed as she received them, and held them for a minute while she said, clearly:—

"I have much pleasure in renewing the colours given you many years ago, relying confidently on the loyal devotion to my service by which you and all my troops have ever been so distinguished."

To this Colonel Boyle replied:—

"I beg to assure your Majesty, in the name of the regiment and in my own, that your confidence in the loyal devotion of the corps will never be misplaced."

At the conclusion of this simple ceremony the Ensigns, now surrounded by their body guard of colour-sergeants, returned to the ranks of the 89th, holding their new banners high. As they did so the regiment, led by their Colonel, gave three tremendous cheers for the Queen. They then wheeled rapidly into line and saluted their new standards with the same marks of profound deference as before. The whole force then wheeling by the right was brought into columns, and, headed by the Royal Artillery, this perfect little *corps d'armée*, which is so equipped as to be able to take the field at an hour's notice, complete in all, even its minutest, branches, filed slowly past the Queen. It was an exceedingly pretty sight as the long stream of guns, horses, and men came pouring steadily past. Each corps then returned to its former position, till the whole mass stood in a deep perfect line, nearly half a mile long, in front of the Royal visitors. At the word of command the whole force advanced simultaneously in the most beautiful order till within a few yards of the Queen's carriage, when, with one tremendous rattle and flash, the arms were presented, the colours were lowered to the ground, and, amid a grand peal of the National Anthem, one of the most perfect and imposing Royal salutes ever given at Aldershott was rendered to Her Majesty. The Queen bowed deeply several times, while the splendid-looking little force stood glittering but motionless for nearly a minute in the evening sun. The word of command was

then given, and almost before the Queen's carriage had left the parade all the force had broken up into troops and companies, batteries, and regiments, and were marching away in long bright streams of colour across the heath to their various cantonments. A Royal salute was again fired as Her Majesty quitted the Camp, amid the same enthusiasm of the spectators as when she arrived, and drove rapidly away to Windsor.

17. Launch of H.M. Iron-clad Vessel the "Northumberland."—The accomplishment of this undertaking was attended with extraordinary difficulties, and three several attempts were made without success to get the ship into the water. The attempt to launch a ship of so much dead weight stern on, had never yet been made, and some allowance may fairly be claimed for the excessive prudence and caution displayed. The "Northumberland" had nearly the whole of her armour-plates fixed, and in this respect differed considerably from the sister ships, the "Agincourt" and "Minotaur," which had been successfully launched from the Thames Iron Works and Birkenhead. The dead weight of the mass requiring to be removed was little short of 9,000 tons, or very nearly, if not quite, equal to that of the "Great Eastern," which gave so much trouble and caused so much expense to its constructors. But the "Great Eastern" was launched broadside to the water, whereas the "Northumberland" was attempted to be set afloat in the usual manner. It was only at spring tides that the launch could be attempted; and on the three successive occasions before referred to, the utmost exertions made by means of hydraulic rams acting upon the stern, together with a complicated apparatus of pontoons forming a floating power of many hundred tons, aided by eight strong Admiralty lighters and other lifting appliances, proved inadequate to move the gigantic mass a single inch down the ways. At length, after the fourth attempt, the "Northumberland" was safely sent afloat, having remained almost to the hour and minute exactly one month on the ways from which it was first endeavoured to launch her. Almost to the moment fixed for her departure she began to move; and when once the motion commenced it never slackened till the vessel glided into the river, and in her vast height and length seemed to span it like a floating bridge, and for a time almost completely blocked the traffic. The great mechanical effort involved in lifting and floating this vessel was one which even the most experienced shipwrights and nautical engineers looked forward to with the utmost uncertainty and anxiety. The wind was against them, and the tide was still lower for a time than on the previous day. All the preparations, however, had been made with the most precise exactitude, and the floating and pressing power employed around the ship was of itself almost enough to move her weight, even when not half waterborne by the rising tide. The whole of the cradle had been rebuilt and re-greased. A flotation power of empty barrels had been lashed under the bows, and all the old and new-built timber

buoys were also employed. No less than seven hydraulic presses were used to push the cradle down, and to lift the fore part of the vessel. Three of these—one of 1,000 and two of 400 tons pressure—were placed beneath the keel, so as to assist in lifting the huge hull forward and relieve the weight where it most bore upon the launching ways. Four other hydraulic rams were fixed with iron backings, so as to thrust against the cradle and force it down the incline which led to the river. Two were of 600 tons power each and two of 400 tons, giving an aggregate of 1,800 tons upward lift, and 2,000 tons downward pressure towards the water. The two smaller rams, however, under the fore foot of the vessel, were not much used in getting her off, and were meant simply to supply the place of the common wooden blocks generally used on these occasions. Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting the large wooden "camels," employed to float the vessel astern, safely fastened under the "Northumberland's" quarter. It was not till nearly 10 o'clock that they were all perfectly secured. The draught of water of these immense buoys is only four feet, and as they had to be kept down at a depth of 22 ft. the difficulty of restraining their buoyancy was very great. It was eventually only accomplished by chains fixed at low water and by huge timber struts, which, fastened to the vessel's side and wedged into the shore, at last kept them in their proper positions. The floating power which these and the other smaller "camels" and lines of empty barrels gave, was equal altogether to about 1,600 tons. The vessel itself, when immersed at high tide, would, it was calculated, be reduced in its weight upon the ways by about 4,000 tons more, so that literally no greater weight than 2,000 tons would remain to be started, to effect which the hydraulic power was much more than equal. Indeed, as the tide rose, the general fear was that the ship would be too lively, and get afloat before the state of the tide would allow of her being safely turned out into the river. The sluices in the aftermost "camels" were accordingly opened to let in the water and decrease their buoyancy; yet, in spite of these and other precautions, the vessel did, after all, go slowly, but so far suddenly that there was not sufficient time to ease off the chain cables which moored her with anchors to the ground, until the latter had been torn from their positions. As we have said, both tide and wind were unfavourable to the attempt, but before two o'clock the ship showed such unmistakable signs of yielding to the enormous powers of flotation which had been placed under her that it was unanimously decided to continue the launch. Mr. Lungley, the general manager of the Millwall Works, Mr. Luke, the Admiralty Superintendent at Deptford, and Mr. Bascombe, the Admiralty Surveyor, were in favour of an immediate attempt being made; and accordingly all the men in the yard, the seamen, riggers, and marines who had been lent by Government from Deptford, were told off to their respective stations at the dog-shores, the hydraulic presses, the "camels," and the

moorings. Shortly after two o'clock the vessel began to lift visibly by the stern, and by half-past two she had risen seven inches off the launching ways aft, and nearly an inch under the cradle forward. Every movement, even to the eighth of an inch, was written down, and sent to Sir John Hay, the chairman of the company, who, with a number of nautical engineers, superintended, with Mr. Lungley and Mr. Luke, the operations at the bows. Soon after half-past two the vessel began to move slightly, but still perceptibly, down the ways; and, in the course of a few minutes, had glided more than an inch and a half, and so jammed the struts which had kept her upright that it was with great difficulty they could be removed. In spite of these indications of her liveliness, however, it was very wisely determined not to give the signal for working the rams till the river was clear and all else in readiness. Such an opportunity did not occur till close on three o'clock, when the men were set to work at the hydraulic presses. There were a few minutes of intense anxiety as the gangs heaved at the pumps, and the crowds assembled in all directions kept cheering. Then the vessel at last seemed to move, and as she did so she drew the anchors which moored her to the earth, and their sudden appearance created rather a panic among the crowd of spectators who were standing directly in what would be their line of march if the vessel pulled them after her. Very fortunately the chain cables were let go by the run, and as they came with a thundering rattle out of the hawse-holes, the "Northumberland" glided slowly, but with the most perfect ease and regularity of motion, into the river. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which her going off was greeted. There had been so many and such well-founded fears both of accident to the ship and those engaged in getting her afloat, that it seemed as if the joy both of the workmen and spectators was almost boundless at beholding her safely afloat in the water without accident of any kind. The instant she got into the stream the tide took her up the river, and though half-a-dozen powerful tugs at once grappled with her and tried to tow her down, they were for a time powerless; and it seemed as if, after all, the "Northumberland" would go ashore. Fortunately, the high wind, setting against the tide, assisted the efforts of the steamers, and in the course of about half an hour the ponderous hull was brought to the moorings laid down for her, and where a deep hole had been dredged in the river bed, especially for her accommodation.

17. Mr. Peabody at Guildhall.—Mr. George Peabody, the eminent benefactor of the deserving poor of London, attended at Guildhall, accompanied by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, at the request of the managing committee, to distribute the prizes gained by the successful competitors at the Working Classes Industrial Exhibition, which had been held there for some weeks. The ceremony took place in the presence of a large company, among whom were many of the principal citizens, and the hall

was illuminated for the occasion and tastefully decorated with banners. On arriving at the hall Mr. Peabody was hailed with enthusiastic cheers, and having taken a seat assigned to him on the right of the Lord Mayor, on the platform at the east end of the building, the Honorary Secretary read a report, which stated that the aggregate admissions on payment during the thirty-five days the exhibition had been open, had been 41,576. Upwards of 2,500 children of the different ward and day schools had visited the Exhibition free. The number of prizes awarded by adjudicators chosen by the exhibitors was 193, of which 99 were medals, and 94 were honorary mentions. The total number of exhibitors was 827, exhibiting 1521 articles, 32 only of which were ineligible for prizes. No prizes had been given, or awards made but to the actual producers of the articles exhibited, in conformity with a rule laid down by the committee.

The Lord Mayor, addressing the meeting, said, if there was one thing more than another that could add lustre and interest to the proceedings of the day, it was the presence of their honoured and distinguished friend, Mr. George Peabody. They were, indeed, deeply indebted to him for his presence on the occasion. Their friend had refused all invitations of late, but he had felt it to be a pleasure to witness that beautiful and interesting sight within that noble hall. He might repeat a remark which he had heard Mr. Peabody utter in reference to something else within the last half-hour. He said the ruling passion of his life had been that every man should go where duty called him, and he took that to mean that he felt that, after the universal gratitude expressed by the people of this country to him, it was his duty before he left this ancient city to take his farewell of those whom he had now the honour to address. He had great pleasure in presenting to their notice their excellent friend, Mr. Peabody.

Mr. Peabody, who was greeted with acclamations, said:—"My Lord Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen; I beg to acknowledge with heartfelt gratitude the kind expressions which the Lord Mayor has just used towards me. I assure you there is no man who feels such language with more sensibility or gratitude than I do, and I can assure you I am extremely thankful and complimented by the kind manner in which you have received the flattering remarks which have just emanated from my friend the Lord Mayor. Contrary to my expectation, I am able, on the eve of my departure from these shores, to discharge a duty which your kindness has called me to fulfil. Though a stranger to you, and of another country, you were pleased to intimate to me that my presence among you this day would give you gratification, and on my part I am bound to say that while I have been constrained to decline many invitations recently addressed to me, I have reserved to myself with peculiar satisfaction the opportunity of meeting the working men of London, whose representatives you are, in the midst of the scene of their honourable rivalry and the display of their most

meritorious achievements. Such successful competition as that which meets its due reward this day must be productive of the highest advantage to the people at large, and all classes of the community derive a benefit from the elevating tendency of the persistent industry and skill displayed in the construction of these works of art which are now about to receive the token of public commendation. Springing as I do from the people, and owning with you the Anglo-Saxon stock, I unfeignedly rejoice in this fresh evidence of the advancement of the industrial classes in the dignity of labour and in those habits of self-reliance and honest independence which ennoble any people, and afford the surest guarantee of the true prosperity and moral greatness of any country. It is true that these prizes which I am about to distribute are the just reward of your own personal efforts; but I hope you will allow me to remind you that in receiving your certificate of undoubted merit you will accept it also as an acknowledgment made by you in this century which will be productive of good and redound to the advantage of future generations, who must profit by your laudable exertions in the field of scientific research, and in the open workshop of a nation's constructive skill. Should the Great Disposer of all events give to me the happiness of returning to this country, I hope to see the complete success of projects designed by me for the permanent welfare of the deserving poor of this metropolis, and I may then enjoy further opportunities of intercourse with those in whose welfare and happiness I have so great an interest."

The prizes awarded to the successful competitors were then distributed.

25. Mysterious Death of a Solicitor at Reading.—An inquest was held before Mr. Weedon, deputy coroner for Berks, on the body of Mr. Hobbs, solicitor, and formerly registrar to the County Court, whose mysterious disappearance from Reading for nearly three weeks occasioned great excitement in the town and neighbourhood. From the evidence it appeared that the deceased gentleman left his residence near the Bath-road turnpike, between nine and ten o'clock a.m., on the 5th inst., telling his wife that he should return for luncheon about two o'clock. However, he never again returned, and the rivers in the neighbourhood were dragged without any success. A man named Fry, keeper of the Wire-mills at Southcot, about a mile from Reading, informed the jury that he found the body of Mr. Hobbs hitched up in a withy-tree in a bend in the old river. With the assistance of Superintendent Purchase, of Reading, and a police-constable, the body was got out of the water. On examination it was found that the coat was buttoned entirely, with the exception of the bottom button. On each hand he wore a black kid glove; and in consequence of the body being much swollen the gloves were obliged to be cut off. In his pockets was a purse containing gold and silver, some cheques, and other articles. His watch was fastened in the usual way with a gold chain, on which were lockets, and the watch had stopped at

fourteen minutes to two o'clock. The watch was gone about half down, and a chronometer-maker gave it as his opinion, from the condition of the watch, that it must have been in the water about ten minutes before it stopped. The police-superintendent stated that the bank of the river where the body was found was in a very dangerous state, and any one might slip in on such a windy day as the 15th inst., when Mr. Hobbs was missed. The body was covered with slime, and great difficulty was experienced in getting it all off. Mr. O. C. Maurice, surgeon, and son-in-law of the deceased, stated that he saw Mr. Hobbs for a short time on the 4th inst., and he then complained of pains in his head. Mr. G. May, the deceased's usual medical attendant, sent a letter to the coroner, stating that he was obliged to be in London or he should have attended the inquest. He expressed a decided opinion that Mr. Hobbs was of unsound mind. The jury, after considering the evidence, returned a verdict of "Found drowned, with no marks of violence on the body, and there was no evidence to show how or by what means he got into the water." Mr. Hobbs was fifty-two years of age, and was the owner of considerable property at Honiton, in Devonshire. After the last election he issued an address to the electors announcing his intention of becoming a candidate for the representation of that borough in Parliament.

27. Disastrous Fire.—A fire occurred in the East and West India Docks at Poplar, which in less than two hours destroyed or damaged a vast mass of valuable material, and reduced the building containing it to ruins. It broke out between twelve and one o'clock in the day in a warehouse on the northern side of the docks, and abutting upon the Barking-road. The building was one of three which had been erected within the last eighteen months on the site of a former conflagration. It was of one story, about 30 ft. high, 200 ft. long, and 80 ft. broad, and had a light wrought-iron roof. In it, at the time of the fire, were stored from 13,000 to 14,000 bales of jute, of the value in all of about 40,000*l*. Two tramways, each 6 ft. in breadth, traversed the whole building from end to end, and these were intersected by two others of equal breadth. The building was entirely stocked with jute, and this was piled up in bales from floor to roof in compact masses, with only a pathway between them here and there. The alarm was telegraphed to the Watling-street station of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, which it reached at ten minutes past one o'clock, and in less than twenty minutes afterwards Captain Shaw, the chief of the brigade, with a number of men and engines, had arrived upon the spot, though about four and a half miles distant. Before starting he communicated with other fire-stations by telegraph, and eventually the floating engine from Southwark-bridge and nine steam fire engines, with sixty-three men, including fourteen from the training school recently established in connexion with the Brigade in Thames-street, were engaged in extinguishing the fire. A hand-engine from the Poplar fire-station had previously arrived, and

two floating engines belonging to the dock company were afterwards brought into play. When Captain Shaw reached the scene of the fire the jute in the building from end to end was in a blaze, and the flames roared like a furnace. The warehouse, fortunately, was close to the large import dock, which has an area of nearly fifty acres, and before long, when all the engines and other appliances had been set to work, there being an unlimited supply of water, about 5300 gallons, or nearly twenty-four tons a minute, were continually thrown upon the burning building and materials. By degrees, with the water and heat together, the compact masses of jute began to swell, and, bursting their bandages, pressed heavily against the external walls. The result was that a portion of the western gable fell, and the wall adjoining the Barking-road bulged out considerably, so that the iron beams on which the roof rested lost their hold in places, and the wrought-iron roof fell eventually with a great crash. Before Captain Shaw and his men had been at work two hours the fire was under control and safe against spreading to any adjoining building. At seven o'clock in the evening, when he himself left, no further danger was apprehended; but a sufficient force in men and engines remained during the night in readiness for any emergency, and continued to play upon the masses of smouldering jute. The roof, after the fire, presented an extraordinary spectacle, lying collapsed, just as it fell in, upon the piles of the charred jute below, and twisted into fantastic shapes by the operation of excessive heat in expanding the wrought iron of which it was composed. Curiously enough, not a single bale of jute out of the 13,000 or 14,000 appeared to have been wholly destroyed, though they were all more or less scorched and damaged. There was, consequently, a very considerable salvage. This was the first large fire to which the brigade, on its new footing, was able to bring an adequate number of men and appliances.

28. Fall of a Railway Bridge.—A frightful accident occurred at Sutton, by which six men were killed. The South Coast Company were making a new line of railway which is ultimately intended to connect Portsmouth with their London terminus by a direct route. It is known as the Mitcham and Sutton line, and after crossing Mitcham-common it runs at the west of Carshalton, and joins the existing Epsom line on the London side of the Sutton station. A deep cutting through chalk, about half a mile from the junction, renders a bridge necessary for the public road. The bridge was nearly completed some weeks since, but a doubt of its stability was entertained in consequence of an extensive fracture in the brickwork showing itself, reports being current that the bridge was condemned, and that several workmen had been discharged from the work for refusing to endanger their lives by working at it. There were three labourers employed with pickaxes in hewing away the chalk from the sides, and three others were scraping the brickwork preparatory to pointing. A ganger, John White, was superintending the work. At this time, without any

warning, the whole mass of brickwork was torn asunder at the abutments, and the six men were buried under 100 tons of displaced bricks. Every effort was made to extricate them, but two hours elapsed before this could be effected, and they were then taken out, of course, quite dead. The ganger escaped.

30. Frightful Accident on the Brighton Railway.—A frightful accident took place about ten o'clock p.m. on the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway, near the Caterham Junction. A train due in London at a quarter to ten left the Brighton station at eight. It took up several carriages from Hastings, and then consisted of from sixteen to twenty carriages. Up to a short distance past Caterham Junction nothing occurred to cause alarm. At that point, however, some waggons laden with chalk were upon the main line, and the approaching train came into collision with them. The engine ran over an embankment, which is from 40 ft. to 50 ft. deep, but fortunately the coupling irons gave way, and it became detached from the rest of the train, and rolled to the bottom. The first carriage was left tilted up edgeways on the top of the embankment, and remained there. Several others were thrown off the line, and many of them were much injured. One first-class carriage was completely smashed. At first all was confusion. The passengers who were uninjured escaped from the carriages in which they had been, but had the greatest difficulty, in consequence of the darkness, in ascertaining what had happened. The groans of persons who had been injured were heard, but the places where they were could not be ascertained. Lights, however, were soon procured from the carriages, and then it was found that a very serious accident had happened. Intelligence was at once sent to Caterham to the officers of the company at that station, and they, with some navvies, soon came upon the spot. After their arrival the first sight that presented itself was a well-dressed man, apparently dying, with his leg under the wheels of a carriage and his head covered with blood. He was groaning heavily. Loose rails were got and employed as levers to raise the carriage, and the injured man was lifted and removed insensible by the officers of the company. The carriage which had been so completely broken was examined, and a lady was found underneath the back, which had fallen in, and over which lay the whole of the side of the three compartments. The side was first removed, and then a number of hands assisted in lifting the back. Under it a voice was heard, but for a long while nothing could be seen to indicate that any one was there. Under a confused heap of broken fragments of the carriage the lady was at length found and extricated. A passenger in the train assisted her in getting from the place in which she had been buried. It was found, much to the surprise of all present, that she was entirely uninjured. Under a second-class carriage the body of a woman was found completely crushed. The engine-driver was buried under the engine, and was also killed on the spot. A large number of persons were found wounded and

insensible in the carriages, and were removed to the house of Mrs. Jackson, at a short distance from the line, where all the beds were given up for the accommodation of the wounded. It was stated that the house was quite full, but in the confusion it could not be ascertained what the number accommodated was. There were some persons very seriously wounded, and for some time no medical men were present. Two ladies, who had received such serious injuries to the head that they were nearly insensible, came on by the train, which arrived at London-bridge a little after one o'clock. There were several other passengers who had received serious contusions, some of whom had to be assisted to their homes.

A passenger who was in the train stated that the chalk waggons, which were the cause of the accident, were scattered by the collision in a most extraordinary manner. As already stated, the engine of the train was severed from the carriages and fell over the embankment. The first carriage was thrown off the line and made to overhang the bank. The second carriage, in which he sat, was thrown right across the line and tilted up against the first one. He had just fallen asleep when the collision took place, and was suddenly awoke by being thrown down upon the floor of the carriage, and struck with the fragments. The flooring was rent, and the partitions were broken. He was thrown violently backwards and then forwards, receiving only a slight injury on the cheek. He feared the worst had not come, and describes the suspense which followed in anticipation of a final crash as being most agonizing. On attempting to escape, he found that the carriage was locked; but he luckily had a railway key, and with it he opened the door. He was in the uptilted part of the carriage, and was obliged, with his three fellow-passengers, a gentleman and two ladies, to jump from the step to the edge of the embankment. None of them were seriously injured, though much alarmed. The carriage following that described as smashed to pieces, and from which the lady was extricated, strange to say, had been more injured than the two carriages before it, and, what is still more extraordinary, its set of six wheels were seen on the top of a chalk waggon, more than a hundred yards in advance of the spot where the fragments of the carriage itself were lying. The engine of the chalk train was uninjured, and not even thrown off the line. It was employed to bring to London the passengers who were able to complete their journey. An inquest was afterwards held on the bodies of George Drew and Selina Drew, husband and wife, who were passengers, and of William Webb, the guard of the train. The jury returned a verdict of "Accidental Death," coupled with a recommendation to the Company to adopt a more efficient mode of signalling and starting the trains.

— Murder of a Policeman in Dublin.—Charles O'Neill, a policeman, was on duty about 12 o'clock p.m., near Ormond-market, at the north side of the city, when he heard a woman in Pill-lane calling "Police!" He hastened to the spot, and when

he approached it he met three men, a civilian and two soldiers. The civilian presented a pistol at him and fired two shots, both of which took effect in the stomach. The assassin then ran away with his companions. O'Neill pursued as long as he was able, crying, "Stop the murderer!" But he soon became exhausted from loss of blood, and falling down, expired almost immediately. The shots and cries attracted some persons to the place, and the body of the unfortunate man was conveyed to the Jervis-street Hospital. O'Neill, who had been twenty-four years in the force, bore an excellent character, and left a wife and five young children.

Another policeman narrowly escaped being murdered on the same night. Being on duty near the Rialto-bridge on the Royal Canal, he heard a number of persons tearing down gates and throwing them into the canal. As soon as he came up they attempted to drown him, but he struggled with his assailants till some persons came to his assistance, and succeeded in making two prisoners, the rest of the party, numbering twelve or fourteen, having escaped by swimming across the canal.

MAY.

5. The Royal Academy Dinner.—The annual banquet of the artists was this year illustrated by the presence of several Royal personages, and was for the first time presided over by Sir Francis Grant, the new President of the Academy.

Among the distinguished company were His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness Prince Alfred, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the Prince De Teck, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Lord Chancellor, Earl Russell, Sir George Grey, Lord Clarendon, Mr. E. Cardwell, the Marquis of Hartington, Lord De Grey and Ripon, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President of the Board of Trade, the First Commissioner of Works, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Peterborough, the Duke of Argyll, Viscount Bury, the Chairman of the Board of Customs, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Chelmsford, Sir H. Cairns, the Earl of Derby, Lord Elcho, Equerry to the Duke of Cambridge, Field Officer in Waiting; Mr. C. Fortescue, the Governor of the Bank of England, Earl Grey, Earl Grosvenor, Mr. W. H. Gregory, Sir Hope Grant, Mr. Goschen, Mr. G. Grote, Lord Houghton, Viscount Hardinge, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, Sir E. Head, Mr. Beresford-Hope, Lieut.-General Knollys, Mr. A. Kinnaird, the

Marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. R. Lowe, the Lord Mayor, Lord John Manners, Sir R. Murchison, Very Rev. Dean Milman, Sir S. Northcote, Professor Owen, President of College of Surgeons, President of College of Physicians, President of Royal Society, President of Society of British Architects, Earl Percy, Sir J. Pakington, General Peel, the Duke of Rutland, Rev. W. Rogers, the Duke of Sutherland, the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Stratford De Redcliffe, Lord St. Leonards, Lord Stanley, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Lord Spencer, Lord Taunton, Earl of Wilton, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Whiteside, and a long list of Academicians, Associates, &c.

After the toast of the Queen and the Royal Family had been drunk with full honours, the President gave the health of the Prince and Princess of Wales. He said—

"Permit me to assure His Royal Highness how highly gratified the members of the Academy feel by being honoured with his presence, and how especially grateful I feel on this, the first time of my occupying the chair, that His Royal Highness has inaugurated the occasion by honouring us with his company. I can wish His Royal Highness no greater happiness than that, amidst the cares and anxieties which must naturally belong to his exalted position, he may be able to understand and enjoy the soothing influences of a love of Art. To understand Art requires an art education; but the first necessity to success is that a man should be born with a natural appreciation and love of the beautiful. We cannot doubt that His Royal Highness possesses this quality. Permit me also to hope that His Royal Highness inherits that love and enlightened appreciation of Art which have so remarkably distinguished both his illustrious parents. Gentlemen of the Royal Academy, you are probably under the impression that the title of 'artist' belongs only to gentlemen of our profession; but allow me to assure you that there is another class of artists greatly esteemed throughout England, especially in the midland counties. When a gentleman particularly distinguishes himself in riding across a country after hounds, he is popularly called an artist. We say of such a one that he is a first-rate artist over a country. Gentlemen, I am able to assure you from my own personal observation, and I feel sure his Grace the Duke of Rutland will bear me out, that His Royal Highness, in his recent visit to Leicestershire, in two very severe runs across the Vale of Belvoir, proved himself to be a first-rate artist in that particular department of Art. Since His Royal Highness has proved himself in one sense an artist, may I, if His Royal Highness will forgive my boldness, claim his sympathy for his brother artist of the brush. Allow me to add, the brush is an important element in both departments of Art. I beg to say, on the occasion alluded to, His Royal Highness most deservedly was presented with the brush."

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who was received with loud cheers, said: "Sir Francis Grant, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—I thank you most sincerely for the very kind manner in which

you have proposed my health and that of the Princess of Wales and the other members of the Royal family. I also thank this company for the very kind manner in which they have received the compliment. I need hardly assure you that it is a source of sincere gratification to me to be present here a second time at the anniversary dinner of the Royal Academy, especially on this occasion, when I am enabled to have the opportunity of supporting you when you first take the chair as President of the Royal Academy. On this occasion I cannot forbear to refer to the memory of one whose loss we all most deeply deplore. I allude to your late President, Sir Charles Eastlake. You, the Royal Academicians, knew him so well, and knew how justly popular he was, that it would be superfluous in me to pass any eulogy on his name; but I cannot forbear paying my small tribute to his merits, considering him as an old friend of mine, having known him from childhood. I now take the opportunity of thanking you, Sir Francis, for the very kind manner in which you have alluded to my name. I need not assure you that I shall always be ready to do my best to assist in promoting the welfare of Art and Science, and in that way following the bright example of the public career of my lamented father. I thank you for the manner in which you have referred to me as 'a brother of the brush.' I shall never be able to compete with you as a painter, but I hope, at the same time, I shall be able to enter the lists with you as a follower of fox-hounds. The pictures in this exhibition certainly record the times in which we live; and the subjects of them in general lead us to congratulate ourselves that our country is at peace. There is one picture, however, to which I would beg to refer, and it is one of a distinguished countryman of yours, Mr. Ross, who is represented as a rifleman shooting for a prize. This, I think, is a picture of no ordinary interest, especially in connexion with the volunteer movement." His Royal Highness again thanked the company for the distinguished manner in which he had been received, and resumed his seat amid loud cheers.

The Duke of Cambridge returned thanks on behalf of the army; and on the part of the navy that task was performed by His Royal Highness Prince Alfred, who said: "Your Royal Highness, Sir Francis Grant, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—I thank you for the way in which you have been kind enough to drink my health. I can assure you I am very proud to have my name associated with that of the Royal Navy. It is the first time I have ever been called upon to answer in the name of the profession to which I belong, and I am sure you will think that it has the same claims for respect and sympathy as it ever had. It gave me great pleasure to be able to accept the invitation of the President and Council of the Royal Academy to be present at this dinner, and also to have the opportunity of making myself acquainted with the many beautiful pictures exhibited here. Among the pictures connected with the profession to which I belong there is one which must have struck

every one with the greatest admiration, I allude to the historical picture of 'The Death of Nelson,' by Maclise. There is also 'The Burning of the Bombay,' by Captain Brady. The first represented here, and still more grandly in the House of Lords, is a scene that will ever be memorable in the history of England; and the second, though depicting a lamentable calamity, will also be remembered with a certain pride and satisfaction by all Englishmen, showing, as it does, that British sailors are made of the same stuff as they were at the battle of Trafalgar. I beg to thank you again for the honour you have done me in drinking my health in connexion with the navy."

Lord Bury returned thanks for the volunteers.

The President: "We are this night honoured by the presence of an illustrious prince, who is shortly to be united to one of the Royal princesses of England—Princess Mary of Cambridge. I feel quite assured that this distinguished company will have very great pleasure in drinking the health of Prince De Teck and the Princess Mary of Cambridge, with the expression of an earnest hope that every happiness may attend their union."

The Prince De Teck briefly acknowledged the compliment.

The President: "Before I commence the usual toasts of the evening, I beg to be permitted to request that we drink in silence to the memory of our late lamented President, whose death we all mourn as an irreparable loss to our Academy. I may also add, from the enlightened interest he took in all matters connected with the progress of Art in this country, I am justified in saying that his death may be considered a national loss. Sir Charles was in the highest sense of the word a perfect gentleman; he was also a scholar, and an able man of business; and I feel sure the members of this Academy will join with me in bearing testimony to the patience, the constant courtesy, the laborious zeal, and the great ability with which he conducted the affairs of this Academy. I beg you will drink, in silence, to the memory of the late Sir Charles Eastlake."

The toast was drunk in solemn silence.

Other toasts were acknowledged in graceful and appropriate speeches by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Russell, the Earl of Derby, Viscount Bury, and other guests.

9. Suicide of Colonel Hobbs.—This officer, whose name became unfortunately prominent in connexion with the insurrection in Jamaica, committed suicide on board the "Tyne," intercolonial packet, on the voyage between Kingston and St. Thomas. The inquiry into his conduct in suppressing the outbreak, and the criticisms to which he was subjected, so affected him, that he had been pronounced of unsound mind by a Board of medical officers in Jamaica, and was coming home invalided. He was to be in the care of an army surgeon during the voyage, and two orderlies were appointed to watch his movements. On the second day, however, after leaving Jamaica, and when the "Tyne" was off the coast of

Hayti, he managed to elude the orderly then in charge of him, and, rushing to one of the main-deck ports, threw himself overboard. The steamer was stopped with all possible despatch, and a boat was lowered. Several of the passengers saw the unhappy man for a few moments amid the waves, apparently making no effort to save himself; but he soon disappeared, and no trace of him could be seen by the boat's crew, though the steamer lay to for some time. This sad occurrence was made more painful by the fact that Mrs. Hobbs was accompanying her husband, with her three children. It is unnecessary to say that the utmost sympathy was expressed for them by the passengers. Colonel Hobbs served at the siege of Sebastopol in 1855, and commanded the 21st Fusiliers at the attack on the Redan on the 18th of June.

— INSTITUTION OF CIVIL ENGINEERS.—The Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, and Prince Teck were present at the annual dinner of this Institution. In reply to the toast of "The Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family,"

The Prince of Wales said: "Mr. President, your Royal Highness, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—I have indeed every reason to feel deeply flattered and gratified by the very kind manner in which you, Mr. President, have proposed this toast, and the way in which it has been received by the company present. Under any circumstances it would have afforded me sincere pleasure to have been present this evening at a meeting of so distinguished a body as the civil engineers of Great Britain. But it is still more agreeable to find myself here in the position of one of your honorary members. I thank you for the manner in which you have mentioned my name, considering me as one of yourselves. I feel proud to think my lamented father was also an honorary member of this distinguished Institution. Mr. President and gentlemen, perhaps it is a difficult task for me to address so eminent a body, more especially to eulogize it; but I cannot forbear adverting to the names of two most distinguished members—I allude to Mr. Brunel and Mr. Stephenson, whose names will never be obliterated from our memory. The important services which they have rendered to this country can never be forgotten. Let us look around at the vast works which have been completed, or which are in the course of completion, in this country; let us look at the vast extension of our docks all over this country, at the great improvements in the electric telegraph, and also in our steamships, and, in fact, in the general steam navigation on our waters. Then let us look at the metropolis. No one can walk over Westminster-bridge without being struck by those magnificent quays which we see on each side of us—I allude to the Thames Embankment, one of the most important works of our day. I must also refer to the Metropolitan Underground Railway—a railway which we owe to the continued exertions of your distinguished President, and which, although not entirely completed, has been in use for nearly three years. It has, I believe, to a considerable extent diminished

the traffic in our streets. Let us look also at our colonies, and see the many important works which our engineers have contrived there. I allude especially to the celebrated Victoria-bridge over the St. Lawrence, erected by one of your greatest engineers—Mr. Stephenson. I had the honour of inaugurating that bridge in the name of Her Majesty the Queen. I have to be thankful to you in many ways; thankful to you and to Mr. Stephenson for having built such a bridge, as perhaps I should never have had an opportunity of visiting our North American colonies and a portion of the United States, if I had not been invited to inaugurate that important bridge. Let me thank you once more, Mr. President, for the honour done me, and the kind way in which the name of the Princess of Wales has been received. It affords me the greatest gratification to be present this evening as one of your members."

In responding to the toast of "the Navy, Army, and Volunteers," Prince Alfred said: "Mr. President, your Royal Highness, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—I need scarcely tell you with what pleasure I rise to respond to this toast, nor how proud I feel to hear my name associated with the Royal Navy. Within the last few years the navy has become more connected with the civil engineers than it ever was before. Many improvements—I may say all the later improvements—we owe to the civil engineers. There is only one thing they have not succeeded in doing, and that is, in making us look more beautiful than before. I am afraid that they have rather caused us to deteriorate in our appearance. I need not add that I take great interest in this body, and shall continue to do so, the more so from the fact of my father having been an honorary member, and my brother having now for the first time taken his place in a like character."

11. Suicide off Clifton Suspension Bridge.—The Deputy Coroner for Bristol held an inquest at Ashton, near Bristol, on the body of George Wellington Green, aged fifty-one, of Portishead, who was connected with one of the principal mercantile firms of Bristol, and who committed suicide by jumping off the Clifton Suspension Bridge into the river Avon below. The evidence of Mr. J. F. Fussell, solicitor, of Bristol, went to show that at about ten o'clock on that morning, as he was driving across the bridge to Clifton, he saw the deceased, who said to him, "How do you do?" and bowed. Immediately afterwards, on looking round, he saw the deceased disappear over the bridge, and, on looking down, saw the body in the mud at the bottom of the river, about a yard from low water. Some men got a rope, tied it round the body, and pulled it out. Mr. Charles Osborne, who had known the deceased for the last twelve years, gave evidence showing that the deceased frequently suffered from mental excitement; and expressed his belief that he threw himself off the bridge while in a fit of temporary insanity. The jury, taking this view of the case, immediately returned a verdict to that effect.

— Extraordinary Monetary Panic in London.—The announcement of the stoppage of the great establishment of Gurney, Overend, and Co., whose business as bill-discounters had been transferred in the preceding year to a Joint-Stock Company with limited liability, produced a panic of extraordinary severity in the city, and extended to all the great commercial centres of the country. There has probably been nothing like it within living memory. Certainly the confusion which prevailed during the last panic of the kind, in the autumn of 1857, when the Western Bank of Scotland, and four other great provincial banks stopped payment, with a great number of private firms, was not equal to the anxiety and suspense which now appeared every where to exist. The general appearance of the streets, especially in the banking quarters of the city, was remarkable. From about ten o'clock in the morning, by which time the failure of Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. had become widely known, there was a marked influx of people, far beyond the ordinary community of business men of all classes, and in Lombard-street, Birchin-lane, and the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, restless crowds were collected during the whole day. For some hours in the height of the day, Lombard-street and Birchin-lane, from both of which the premises of Overend, Gurney, and Co. have an entrance, were all but impassable, and the services of an additional body of policemen were brought into requisition to facilitate the traffic and to maintain order. The prevailing excitement greatly increased when it became known that the English Joint-Stock Bank in Clement's-lane had temporarily suspended payment. In Bartholomew-lane, Lothbury, and Princes-street, there was also an unusual degree of bustle throughout the day. Altogether, for many reasons, the day will be long remembered in the city of London as the "black Friday."

At Liverpool the alarm which had existed on 'Change for some days reached a climax on the confirmed announcement of Overend, Gurney, and Co.'s suspension. Rumours of difficulties in local mercantile circles, and the advance of the rate of discount, added to the excitement. The effect on the cotton-market was not so severe as might have been anticipated, but in the share-market business was perfectly paralyzed, and one or two temporary suspensions were announced. During the day five or six of the London banks were positively reported to have shut their doors, and this occasioned a slight run on one or two of the local establishments, which was, however, promptly met.

At Manchester the market was perfectly paralyzed owing to the intelligence received from London. With the later news of the afternoon, both as regarded rumoured assistance to Messrs. Overend and Co., and of extended powers to the Bank of England, there was a considerable recovery, and people breathed more freely, though there was little disposition to do business. In shipping yarns the offers made in the morning could only be

regarded as ridiculous, buyers in some cases basing them upon cotton as low as 9*d.* per lb. Spinners under such circumstances did not attempt business, and many of them thought it advisable to withdraw their stocks. Very little disposition was shown, in fact, either by buyers or sellers, to do business under the panic feeling of the hour. In the afternoon, quotations were advanced again to the point they were at on the previous day, but there was nothing doing, and much distrust prevailed. In the cloth-market in the morning the panic feeling was quite as strong as in any branch of business. Some manufacturers were willing to make considerable concessions, but buyers were indisposed to purchase almost on any reasonable terms.

The intelligence of the suspension in London being received at Norwich, the following notice was posted by Messrs. Gurney and Co. of Norwich:—"The panic in the money-market having compelled Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. (Limited), of London, to suspend payment, Messrs. Gurney and Co. beg to inform their friends that their firm is not in any way affected by such stoppage." In the afternoon the Mayor convened a meeting of the citizens at the Guildhall, for the purpose of expressing entire confidence in the Norwich house.

The announcement of the suspension received at Derby, caused a great sensation. The panic was increased when, at nine o'clock, instead of the Derby branch of the English Joint-Stock Bank Company (Limited) opening its premises as usual, the following notice was posted on the front door:—"This bank has stopped payment for the present." As there were a great number of shareholders in Derby, the excitement throughout the day was great.

At Bristol, a notice was exhibited at the Bristol branch of the English Joint-Stock Banking Company, stating that the bank had temporarily suspended payment. The announcement, of course, created great excitement and consternation, but was not wholly unexpected. Something like a run took place on one of the joint-stock banks in the city, but no want of confidence was displayed in the old-established concerns.

At Brighton the utmost surprise was caused by the announcement affixed to the door of the branch of the English Joint-Stock Bank:—"This bank has temporarily suspended payment." When the intelligence got noised abroad, which it did with the speed of wildfire, considerable excitement ensued. The branch had only been established about eighteen months, and the business was, therefore, comparatively small. Meanwhile general confidence was expressed in the security and stability of the other local banks.

One of the many serious consequences of the monetary crisis and panic, was the suspension of the great firm of Sir Morton Peto and Co., the contractors, who had been engaged in many gigantic undertakings, but who found themselves, in consequence of the extraordinary pressure on the money-market, compelled to suspend payment.

12. Fatal Mine Accident.—A dreadful accident occurred at Furze-hill Wood Mine, about half a mile from Horrabridge station on the Plymouth and Tavistock Railway, on lands chiefly belonging to Sir Massey Lopes, by which seven miners and one boy lost their lives. Close to the mine, which is being worked for copper, are old workings of the same mine which have never been worked within the memory of the oldest inhabitant, and although deep excavations were known by the miners to exist, their exact direction or situation was unknown. At six o'clock a.m. the deceased descended the shaft and engaged themselves in driving the forty-fathom level in an easterly direction, when it seems that they unfortunately "tapped" the old workings, in which an immense body of water had accumulated; and no sooner did they accidentally break through the partition of stone which divided the level in which they were employed from the previous workings, than there rushed in a great body of water upon them, and as the level was a long one, the water overtook them, and instantly caused their deaths. There were two boys down the shaft when the accident took place, and Michael Yeo ran towards them and called aloud to them, "Run, the water is coming in." As the boys were at the foot of the ladder winze, or small shaft, they were enabled to clamber up in advance of the waters that rose from below, and so saved themselves. As Yeo had the same means of escape, and was aware of the nature of the calamity, and yet perished, it is reasonably conjectured that he hastened back to aid his comrades, and was drowned in consequence. Captain Doidge was above ground when the accident took place, and he gained the first intimation of what had occurred from the two boys who were saved, on going to the mouth of the pit in order to descend. He quickly went down, and found that the water had filled the mine, and had already risen to the extent of fifteen fathoms above the entrance to the forty-fathom level, filling, of course, the whole mine with water up to that point; and after going through the whole of the workings that were traversable, to see that no men remained there, Captain Doidge was obliged by the water to return to the surface. Throughout the day the water continued to rise, and thereby prevented the mine authorities from taking the active measures which they were anxious to adopt for the recovery of the bodies that were floating in the levels. After the accident a pump, which raised about 170 gallons of water per minute, was set to work. The names of the deceased are Henry Fox, aged forty-five; John Fox, his son, aged fifteen; William Elford, thirty-nine; Michael Yeo, twenty-seven, of Buckland Milton; Thomas Wootton, twenty-four, of Buckland Monachorum; and Silas Pike, twenty-two; H. Thomas, twenty; and Benjamin Gorman, thirty-seven.

14. First Appearance of the Rinderpest in Ireland.—The following alarming announcement from a magistrate appeared in the "Northern Whig:"—

"The rinderpest has broken out in the townland of Drennan, in

the county of Down, about five miles from Lisburn, near Ballies-mill. I saw four cattle killed by order of Mr. Ferguson, veterinary surgeon, who came here last night. A *cordon* has been drawn round the infected district. Eight cattle have died, four have been killed, and five others will be killed by order."

Happily, by the adoption of prompt measures, the spread of the disease was arrested; and the scourge which proved so destructive in England and Scotland, was in the sister country confined within very narrow limits.

— Discovery of Roman Coins.—Mr. J. H. Dowsett discovered several ancient coins under the soil westward of the celebrated hill known as Cæsar's Camp, which, upon close examination, proved to belong to the Roman period of domination in Great Britain. The circumstances under which they were found were peculiar. Mr. Dowsett was proceeding to a meeting at Aldershott, and crossed Cæsar's-hill for that purpose. On examining an extraordinary-looking piece of stone, which was hid some distance in the earth, he had occasion to remove another stone, when a jingling sound like that of metal appeared to make itself heard, and his attention was directed to an old silver coin. Further search was made, and several others were found near the same spot. One of these, found just below the surface, is a *denarius* of Domitian, with the words inscribed on the obverse, "*Cæsar Domitianus Cos. VI.*," and on the reverse appears the sacrificial altar, with the legend, "*Princeps Juventutis.*" There is also a *denarius* of Severus Alexander, having on the reverse a figure of Liberty. Others show that of Concord, carrying in her hand the cornucopia, to denote that plenty is the fruit of her existence. The majority of the coins consist of *sestertii* of the Emperors Diocletian and Constantius, in an excellent state of preservation, and, with the exception of one of the *denarii* above named, range from the middle to the latter end of the third century of the Christian era. This circumstance is worthy of remark, as the coins were found in close proximity to each other, and the fact that they belong to different reigns seems to afford some ground for the conclusion that a Roman station really existed in this locality, as affirmed by Horseley, Stukeley, and other antiquaries. Farnham is supposed, with a great degree of reason, to be the site of the ancient Vindonum; and the tradition that Julius Cæsar encamped his legions on the hill bearing his name is well known. It is singular, too, that the coins were found near the spot on which, in 1828, no less than 100 others of the Merovingian period were discovered by the late Mr. C. E. Lefroy, of Ewshot, and which ranged from about the fourth to the seventh century. There is, as described by Mr. Lefroy, a slight appearance of something artificial in the state of the adjoining land, which is apparently laid up in ridges, following one another in curved lines, over some extent of ground, and the heath is a continuation of Bagshot-heath, through which runs the Roman road from Silchester to Staines.

16. Epsom Races.—The Derby.—The morning opened somewhat more brightly for the Derby than there was reason to anticipate from the cold and unsettled weather which had recently prevailed. A storm of wind and rain would probably not have damped the ardour of the tens of thousands who had resolved upon witnessing the great race, however much it might have disappointed their expectations; but the numbers of those who thronged the roads to Epsom were largely increased by the more reassuring aspect of the day. The Derby this year realized to the fullest extent the reputation it bears as a national holiday. The Prince of Wales was on the course. There were, perhaps, 200,000 persons present. The great event of the meeting resulted as follows:—

The Derby Stakes of 50 sovs. each, h. ft., for three year olds; colts 8st. 10lb., fillies 8st. 5lb.; the second received 100 sovs. out of the stakes; one mile and a half, over the New Course; 274 subs.

Mr. R. Sutton's Lord Lyon, by Stockwell, 8st. 10lb. (Custance)	1
Lord Ailesbury's Savernake, by Stockwell out of Bribery, 8st. 10lb. (T. French)	2
Duke of Beaufort's Rustic, by Stockwell, 8st. 10lb. (Cannon)	3

Twenty-three other horses started, but were not placed.

Betting.—6 to 5 on Lord Lyon; 5 to 1 agst Rustic; 12 to 1 agst Redan; 15 to 1 agst Toxophilite colt; 20 to 1 each agst Blue Riband and the Bribery colt; 25 to 1 agst Monarch of the Glen; 30 to 1 agst Vespasian; 33 to 1 agst Knight of the Crescent; 40 to 1 agst Abergeldie; 50 to 1 agst Strathconan; 66 to 1 agst Westwick; and 1000 to 15 each agst Plutus and Robin Hood.

The customary interval of an hour appointed for the accommodation of those holding paddock tickets for the inspection of the six-and-twenty competitors having elapsed, the bell rang for clearing the course. This was scarcely done when Lord Lyon, Monarch of the Glen, and Hidalgo were seen threading their way through the crowd from Tattenham corner, the trio having performed their toilet at the Warren stables. The favourite was, of course, the centre of attraction. Gradually the remainder of the field made their appearance, headed by Strathconan, Rustic, and Blue Riband, who, having taken their preliminary canters, returned to the enclosure, and then joined Mr. M'George. As usual, they missed the first and most favourable opportunity of getting away, through Tacitus jumping round the contrary way, and in consequence nearly half an hour was consumed before a satisfactory start was accomplished. Soon after the colours of Freedom, wide on the right of the moving cavalcade, were seen in advance, in whose wake were seen Stabber, Robin Hood, Blue Riband, Knight of the Crescent, Redan, and the Bribery colt in close company; a length

or so on their left came Toxophilite colt, with Westwick, Janitor, Vespasian, and Abergeldie forming the next division, in the rear of whom were observed Tacitus, Harefield, Laneret, and the Czar, the latter being left at the post. As they entered "the furzes" by the mile and quarter post, Blue Riband rushed to the front, and, heading Freedom, who immediately disappeared from the van, came on with the running at an improved pace, evidently to serve his stable companion, Robin Hood holding the second honour, closely attended as they fairly rounded the turn into the old course. Here Lord Lyon was seen gradually moving to the front, and when fairly on the hill he ran up to the quarters of the Baron's second string, attended with the most jealous solicitude by his most dangerous opponent Rustic. To these succeeded Knight of the Crescent, Redan, the Bribery colt, Strathconan, Vespasian, Janitor, and Lord Glasgow's colt, who followed the leaders in a body round the turn into the straight. At this critical point the shouts from the Stand announced the defeat of Blue Riband and Robin Hood, who before the road was reached had disappeared from the front, leaving the favourite in the centre of the course, with a slight lead of Redan; but the latter dying away to nothing in the next few strides, the pair gave way in turn to the Bribery colt, who came up full of running on the lower ground, and taking a clear lead as they came on appeared to have the two favourites beaten at the distance. Half-way up, however, Custance, who, having ridden with great patience, had disposed of the Danebury favourite, gradually drew upon the leader, whom he caught in the centre of the stand, and, coming with one run, landed the popular colour of Mr. Sutton in the last stride by a head. There were three lengths between the second and third, Lord Exeter's colt finishing a head in the rear of Rustic. Janitor was fifth, Strathconan sixth, Vespasian seventh, and Blue Riband next. Then came, nearly in a line, Redan, Monarch of the Glen, Westwick, and Robin Hood, who headed a lot of pulling-up horses, the extreme rear comprising Freedom, Stabber, Duke of York, Harefield, Tacitus, Plutus, and Knapsack. The two latter, who were beaten off a long way, were pulled up, and did not pass the post.

The value of the stakes was 7550*l*. According to Benson's "Chronograph" the race was rather a slow one. It occupied 2 min. 49 sec., while that of last year was run in 2 min. 45½ sec.; and that of 1864 (Blair Athol's year) in 2 min. 43¾ sec.

The second great race of the meeting was decided as follows:—

The Oaks Stakes of 50 sovs. each, h. ft., for three year old fillies, 8st. 10lb. each; the second received 100 sovs. out of the stakes; the Derby Course; 175 subs.

Mr. B. E. Dunbar's Tormentor, by King Tom, 8st. 10lb. (J. Mann) 1
Mr. J. Merry's Mirella, by Gemma di Vergy, 8st. 10lb. (H. Covey) 2

Duke of Beaufort's Ischia, by Wild Dayrell, 8st. 10lb. (Cannon) 3

Fourteen others started, but were not placed.

Betting.—3 to 1 agst Ischia; 5 to 1 each agst Tormentor and the Mayonaise filly; 10 to 1 each agst La Dauphine and Proserpine; 20 to 1 agst Wild Briar; 25 to 1 agst Mother of Pearl; 100 to 3 each agst Lady Sophie and Monitress; 40 to 1 each agst Mirella, Elfeta, Lady Vane, and Actæa; 50 to 1 agst the Maid or Masham filly and Hebe, and 100 to 1 agst. Ammunition. Owing to the delay at the start for the Glasgow Plate, very little time was left for inspection in the paddock, and the fillies having been saddled during the running of the match, they quickly got through the preliminaries, and left the post in beautiful order within a quarter of an hour of the appointed 3.15. Mother of Pearl, wide on the right, was the first to show in advance, but quickly resigned to La Dauphine, who led the way at a slow pace, Mother of Pearl going on second, Mirella third, Proserpine fourth, Fair Rosamond fifth, and Tormentor sixth. Then, at the head of the others, were Hebe, Wild Briar, Elfeta, and Lady Sophie, Ischia, Ammunition, the Maid of Masham, and the Mayonaise fillies running abreast in the rear, until nearing the mile-post, when Ammunition became absolutely last. Rounding the top turn La Dauphine still led, followed down the hill by Mirella, Proserpine, and Tormentor, Mother of Pearl and Fair Rosamond now beating a retreat, although, owing to the slowness of the pace up to this point, they were all of a heap as they made the turn into the straight, the only noticeable change being the prominent positions assumed by the Mayonaise filly, Ischia, and Lord Glasgow's filly, with the former of whom Grimshaw steered for his favourite place on the upper ground. Soon after passing the road, La Dauphine beat a retreat, as also did Elfeta, Hebe, and Lady Sophie, the former of whom was eased immediately she was headed by her stable companion, Lady Vane. On the retirement of La Dauphine, Mirella was left in slight command to within a quarter of a mile of home, when Tormentor went to the front, and making the pace very strong, quickly disposed of the non-stayers, nothing apparently being left in it, with the exception of Mirella, the Mayonaise filly, Proserpine, Ischia, the Maid of Masham's daughter, and Lady Vane. Before reaching the distance Proserpine was done with, and Mr. Crawford's filly also being in difficulties at the commencement of the Stand, their places were supplied by Lord Glasgow's representative and Lady Vane (who never looked formidable), Ischia on the right, Tormentor in the centre, and Mirella on the left, having the issue to themselves. Though in such a forward position, the favourite never looked like winning, and Mann calling on Tormentor in the last hundred yards, instantly disposed of Mirella, and won cleverly by half a length, Ischia, who came again at the last, losing the century for second best by a head only; Lady Vane, close up with

whom finished the Maid of Masham filly, was an excellent fourth, the Mayonaise filly sixth, Wild Briar seventh, Proserpine eighth, and La Dauphine ninth, the last four being Lady Sophie, Fair Rosamond, Elfeta, and Mother of Pearl. Time, 2 min. 53 sec. Net value of the stakes, 4650 sovs.

19. The Horse Show.—The second great horse show which has been held in London was opened with the utmost success, at the Agricultural Hall, Islington. Every part of the hall was crowded with a most fashionable assemblage, and every point from which a view of the trials of the horses could be gained was thronged. Among others present were the Duke of Richmond, Duke of St. Albans, Duke of Marlborough, Duke of Sutherland, Marquis of Exeter, Lord and Lady Constance Grosvenor, Lord Stamford, Lord Spencer, Lord Faversham, Lord Ebury, &c. General Count Fleury, Master of the Horse to the Emperor of the French, was also present. The hall was opened as early as nine o'clock, and the judgment of the relative merits of the horses commenced at ten. The chief judges, who were helped by professional assistants, were Lord Portsmouth, Lord Combermere, Sir Watkin W. Wynn, Sir George Wombwell, and Captain Percy Williams. Almost as soon as the judging of the horses commenced, the building was crowded. Every arrangement, however, was made to facilitate the passage of visitors round and between the stalls in which the different animals are kept. The hall is admirably adapted to this purpose, the arena for trying the horses is amply spacious, and the ventilation of all the building is perfect. Though it can scarcely be said to be a good time of the year at which to assemble horses for display, entries were unusually numerous. When it is recollected how many horses were at this time in training, or otherwise employed, it is almost surprising to find that in the seventeen classes for which prizes were offered upwards of 300 animals were entered. In these classes were, of course, included every kind and description of horse—racers, hunters, hacks, roadsters, ladies' horses, and ponies. The latter formed as usual a very popular and very numerous class. There were many of them so small as to be less than eight or nine hands high, while one actually only reached the height of thirty-two inches. Judging commenced with Class XI., thoroughbred stallions for getting hunters. In this magnificent class of animals, after long deliberation, the first prize was awarded to Mr. Topham's bay stallion Storm Stayed, aged five years. The second prize was taken by Mr. Phillips's Prince Plausible. Very many of the horses in this class were marked in money value nearly to as much in amount as the price of those which gained these prizes, yet the decision in favour of the animals we have mentioned seemed to meet with unanimous approval. In the class for weight-carrying hunters, Mr. Sutton's Voyageur gained the highest honours, and Mr. Thompson's Rainbow the second prize. The justice of both these awards was endorsed in the strongest terms by all within the arena. It may be mentioned

that in this trial, as well as in Class III., where hunters without condition as to weight were tried, some excellent jumping was made by many of the animals.

The grand day of the show was the 23rd, not only from the largely increased number of visitors, but from the Royal visit, which had been deferred till that time. It was not until after one o'clock that a communication was received from Major Teesdale, subsequently confirmed by Major-General Hood, who was in the ring, that the Prince of Wales would visit the show that afternoon. The hour first named was half-past four p.m., but a subsequent notice arrived, that in consequence of the length of the Drawing-room it would be after five. At about half-past five the Royal carriages entered by the show-yard gates in Barford-street; and when it was discovered that the Princess of Wales accompanied the Prince, the shouts of enthusiasm which rang through the crowded building were of the most loyal and vociferous character. The Prince and Princess were accompanied by Prince Alfred, the Prince of Teck, the Countess of Macclesfield, the Earl and Countess of Dunmore, Colonel Kingscote, and Major Teesdale, whilst the Earl and Countess of Spencer had preceded them. The stallions were paraded, the hunters and hacks jumped, and the roadsters, trotters, and ponies exhibited.

On the 24th there were several peculiar features of interest in the day's programme, the most interesting of which was a match against time by three celebrated trotters, the distance being a mile and a ninth, nine times round the arena being a measured mile. The competitors were a celebrated trotter called the Welsh mare, Morning Star, and Mr. Edwards's American trotter, Stephen F. Knapp. There was a good deal of speculation, and the odds were greatly in favour of the American before starting. The stakes were thirty guineas, and the distance was trotted by the respective competitors in the following times:—The Welsh mare 4m. 16s., Morning Star 4m. 10s., and Stephen F. Knapp in 3m. 55s.; thus becoming the winner.

The 25th was the sixth and closing day, and the show was almost as fully attended as on some of the preceding ones; and the arrangements of the arena, which were entrusted to Mr. John Bannister, were carried out with the usual spirit. There was more than ordinary attention paid to the implements, particularly to the washing and mangling machines, a machine to make milk into butter in ten minutes, &c. The show closed shortly after seven o'clock; and whether viewed as being calculated to effect an improvement in the breed of horse-flesh or in a pecuniary point of view, it was looked upon as the most successful ever yet held. It was computed from first to last that 100,000 persons visited the show.

22. International Horticultural Exhibition.—One of the largest, and certainly one of the best-arranged flower shows which

have ever been witnessed in England, was opened on the vacant ground of the late Exhibition, near the Horticultural Gardens. Every flower of beauty, every plant of rare worth, from the most delicate orchids and parasites of the tropics, up to the hardiest ferns and conifers of the northern regions, were all here exhibited, and exhibited not only in their zones of vegetation and in the utmost development of their forms, but in all the contrast of colour and foliage which so much heightens their beauty. To the visitor entering from the Cromwell-road, the beds which first attracted attention were those occupied by light-coloured azaleas, pelargoniums, calceolarias, fuchsias, and other flowering plants; and plants of variegated foliage and shrubs of sombre texture occupied those portions not so conspicuous to the ordinary view. M. Ambrose Verschaffelt, M. John Verschaffelt, and M. Linden, of Brussels and Ghent, exhibited a collection of agaves, palms, and ferns of rare variety and beauty. As many as twenty-four classes of azaleas were exhibited by Mr. Turner, of Slough, which surpassed any thing of the kind hitherto presented to the metropolitan public in their height, in the faultless radiance of colour, and in the almost mathematical regularity of their bloom. The pyramids of flowers exhibited in this class attested the prominent success attained in the cultivation of these plants, varying, as the flowers exhibited varied, through all degrees of shade, from the most delicate white to the darkest crimson. If any thing could surpass in beauty of flower and foliage the collection of azaleas, it would be the marvellous display of roses, which testified to Mr. Turner's skill as one of our leading florists. In the various classes of orchids, palms, and tropical plants, a very extensive display was made by Mr. Veitch, who has distinguished himself at every floral *fête* of this description. In these classes Messrs. Paul, Williams, and Bell were also prominent exhibitors. The rhododendron valley, supplied by Messrs. Waterer and Godfrey, formed one of the most interesting features of the exhibition. The brilliant colours of the plants, constituting as they did in themselves a rich and varied picture, gave an appearance of bright and mellowed richness, affording a pleasant contrast to the calm, cool green of the ferns, which rose above and almost entirely concealed the rockwork on which they were placed. The Crystal Palace Company exhibited by far the finest ferns in the exhibition. One of these was especially remarkable. It was sent some seven years ago in a small glass case—being at that time only a few inches in height—to Mr. Eyles, at that time superintendent at the Crystal Palace gardens, at present holding a corresponding position in the gardens of the Horticultural Society. It is now twenty-five feet high. The attendance of visitors was unusually large. At about half-past three o'clock their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales entered the tent, together with Prince Alfred, Princess Helena, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, the Duchess of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, the Princess Mary, and Prince Teck. General Knollys, Major Teesdale, Colonel Purves, the Hon. Mrs. Hardinge, Sir W. Dilke,

and Sir Daniel Cooper were in attendance. Their Royal Highnesses were conducted over every part of the show, staying longest near the banks of azaleas, roses, and orchids. The chief of the foreign exhibitors had the honour of being presented to the Royal party, who, after a stay of nearly two hours in the tent, passed into the gardens of the Society.

In the evening a grand banquet was held at the Guildhall. There was a very numerous attendance of both English and foreign members of the Congress. The Lord Mayor presided, and among the company, which included from 400 to 500 ladies and gentlemen, were Lord Powerscourt, M. de Candolle, of Geneva; Mrs. Barnett, daughter of the Lord Mayor; Admiral Sir Brooke Middleton, Sir Wentworth Dilke, M.P., chairman of the executive committee; the Right Hon. C. Nisbet Hamilton, Sir Daniel Cooper, &c. The hall presented a magnificent spectacle, there being, in addition to the ordinary embellishments of the building, a rich display of flowers to garnish the tables and give the whole scene an aspect befitting a floral festival.

The foreign botanists and horticulturists began their labours on the 23rd with a breakfast given by Messrs. Veitch and Sons. The Congress was opened at eleven o'clock, in the South Kensington Museum, under the presidency of M. de Candolle, who delivered his inaugural address in French. The address was attentively listened to, and on its conclusion a vote of thanks, proposed by Sir Wentworth Dilke, seconded by Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, and supported by Mr. V. Bennett, was warmly tendered to M. de Candolle.

In the evening a large and brilliant *conversazione* was held in the South Kensington Museum. At the appointed hour, nine o'clock, an enormous line of carriages stretched from the gates to the Brompton-road; and even so late as ten o'clock there still remained a large number of vehicles waiting to approach the entrance. The Congress concluded the next day.

The third day demonstrated in a remarkable manner the great attractiveness of the exhibition. Even in the forenoon the pleasant walks under the great tents were crowded, and as the afternoon went on the concourse thickened, till, vast as the place is, it was crowded. The roads far away round the entrance to the show in the Cromwell-road were filled with long lines of carriages, and the pavements thronged with visitors coming and going.

The show continued open to the public until the 31st, and the number of visitors who attended it from first to last was extraordinary.

25. GREAT FIRE AT OTTERY ST. MARY.—A most destructive fire broke out at Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, by which a great part of the town was burnt down in a few hours. It was first discovered about midday near the top of the staircase of the schoolroom, which adjoins a cottage chimney. It was then confined to a very small space. In less than ten minutes, however, after the discovery, and while the person who made it was giving the alarm

and seeking assistance, it rapidly spread. Before any means of prevention could be procured, the flames communicated with the thatched roofs of the adjacent cottages and the woodwork of the schoolroom. The seven cottages behind the school were burnt out in less than half an hour. There was a strong wind blowing, principally from the north-east, but occasionally veering to the east. This breeze fanned the flames, which spread from roof to roof of the thatched houses with inconceivable rapidity, the sunny weather of the preceding fortnight having rendered the straw roofs more than usually inflammable. The fire spread down the adjoining street, Jehu-street, and on the left-hand side the whole of the dwellings down to the Red Lion were in ruins in an hour. From the inn the flames spread up Tip-hill Head, which branches off at right angles, consuming the rows of houses on both sides of the way. While devastating Tip-hill Head the fire continued along the line from Jehu-street towards Broad-street, the principal street in the town. It was stopped in its progress in that direction by the space which the lawn in front of the house of Mr. Davey, solicitor, interposed. This intervening ground, although it undoubtedly saved the houses in Broad-street, did not save Mr. Davey's own premises. Safe from an attack in front, his house was exposed to danger in the rear. The conflagration in Tip-hill Head extended to a blacksmith's forge and some neighbouring premises, part of which adjoined Mr. Davey's house. The utmost exertions of Mr. Davey's servants and others to keep the flames at a distance were useless. Had a fire-engine been at hand, the residence might have been saved; but only two out of the three engines belonging to the town were fit for service, and those were actively engaged elsewhere. Mr. Davey's house was burnt, and the whole of his furniture was consumed—the only articles rescued being business documents. The heat at this point was intense, for behind Mr. Davey's house, trees and shrubs fifty yards removed from the fire were charred and burnt. The flames reached to a house (Mr. Hake's) at the entrance to Broad-street, and his premises were in imminent peril. Had the fire once got the mastery here, the upper part of the town would have suffered as much as the lower. Fortunately the exertions of those engaged in protecting this property were crowned with success, and to them undoubtedly is due the credit of preventing the disaster assuming even more serious dimensions. But the conflagration showed itself in another part of the town—in a part which all who were labouring in Jehu-street thought secure. The wind carried large flakes of burning thatch several hundred yards, and these fell on the thatched roofs of the houses in Mill-street, a long distance off, and set them on fire immediately. The flames quickly spread on each side. The fire burnt up the premises of Mr. Priddis, maltster, the Church Union Schools, and Mr. Searle's ironmongery establishment. Several houses were saved on the west side by water being continually poured on the roofs. In this street nine newly-finished slate-

roofed houses were also consumed. At half-past four a barn at the extreme end of Mill-street, and on the opposite side to that on which the fire raged most, was discovered to be on fire. From the barn the fire attacked the house of Mr. Huxtable, shoemaker, and Mr. Taylor's tan-yard, and destroyed all that was consumable in both. By this time the engines from Exeter arrived, and the firemen promptly applied themselves to the task of saving the valuable premises at the back of the tan-yard—a grist mill occupied by Mr. Manley, and the extensive silk factory of Mr. Colin Newberry. The hose was laid in the river, and a plentiful supply of water was pumped on to the buildings to lessen the chance of ignition. Intervening wooden sheds were demolished, so as to cut off the flames. The spread of the fire was thus checked, and the valuable blocks of buildings escaped the general havoc. But for timely succour and judiciously-directed energy, the mill and factory must have perished, for flakes of fire kept falling around them in every direction. A cottage about 300 yards in the rear, separated by the river and a field, took fire three separate times, and five men had to be stationed on the roof to prevent it sharing the fate of so many others. The exertions of the firemen prevented the flames spreading further, and about eight o'clock their progress was checked. The West of England, the Royal, and the town fire brigades watched the more dangerous spots for some hours after that; but happily the fire did not communicate with any of the other houses. The next day Mr. Baker, overseer, and Mr. Digby, builder, surveyed the ruins, and with the aid of a map were able to arrive at a correct estimate of the number of houses destroyed. One hundred and eleven was the exact number. About 500 persons were burnt out of house and home, and at least 300 of these were poor people and small shopkeepers, whose whole support was the profit derived from their business. Their goods were consumed, and their means of obtaining a livelihood swept away. The committee appointed at Ottery to provide for the houseless people laboured zealously, and appealed for aid to the general public. Shelter had to be found and funds provided for the relief of the sufferers. The rebuilding of the dwellings would occupy months. The total loss could not be less than 20,000*l.* The greater portion of the poor had to trust to the charity of their neighbours, and small houses in Ottery were seriously overcrowded.

On the 26th, a meeting was held at the Town-hall, in order to devise means for the relief of the sufferers. The chair was taken by Sir John Kennaway.

The Rev. Dr. Cornish, the vicar, stated that on the previous evening a subscription was entered into to meet the exigencies of the moment. An appeal would be hereafter placed before the public, when a complete report of the extent and magnitude of the disaster could be presented.

Captain Coleridge moved that a subscription list be immediately

opened for the relief of the sufferers, and that an appeal be made to the public through London and the county papers, which was agreed to.

It was afterwards agreed that 1*s.* should be given to each head of a family—1*s.* to the husband, and 1*s.* to the wife—and 6*d.* per head to children, as temporary relief. A vote of thanks to the chairman closed the meeting. About 300 persons were relieved by the committee in the evening.

28. The Duke of Edinburgh admitted to the Grocers' Company.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, complying with an unanimous invitation of the Master and Wardens of the ancient guild of Grocers, one of the twelve great City Companies, that he would accept the freedom of their order, went in state to the City for that purpose. The Company is not only famous among the civic guilds for its wealth and munificent charities, but as being one of the very oldest of them, having flourished for more than 500 years. Kings and princes have been among its Grand Masters, or have adorned the roll of its honorary members. Its name, adopted probably for the sake of brevity, scarcely does justice to its original constitution as a fraternity of merchants, seeing that they were men who traded in all the various products of tropical climes, and especially in spices and condiments, though, like most of the City Companies, it has to a great extent ceased to be a fellowship solely of persons engaged in the pursuit of the particular branch of trade or commerce symbolized by its name.

The Prince, who was attended by Colonel the Hon. A. Liddell, and the Hon. Elliot Yorke, arrived at the hall of the Company in Princes-street, about half-past one o'clock; and on alighting at the entrance was received with every mark of high consideration and respect by the Master (Mr. Coventry Mark Woodhouse), and by the principal Wardens and other members of the Company. Thence His Royal Highness was conducted to the drawing-room, a gorgeous apartment, decorated with marble busts of the Queen and the Prince Consort, and of Wellington, Nelson, and Sir John Lawrence. At the Master's request, Mr. Ruck, the clerk, read the resolution of the Court passed on the 18th of April, conferring the honorary freedom of the Company upon the Prince, in testimony of the feelings of loyalty and attachment entertained by them towards Her Majesty the Queen, and the Royal Family. His Royal Highness then took the customary oath of a freeman, by which he pledged himself to bear true allegiance to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, to be obedient to the Wardens of the Company in all lawful things, to keep secret all the lawful councils of the fellowship, and truly observe and obey all its rules, impositions, and ordinances.

The Master then addressed the Duke, and after referring to some great events in the history of the Company and to the honours paid to it by Royal and illustrious personages since it received its

first charter from King Edward III., ventured to solicit permission to enrol the name of His Royal Highness among the illustrious members of the Grocers' Company, and, on behalf of the Court, he again thanked His Royal Highness for his condescension in attending there that day, and welcomed him as a brother Grocer.

The Prince, taking the document conferring the freedom, which was enclosed in a magnificent gold box of elegant design and workmanship, bowed his acknowledgments, and then having subscribed the roll of freemen and been presented by the Master to the gentlemen present, was escorted to the court-room of the Company, a stately apartment, where a *déjeuner* had been prepared for His Royal Highness. The table was graced by some of the ancient gold drinking-cups of the Company, and by four magnificent plateaux in solid silver, embodying a series of groups emblematical of the different branches of commerce in which the Company had been engaged. Other specimens of the massive gold and silver plate of the guild were displayed on side tables in different parts of the room with striking effect. At this entertainment the Master of the Company presided, the Prince occupying a seat on his right hand, and the suite of His Royal Highness, with the Wardens and members of the Court of Assistants and their clerk, being placed according to rank and seniority, Mr. Heath, the senior member of the Court, occupying the vice-chair. Three toasts only were drunk on the occasion, namely, "The Queen," "The Prince," and "The Company." His Royal Highness, in a few graceful words, expressed the great gratification he felt at the honour which had been conferred upon him by his admission into the fellowship of their ancient corporation.

31. Ascot Races.—The Cup Day.—The attendance of visitors at the great contest on Ascot-heath was extraordinary both in respect to rank and numbers. From an early hour the Waterloo station of the London and South-Western Railway was beset with passengers. With so much traffic every precaution was taken to ensure a safe transit, and although the journey was of necessity rather slow, the tediousness of it was cheerfully borne by those who had yet the deplorable accident that occurred two years since fresh in their recollections. The Great Western line was preferred by many, the drive through Windsor-park to the course being considered one of the most pleasing attributes of the day. The attendance at Ascot on the present anniversary has never been surpassed. Thickly packed, both carriages and pedestrians stretched down the course on both sides in a dense line, and during the "straight races" some four or five deep down to the starting-post, while the stand, also, was crowded to excess, locomotion being a matter of extreme difficulty. No sooner had the course been cleared for the first race than the Royal *cortége*, headed by the Master of the Buckhounds, was seen wending its way slowly up the New Mile, preceded by the huntsmen, the prickers in their livery of green, and outriders in scarlet. The procession consisted of five

open barouches and four, in the first of which were seated the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Crown Prince of Denmark, and the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz. The second carriage was occupied by Prince Teck and the Princess Mary of Cambridge, Prince Alfred (whom we must now style by his new title, the Duke of Edinburgh), and the Countess of Macclesfield. In the third were the Prince of Saxe-Weimar, Duke of Cambridge, Duke of Sutherland, and Lady Dunmore. Loud cheering greeted the august procession as it neared the Royal enclosure, the Prince and Princess repeatedly bowing their acknowledgments; and could the sun only have penetrated its cloudy covering, a prettier scene could not have been wished for. Indeed, as it was, a fairer sight than that exhibited by the ladies' gallery in the stands and Royal enclosure could scarcely be conceived. In anticipation of Gladiateur's triumph, there was quite an influx of our neighbours from across the Channel, many of whom, in company with Count Lagrange, watched the race from the top of the private stand nearly in a line with the judge's box. During the afternoon, the Count was cordially saluted by the Prince of Wales, and honoured with an introduction to the Royal circle.

The great race of the day took place as follows:—

The Gold Cup, value 300 sovs., added to a subscription of 20 sovs. each; three year olds 7st. 5lb., four 8st. 10lb., five 9st. 3lb., six and aged 9st. 5lb.; mares and geldings allowed 3lb.; the second received 50 sovs. out of the stakes; once round (about two miles and a half); 21 subs.

Count F. de Lagrange's Gladiateur, by Monarque, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (H. Grimshaw) . . .	1
Mr. Graham's ch. f. Regalia, 4 yrs., 8st. 7lb. (Chaloner)	2
Mr. Chaplin's Breadalbane, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (Custance)	0

Betting.—5 to 2 on Gladiateur, 100 to 30 against Regalia, and 100 to 6 against Breadalbane. The latter made the running at a slow pace, and passed the stand six lengths in advance of Regalia, who was about the same distance before Gladiateur. In this way they proceeded for the first three-quarters of a mile, when Breadalbane improved the pace and his lead at the same time, heading Regalia fully a dozen lengths, and both rapidly left Gladiateur in descending the hill, Grimshaw, "for fear of accidents," easing him so much that an almost universal opinion was expressed on the stand that he would never catch the leading pair, loud offers to back the field resounding on all sides. No sooner, however, had he completed the descent of the hill—being at the time quite 150 yards in the rear—than he began to make up his ground as if by magic, and Breadalbane gradually compounding, the pace momentarily became slacker; in less time than it takes to write it, the favourite

had run right up to his horses, all three closing at the brick-kilns. Grimshaw now taking another pull, Breadalbane maintained the lead till half-way between the kilns and the straight, where he resigned in favour of Regalia. In rounding the turn Breadalbane was also headed by Gladiateur, who came up on the outside, and ran at the mare's girths to within a distance and a half of home, where he quitted her, and striding along all the way, passed the post first by forty lengths, amid tumultuous cheering. Breadalbane pulled up before reaching the box. Run in 4 min. 40 sec.

JUNE.

7. Dreadful Fire with Loss of Life in Dublin.—A most tragical fire occurred in Westmoreland-street, Dublin, in which no less than six persons lost their lives. The corner house of that street, adjoining Aston-quay, and just at Carlisle-bridge, had been recently rebuilt, and was occupied by the Ballast Board. The next house, numbered 19 and 20, was occupied by Mr. Delaney, a respectable merchant tailor. There were two front shops, one of which was let to a hatter named Williams, both having very large plate-glass windows. A solicitor and a photographer occupied apartments on the drawing-room floor. The only persons in the house at the time of the fire were Mrs. Delany and her three daughters, aged respectively twenty-one, twenty, and twelve years, a servant-maid, and a gentleman named Strahan, aged twenty-four, son of Mr. Strahan, proprietor of a large furniture warehouse in Henry-street. Mr. Delaney had gone out to take a walk with his son, sixteen or eighteen years of age, little imagining that he would never again see a single member of the family which he had left behind him. A gentleman who was passing through Westmoreland-street about twenty or twenty-five minutes to nine o'clock, stated that he found the shutters of the hatter's shop down and the interior a perfect furnace. The fire seemed then to be confined to the back shop, though rapidly tending frontwards. Just then the plate glass was either broken intentionally by some one anxious to extinguish the fire, or it was shattered by the intensity of the heat. The consequence was, that the current of air gave tremendous force to the flames, which rushed out with fury, seizing upon the windows of Mr. Delaney's shop, mounting upwards to the drawing-room, penetrating in its devouring course to all parts of the building, and with terrific rapidity bursting through floor after floor. Another gentleman stated, that when passing over Carlisle-bridge at twenty-minutes to nine o'clock, he saw the smoke issuing from both shops, and presently the plate-glass windows fell to pieces with a loud crash, and the flames

lighted up the sign-boards and seized the next floor windows. At this time, the attention of those who crowded the streets was attracted to the top windows at the right-hand side, next to the Ballast-office. There they beheld five agonized and terror-stricken people—a mother, her three young daughters, and a young man. The latter seemed calm and collected, soothing his companions, and pointing to the approaching fire-escape. The witness above referred to thus described what took place:—

"Fervent prayers went up from all present as the firemen put the machine to the wall, and the poor creatures above became calm, and seemed to think deliverance certain. But, oh! how shall I describe the shriek of utter despair which came from that window when the frail and worthless play-toy, miscalled a fire-escape, bent like a willow, collapsed, and fell to the ground? A fireman went up a few steps and tried to adjust the 'escape,' but the fire burst out then in all its fury, drove him off the ladder, shot up the side of the house like a lightning flash, and seemed to strike the victims in the very face. I saw them reel backward, heard them utter a stifled shriek, and disappear. Many who had arrived subsequently thought they had escaped by the roof, but no one who saw them at the time I speak of dared to hope so. Sorry should I be to take from the honour due to any brave man who tries to save the life of a fellow-creature from a horrible death, and if I do so I shall be glad to be set right, but I must say that I often saw far more effort made to save a horse from a similar death than was put forth for these poor human beings. The fire-engines were not at work till the house was a furnace; the fire-escapes were miserable and cruel failures, and all working them seemed to give up the victims to their fate after very little effort. In a very short time the top floor gave way, and the shrieking victims disappeared, never to be seen again. When I went to the place at twelve o'clock that night, people hoped that they might have escaped by the roof of one of the adjoining houses. They could easily have done so, for the window at which they stood is only a few feet from the top of the parapet. Mr. Strahan might have got out there, and pulled up the ladies, and passed them on to the roof of the Ballast-office, where they would have been quite safe; or, with the aid of ropes, blankets, or some contrivance of the kind, they might have been drawn into that building by the adjoining windows. But every body seemed to rely, and very naturally, upon the fire brigade and their grand machines until it was, alas! too late. Scarcely any thing now remained of the building but the outer walls. The fire had been extinguished, and men had been at work ever since clearing out the *débris;* but up to two o'clock p.m. the next day, not a trace had been discovered of the six human beings who perished, except a small bone which seemed to belong to the little girl. It is said that the first engine, from Sackville-street, broke, and became quite unmanageable; but the other, which had ladders yoked, reaching, seemingly, to the proper

height, remained till any attempt at rescue was hopeless, reared against the front of the Imperial-office, where the persons were engaged throwing out bedding and furniture, while their fellow-beings were despairingly shrieking for aid within a few yards' distance."

A very strong feeling of dissatisfaction at the failure of the escape and the ill-success of the fire brigade prevailed in Dublin in consequence of this calamitous event.

— THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH ADMITTED TO THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh attended with his suite a state ceremonial at Guildhall to claim as his right by birth the freedom of the Corporation of the City of London. The whole festivity was completely successful, and every one seemed gratified with the result of the day's proceedings. As the *déjeuner* was served on a series of beautifully decorated tables in Guildhall itself, a large and lofty temporary chamber had to be erected outside the main building, in which the Court of Common Council might be held, at the meetings of which Court only can City freedoms be either claimed or conferred. The invited guests were admitted to this chamber at twelve o'clock, and certainly within half an hour after that time it was crowded, though the presentation ceremony was not to take place till two. The Lord Mayor, who wore his robes of state, was very warmly welcomed in passing up the chamber to his seat at its head. With him were the Lady Mayoress, and his daughter, Mrs. Barnet; the Earl and Countess Russell, and Mr. and Mrs. Goschen. The reception of Lord Russell was enthusiastic, and Mr. Goschen was also much cheered. Among the others invited to be present at the ceremony were Sir Roderick and Lady Murchison, Sir John and Lady Thwaites, the Earl of Cardigan, Miss Burdett Coutts, Sir John Gray, M.P.; Sir George Bowyer, M.P.; Mr. J. F. Maguire, M.P.; Mr. Charles Gilpin, M.P.; Colonel Sykes, M.P.; the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir R. W. Carden, Mr. Alderman Lusk, M.P.; the Common Sergeant, Mr. Tite, M.P.; with the Primewardens and Masters of the chief City guilds and companies. Nearly all the members of the Court of Aldermen were present in their robes of state, and almost the whole of the Court of Common Council also attended in their civic costume. The scene, therefore, which the chamber presented before the Prince arrived—the mixture of uniforms, court dresses, and state municipal attire, with the delicate toilettes of the ladies—was unusually brilliant. Almost immediately before the arrival of the honoured visitors of the day, the Maharajah of Lahore, attended by his suite, entered the building, and was received by the Lord Mayor with every mark of distinction. Precisely at two o'clock the Duke of Edinburgh arrived. He was accompanied by the Duke of St. Albans, Count Gleichen, R.N.; the Hon. Elliot Yorke, and Colonel Liddell. Mr. J. G. Saunders, as chairman of the City Lands Committee, received the Royal party at the entrance of the chamber, and, without further

delay than was actually necessary to stop and bow acknowledgment to the enthusiastic cheering with which he was welcomed, His Royal Highness passed up to the head of the chamber, where he was received by the Lord Mayor and Earl Russell. The Duke and Count Gleichen were in evening dress, and wore their ribands and orders. All other guests, not in uniform or official robes, were in plain morning costume. Immediately on the Duke having taken his stand on the right of the Lord Mayor, the routine forms and ceremonies of the admission to the freedom commenced by the reading the minutes of the previous Court, which of course were adopted *nem. con.* Mr. Scott, the City Chamberlain, then advanced to the table at which His Royal Highness stood, and, addressing him in a loud, clear voice, said:—

"May it please your Royal Highness,—The resolution of this honourable Court which has been just read, and the documents placed upon record, remind us that your Royal Highness attends here to-day, not so much to receive a compliment as to confer an obligation—not to accept a grant of the freedom of this ancient City, but rather to claim as of right, being free-born, that citizenship which this Corporation, in the case of your Royal Highness, cannot bestow. The remarks which devolve upon me to make in my official capacity on this occasion must accordingly assume a form somewhat exceptional; and it becomes my duty to express, in the name of the members of this honourable Court, their acknowledgments as well as their gratification that your Royal Highness thus honours the City of London by claiming to be enrolled as one of its citizens. They consider it an honour, because they see in the person of your Royal Highness the son of their most gracious Sovereign, towards whom it is their pleasure on every fitting occasion to express their most devoted loyalty, and to manifest affectionate attachment to her throne, her person, and her family. They regard it as an honour, because your Royal Highness comes claiming the freedom in right of descent from the best of fathers and the worthiest of citizens. They esteem it an honour on personal grounds, on account of the high character which your Royal Highness bears as a gallant member of a distinguished service—a service ever regarded with interest and pride by a city whose commercial enterprise is so vast that it contributes one moiety of the Customs' duties of the empire, and whose mercantile marine covers every sea. It has been said on good nautical authority that—

> 'A sailor should be every inch
> All as one as a part of his ship,'

and this honourable Court entertains that opinion, and, believing the sentiment to be embodied in the case of your Royal Highness, charges me to present the copy of your Royal Highness's freedom, enclosed in a casket of appropriate 'heart of British oak,' which, in their name, I now respectfully request that your Royal Highness will accept as a trifling *souvenir* of this interesting occasion.

And now, with brevity of speech, which will be acceptable to a sailor, I proceed at once to receive your Royal Highness as a citizen of London by offering you the right hand of fellowship. At the conclusion of this ceremonial your Royal Highness will be invited to inscribe your name on the roll of honorary citizenship; and it may be acceptable to your Royal Highness to find that in so doing your Royal Highness's name will be immediately associated with those of four honoured citizens of this city, all of them princes—to wit, Richard Cobden, the prince of free traders; George Peabody, the prince of philanthropists; Giuseppe Garibaldi, the prince of patriots; and your Royal brother, Citizen Albert Edward, Prince of Wales. Nothing now remains but that I should express in the name of his lordship in the chair, of his brethren the aldermen, and of every member of this Court, and I may add, I am sure, without breach of official etiquette, in the name of every fair spectator of these proceedings, their best wishes and heartfelt prayers that health, happiness, and every blessing may ever attend your Royal Highness."

His Royal Highness then read the usual oath, which, among other things, binds him not to conspire against the Queen, and to preserve intact and as they are all the ancient Corporation's rights and privileges. Mr. Chamberlain then advanced and presented the casket containing the freedom to the Duke. The freedom was beautifully engraved on an illuminated strip of vellum, but the casket in which it was presented is a rare work of art, of oak, carved from a beam of the old roof recently removed from Guildhall, about sixteen inches long by ten inches high, oval in shape, and in the *cinque-cento* style. On the back of the box, in a rich gold framework, small raised letters of pure gold, on blue enamel, form the following inscription:—

"PHILLIPS—MAYOR.
PRESENTED BY THE CORPORATION OF LONDON,
WITH THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY,
TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
PRINCE ALFRED.
THURSDAY, 7TH JUNE, 1866."

The Prince, in reply to the Chamberlain's address, spoke as follows:—

"My Lord Mayor, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—In acknowledging the address I have just received I am placed in the peculiar position of being unable adequately to express my thanks for the honour of being enrolled a freeman of the City of London, which honour, I trust, is not in the least diminished from the fact of my being, as the son of the Consort of our gracious Queen, a freeman by right of descent. As a sailor, I fully appreciate the sentiment that you have expressed, that—

'A sailor should be every inch
All as one as a part of his ship,'

and I shall always endeavour, in whatever position I may be placed, to do my duty in a manner that I hope will meet with the cordial approbation of the citizens of London. I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for the beautiful and valuable casket which has just been presented to me; and in accepting it, I shall ever bear in mind that the gift is not due to any merit of my own, but is an earnest of the goodwill and kindly feelings of the citizens of London, who are ever foremost in offering the right hand of fellowship to those who are associated with them. My Lord Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, I thank you for the reception you have given me."

On the motion of Mr. J. E. Saunders, the reply of the Prince was ordered to be entered on the journals.

The whole of the guests then adjourned into the body of the hall, where a sumptuous *déjeuner* was laid.

The hospitality dispensed by the Corporation on this occasion was frank and liberal, and the arrangements for the comfort and convenience of their guests were complete.

10. Extraordinary Accident on the Great Northern Railway.—An accident of a very singular nature occurred upon the Great Northern Railway, hitherto regarded as being one of the best managed railway systems in the kingdom.

That three heavily-laden trains of merchandise should dash into each other in the middle of a tunnel almost simultaneously little more than twenty miles from London; that such trains should have become ignited by the fire from the furnaces of their overthrown and shattered engines, and that the tunnel, which is more than half a mile in length, should be converted into one huge furnace, and its air shafts into a species of burning crater, is a calamity so astounding as to be almost incredible.

The scene of this extraordinary occurrence was the Welwyn Tunnel, about five miles beyond Hatfield, and between the Welwyn Junction and Stevenage, and the circumstances were these:—Shortly before eleven o'clock a train of goods "empties" started from the King's-cross goods station for Hitchin. On reaching the centre of the Welwyn Tunnel, either from the bursting of a tube, or some other cause, the engine broke down, and the train was brought to a stand. In this emergency it would have been the duty of Wray, the guard, who was in the break in the rear of the train, to have gone back out of the tunnel, and given the stopping signal. This precaution, from a cause not explained, and which, in all probability, never will be explained, as Wray, with his companion, was subsequently found in the break van dead, it is quite clear they did not take. This occurred about half-past twelve a.m. on this (Sunday) morning, and had scarcely taken place when the down Midland goods train, the driver of the engine of which had received no signal of danger on the London side, ran into the tunnel and dashed into the rear of the already broken-down train of empties. The violence of the

shock was such as to throw the Midland engine and the heavy train of goods which it was drawing, and which, among other merchandise, was known to contain several waggons laden with casks of oil and other materials of a combustible character, over on to the up line, piling them one upon the other in heaps reaching to the crown of the arch, and completely blocking the tunnel. Whether from consternation or from neglect, no signal of the mishap was given to the signalman at the northern end towards Stevenage, and in an incredibly short space of time the Scotch meat train came up, bringing up the dead meat from the north for the supply of the Monday's Newgate-market, with other goods. This, which was a Great Northern train, entered the tunnel, and dashed into the ruins of the already capsized Midland goods. In a few moments it was discovered that the engine of the Great Northern train had turned over, and that the goods and waggons of the Midland train had become ignited from the burning coal and cinders of the engine furnaces scattered about. Singular to relate, both drivers and firemen of all the engines had escaped either unhurt or with but slight injuries, and having signalled to the nearest stations, both up and down, what had happened, the first step taken was to look after the guard of the Northern train of empties, Wray, who was found in the midst of the ruins of his break, frightfully crushed and quite dead, and with him another man, a fireman in the employ of the Metropolitan Railway, whom it appears he was conveying surreptitiously down the line to his home, who, although not quite dead, was in a dying condition, and was not expected to survive many hours. The guard of the Northern up-train, Lacey, was also found lying on the line near his break, most severely injured about the head. He was in the first instance removed to Welwyn, but subsequently was taken to town and placed under the care of Mr. J. Templeton Kirkwood, of the Euston-road, surgeon to the Great Northern and Midland Companies. Information of the occurrence was at once telegraphed to Mr. Seymour Clarke, the general manager of the line, who resides at Hatfield, and also to the authorities on the northern side; at Knebworth large bodies of men were employed to get out what waggons they could, but the suffocating character of the smoke and the heat of the fire from the ignited ruins of the carriages and merchandise prevented their efforts being very effective, with the exception of the Scotch train. Further telegrams having been forwarded to London, about two o'clock the next morning Mr. Superintendent Williams, with a gang of some 200 men, reached the scene of the disaster. By this time, however, it was known that there were thirty-six carriages or trucks, thirteen of which belonged to the down Midland, all in a blaze. The repeated explosions rendered any attempt, even if the heat and smoke had not prevented it, to enter the tunnel abortive. From the air shaft smoke and at intervals flame, although some 50 ft. or 60 ft. in height from the roadway to the summit of the

shaft, together with sounds resembling the roaring of a mighty cataract or river, indicated the character of the conflagration that was raging underneath. The authorities having taken counsel, in the absence of water and inability to approach the seat of conflagration it was deemed advisable to let it expend itself, and be prepared with aid to enter the tunnel and clear the line of the ruins so soon as it should have done so. The fire continued to rage throughout the whole of the day, and it was not until six p.m. that it had become sufficiently reduced to enable any one to enter the tunnel. At this time a body of men arrived, under command of Mr. Superintendent Williams, with the Hatfield engine, lent to the company by the Marquis of Salisbury; and a supply of water having been obtained, the engine was set to work, but the ruins were still burning. Hundreds of navvies arrived, and set to work during the night to get the line clear. In the mean time the whole of the traffic was carried on along the Hertford branch, *viâ* Royston and Hitchin, and the Cambridge branch of the Great Eastern Railway. It is a fortunate circumstance that the Great Northern Railway traffic on Sundays is trivial as compared with that on week-days, otherwise it is doubtful if the Great Eastern could have taken it as well as the Midland, which was also stopped.

An inquest was afterwards held at Welwyn station, on Joseph Wray, guard, and John Rawlins, fireman, in the employ of the Metropolitan Railway Company, killed by the collision in the North Welwyn tunnel. John Liser, driver of the train of empties of which Wray was guard, said he left London at a quarter to ten on the Saturday night, and had thirty-eight carriages on. They reached Welwyn safely, but did not stop there. The accident happened at about twenty minutes past eleven. When going through the second tunnel, the tube of the engine connected with the boiler burst, and the train could go no further. He sent his fireman to tell Wray, who sent word to get the train back to Welwyn, but witness refused, thinking it improper to back it on the wrong road. There were about thirty-eight empties between the engine and the break. Witness could not describe the effect of the Midland running into his train, from which he was at the time disengaged. The trucks gave him only a bit of a bump. He was moving away when he heard the train coming, and he stopped still, and heard the other collision. John Kemp, fireman to last witness, said the signals were "all right" when he entered the tunnel. When witness went to Wray to tell him what had happened, Wray said it would be better to go back to Welwyn, as "nothing will be let to come in till we are at Knebworth." Witness returned and told this to Liser, who said "he dared not go back on the wrong line." Witness then got on the engine, and felt something bump. Immediately afterwards an up-train passed, and there was a loud crash. Witness was not then aware that Rawlins was in the train. Chas. Williams, engine-driver

on the Midland Railway, said he drove a goods train of twenty-six carriages and a guard's break into the Welwyn station on Saturday night. The signal was then "all right" for him. He saw the signalman at his post, but did not know whether the signalman saw him. The collision then occurred, and his mate got down and tried to find a light, but could not. They then heard another train run into the first train from the Hitchin end. That was about three minutes after witness ran into the first train. He went back and told the signalman, who was at his post. Mr. Richard Hornby, Peterborough district locomotive superintendent, deposed that he thought the tube was a good one. Tubes were taken out and examined every two years. James Radford, signalman at Welwyn, gave evidence at some length, the main point in which was, that before he gave the signal "all right" he received a telegram that the "empties" were out of the tunnel. John Harding, signalman at Knebworth, deposed that at twenty minutes past eleven p.m. he received a telegram that the "empties" were in. He acknowledged the receipt of that. He then got a telegram, "train in." He did not acknowledge that, as there ought not to be two in at once. He did not give "Line clear" after twenty minutes past eleven. James Radford, recalled, persisted in his previous evidence. The coroner summed up. Verdict—"Accidental Death," the jury declining to express an opinion as to the signalmen.

12. Marriage of the Princess Mary of Cambridge.—This morning the Princess Mary, one of the most amiable and popular Princesses of the Royal Family, was married at the village church at Kew to His Serene Highness Francis Lewis Paul Alexander Prince von Teck, a Prince among the nobility of Hungary, and lately an officer in the Austrian service. The ceremony was unattended by any kind of state pageantry or pomp. Except, indeed, for the presence of the illustrious visitors who graced it, it differed in no respect from the ordinary routine of what are termed "marriages in high life." In the church not the slightest attempt was made at splendour of decoration. The seats, it is true, were arranged so as to admit of the bridal party passing freely up the little nave; the pavement was covered with scarlet cloth, and some rich couches for the accommodation of the members of the Royal Family and the most distinguished guests were sent from St. James's Palace; but this was all. In fact, the little attempt made at display was quite in keeping with the quiet, unostentatious life which the Princess Mary and her august mother have led at Cambridge-cottage, Kew. It was the wish of the Princess that she should be married, as she had been confirmed, in the little parish church which she has attended so long, and where among all the poorer members of its congregation she is beloved for her acts of charity and her generous feeling. As she desired, she was married, as she expressed it herself, "among her own people," and her marriage feast was celebrated in the quiet old-fashioned little red-brick villa in

which she has lived so long. A very pretty covered way of gaily decorated awning, open at the sides, led from Cambridge-cottage to the little ivy-covered porch of St. Anne's. Both sides of this were reserved for the parishioners of Kew, while a large raised platform was erected on the right for those who had special admission to view the little procession. The management of all the arrangements within the church was entrusted to Colonel Home Purves, C.B., and every thing was admirably arranged. There was no crowding, and the benches were well disposed, so that all could find their seats easily, and see perfectly every thing that was passing. No guests were admitted till ten o'clock, but in a very few minutes after that hour the little nave and aisles were tolerably well filled, and, as is always the case on these occasions, almost entirely by ladies. Indeed, the first gentleman visitor of distinction—Lord Derby—did not arrive till after eleven o'clock. Almost at the same time Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone entered, and then the tide of eminent personages began to flow in fast. The Duchess d'Aumale was conducted to one of the seats for Royal visitors at the right of the altar. The Duchess of Sutherland, the Duchess of Marlborough, the Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar, Lady Sefton, Lady Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, and the Hon. Miss Mitford, arrived in rapid succession. Then came a sudden influx, which added Lord Granville, Lord Clarendon, Lord Sydney, Lord Bessborough, Lord Russell, the Duke d'Aumale, Lord de la Warr, the Marquis of Abercorn, Lord William Paulet, Lord Henry Lennox, Sir Hugh Rose, Sir Alexander Bannerman, Lord Spencer, and Miss Burdett Coutts to the now brilliant assemblage. All, both ladies and gentlemen, were, of course, in morning dress, the prevailing colours worn by the former being so markedly white and blue (the colours of the bridesmaids) that there was almost a monotony of tint along the rows on either side of the nave. Many of the peers wore their stars and ribands, but there was great diversity in this respect, some wearing their ribands without the stars, and some the stars without the ribands, while several were in plain walking-dress, without decoration of any kind. The Count and Countess Gleichen, with Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, were among the last to arrive and take their places just below the Royal seats on the right of the altar. Shortly before twelve o'clock the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the Bishop of Winchester, as bishop of the diocese, and followed by the Rev. R. B. Byam, the vicar of Kew, and the Rev. P. W. Nott, the curate, entered the church and took their places inside the little altar rails. Almost immediately afterwards the confused noise of cheering from without announced that the Queen had arrived. All rose to receive her, and bowed deeply, as, leaning on the arm of the Duke of Cambridge, she passed slowly up the church, and took her seat in the highest chair of state, close on the right of the altar. Her Majesty looked remarkably well, but was attired

in mourning so deep, that not even a speck of white relieved its sombreness. With Her Majesty came their Royal Highnesses Prince Arthur, Princess Helena, and Princess Louisa.

Both the Princesses were dressed in blue silk, trimmed with white, and wore small white bonnets with long gauze veils. The Queen was attended by the Duchess of Wellington (Mistress of the Robes), the Dowager Duchess of Athole, as Lady in Waiting, who were also in deep mourning, General Sir Thomas Biddulph, with Lord Charles Fitzroy and the Hon. Colonel de Ros, Equerries in Waiting. Until Her Majesty had taken her seat all remained standing, and as the visitors resumed their places the Prince and Princess of Wales, with the Duke of Edinburgh, the Crown Prince of Denmark, the Grand Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the Dowager Duchess and the Countess of Macclesfield, in waiting on the Princess of Wales, General Knollys, and Count Danneskjold came up the nave. The Prince of Wales wore no orders or decoration of any kind, and the Princess, like the majority of other ladies present, was dressed in blue silk, trimmed with white. They took their seats on the left of the altar, facing Her Majesty, making deep reverence to her as they did so, which the Queen in the case of the Prince and Princess of Wales as deeply returned. Next came His Serene Highness the Prince of Teck, accompanied by the Austrian Ambassador. The bridegroom, walking slowly up the church, passed to where Her Majesty was seated, bowed lowly before her, and took her hand and kissed it. The position of the bridegroom on these occasions, standing almost alone in front of the altar rails, with all eyes directed towards him, is rather trying, and one in which few men appear to advantage. To this general rule, however, Prince Teck was certainly an exception, for a more gallant, fine-looking young man is seldom seen.

At twelve o'clock the bride came in, leaning on the arm of the Duke of Cambridge, and followed by her bridal suite. The Princess walked with all the stately grace which may be almost said to be peculiar to herself, and her fine, kindly, genial face shone with smiles as she acknowledged the deep reverences of her personal friends on both sides of the nave. She was dressed entirely in white satin trimmed with lace, which was looped up with bouquets of orange-flowers and myrtle. The body of the dress was high and square, and the lace veil, depending from a wreath of orange-blossoms, almost formed a train behind her. The four bridesmaids in attendance were Lady Georgiana Susan Hamilton, fifth daughter of the Marquis of Abercorn, K.G.; Lady Cornelia Henrietta Maria Churchill, eldest daughter of the Duke of Marlborough; Lady Cecilia Maria Charlotte Molyneux, only daughter of Lady Sefton; and Lady Agneta Harriet Yorke, youngest daughter of Lord Hardwicke. Colonel Clifton and Lady Arabella Bannerman closed the procession.

The bridesmaids' dresses were of white tarlatan over blue silk.

They were trimmed with sashes of corn-flowers, and from the very small bonnets which they wore hung veils of tulle almost as long as that of the bride herself. As soon as the Royal parties had taken up their positions at the altar, the beautiful hymn No. 213, by Dr. Gauntlett, was sung by the choir, and at its conclusion the marriage ceremony was begun by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of this portion of the day's proceedings it is not necessary to say any thing except that the bridegroom's responses were uttered in a very low voice, and in a strong foreign accent. The bride, however, though in a very gentle tone, spoke clearly and distinctly, and her words were audible in all parts of the little building. The Bishop of Winchester read the last prayer of the service, at the conclusion of which Her Majesty rose from her seat and kissed the new bride with much heartiness. Still more enthusiastic were the embraces with which the Princess of Wales and the Princess Helena received her. The bridegroom, too, was congratulated by all the members of the Royal Family, who, after Her Majesty, came forward in turn to shake hands with him and wish him every happiness. The whole party then left the church in a long procession, the bride and bridegroom, of course, leading, and the Queen and the Duke of Cambridge following immediately behind them. As they returned along the covered way to Cambridge-cottage the children of the parish schools strewed the path thickly with beautiful spring flowers.

By express desire, Mendelssohn's Wedding March, which was to have been played as the procession left the church, was omitted. At Cambridge-cottage a *déjeuner* was laid in two rooms. The tables were handsomely decorated, and, as usual, on a *buffet* were exhibited the wedding presents, which were numerous, beautiful, and very costly. In the principal apartment the table was laid for Her Majesty, the bride and bridegroom, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Princess Helena, Princess Louisa, Prince Arthur, the Duchess of Cambridge, the Duke of Cambridge, the Grand Duke and Duchess and the Duchess Dowager of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar and the Countess Dornburg, the Crown Prince of Denmark, the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale, Count and Countess Gleichen, the Duchess of Wellington, the Dowager Duchess of Athole, and the Countess of Macclesfield. In the adjoining room were the Bishop of Winchester, the Marquis of Abercorn, the Countess of Hardwicke, the Duchess of Marlborough, the Countess of Sefton; Earl Russell, K.G., the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the Earl of Clarendon, K.G., Earl Granville, K.G., the Earl of Derby, K.G.; the Rev. R. B. Byam, vicar, and the Rev. P. W. Nott, curate, of Kew, and a long array of other distinguished guests.

After the *déjeuner* the bride and bridegroom took their departure for Ashridge-park, the seat of Lord Brownlow, near Berkhampstead. A great crowd waited to witness their leaving, and as they

drove from the cottage, in a close carriage and four, the cheering was beyond all description enthusiastic.

There were great rejoicings at night at Kew. All the cottages and villas had illuminations of some kind or other, and there was a good display of fireworks on the green.

14. Colliery Explosion at Dukinfield.—An explosion took place this morning about eight o'clock, at the colliery of Mr. F. D. P. Astley, Dukinfield, near Ashton, attended with great loss of life.

About six o'clock, seventy-two men and boys descended the Victoria pit, and the noise of the explosion is said to have been heard at the mouth of the shaft, which is 500 yards deep, at a quarter to eight. Soon afterwards, Mr. Isaac Wielding, manager of the pit, descended with a number of men to render what aid might be necessary; and in the course of about three hours they had succeeded in rescuing about thirty men and boys, and sent them up the shaft. Many of these were badly burnt, though none were dead. There were four surgeons in attendance to advise what should be done, and in most of the worst cases the sufferers were sent home and put to bed. Eleven men were missing, and were at first supposed to be cut off from all possibility of escape. It turned out, however, that six of them made their escape by other than the ordinary roads to the bottom of the shaft. The other five were dead, and shockingly mutilated. This reduced the number estimated as having perished in the mine to thirty-seven. Although the rules for the working of the mine were strict as to the use of locked Davy lamps, there was practically much laxity in the enforcement of the rules. The colliers who volunteered to go down the mine, after the explosion, and search for the dead bodies—always a work of danger as well as difficulty—exhibited great courage and untiring energy. The colliery bank was crowded all day by great numbers of people, among whom were the wives and children, the sisters, brothers, and relatives of the sufferers. Many of them exhibited great emotion, and the scene was most heartrending. Among the dead was George Phillips, the underlooker, who had general charge of the works underground, and whose duty it was to see that the drift ways were free from any explosive gases before the colliers went to work. It is said that 386 lives have been lost in this mine since it was opened five years ago.

23. Grand Volunteer Review in Hyde-park.—This afternoon there was a grand review in Hyde-park of Metropolitan Volunteers, and some few battalions from the provinces, by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief, and a brilliant staff, in the presence of many thousands of persons, including the members of both houses of Parliament.

His Royal Highness arrived on the ground shortly before 5.30 p.m., accompanied by his staff, and was received by Lieut.-General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., and staff, to whom the command-in-

chief of the volunteer force was entrusted; by Major-Gen. Lord F. Paulet, commanding the 1st Division; Brigadier-Gen. Renny, commanding the 2nd Division; Brigadier-Gen. Sir A. H. Horsford, K.C.B., commanding the 3rd Division; by Colonel Erskine, Inspector-General of Volunteers; Colonel Wright, Deputy Metropolitan Inspector of Volunteers; Colonels Manby and Gregory, of the Volunteer Engineer Railway Staff; and numerous volunteer officers, including the Earl of Denbigh, Major of the Flintshire Volunteers; Lieut.-Col. the Hon. J. W. Colville; Lieut.-Col. Sir E. F. Campbell, Bart.; by Viscount Sydney, Lord Llanover, and a large number of lord-lieutenants of counties.

The entire force on the ground represented over 15,000 men of all ranks, and was distributed into three divisions and nine brigades, comprising forty-two battalions of various strength. The Commander-in-Chief on the occasion was Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B. The first division was under the command of Major-Gen. Lord F. Paulet, C.B.; the second division commanded by Brigadier-Gen. Renny; and the third division by Brigadier-Gen. Sir A. Horsford.

After marching past, each battalion wheeled to the left, and regained its original position in the alignment, and the whole of the officers having been called to the front, the whole force advanced in close column of battalions right across the park in review order, and on reaching within about 100 yards of the front of the flagstaff, the united bands of the household brigades played "God save the Queen," at the conclusion of which His Royal Highness and staff rode from the ground amid the cheers of the populace.

The whole of the staff officers to the General commanding, as well as those of the volunteer brigades, including the aides-de-camp and brigade-majors, were then called to the front, and General Sir Hope Grant addressed them. He said he had been requested by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief to express to them his high satisfaction at the movements of the volunteer troops which had been placed under his command that day. In marching past, their companies were well dressed, and His Royal Highness was highly pleased with the general steadiness they exhibited under arms. For his own part, he (Sir Hope Grant) was highly pleased with their steadiness, and with the smartness and general appearance of the men on the field.

The various regiments then faced to the west, and marched off from the park to the several rendezvous in the order prescribed for them.

24. Great Fire at Newcastle-on-Tyne.—A fire broke out, the most destructive which had occurred in Newcastle since the great conflagration of 1854, and the loss of property was estimated at 70,000*l*. It broke out in an extensive flour-mill, occupied by Mr. Brown, in the Close, destroying the building and machinery, and part of the large stock of flour; but it was not allowed to extend to the other large warehouses and buildings adjacent. It was dis-

covered about eight o'clock a.m., workmen having been employed until three o'clock in the mill. The police and fire-brigade's hose, the river engine, and the River Tyne Commissioners' water engines were brought into play early in the forenoon, but they had no effect upon the mill, as there was no abatement of the conflagration there until the roof and part of the walls fell in. A portion of the burning building was immediately under the high-level bridge. The bridge consists of two terraces. The uppermost one is a portion of the Great North-Eastern Railway system, along which passes the traffic between the south and Newcastle and Scotland; the lower one is a roadway connecting Newcastle and Gateshead, and along which a large amount of foot-passenger and carriage traffic between the two towns goes daily. The high-level bridge is built in sections. The framework on the roadway is iron, but it is laid with wood and asphalte; and when the flames in the mill got vent, they set fire to the woodwork on the lower roadway of the bridge, in the section next to Newcastle; but, happily, from the peculiar construction of the bridge, and the great exertions of the workmen and firemen, the flames were confined within that section, though at one time, from the inflammable nature of the timber on the roadway, it was feared that the fire would extend the entire length of the bridge, and leave the fine structure a huge iron skeleton. The foot-passenger and carriage traffic had to be diverted back to the old channel across Tyne-bridge, until the repairs were made upon the high level. But as no injury was done to the railway line, there was no obstruction to the trains between the north and south.

29. Reform Meeting in the Metropolis.—A demonstration in favour of Reform took place this evening in Trafalgar-square. At eight o'clock about 10,000 people had assembled, completely filling the large square in which the fountains are situated; the broad terrace in front of the National Gallery was also crowded. Soon after eight o'clock a procession of about 1000 people arrived from Clerkenwell-green, headed by a brass band composed of Cubitt's workmen, and accompanied by two large red flags, one surmounted by the cap of liberty, and the other having inscribed upon it "Reform." The pedestal of Nelson's pillar formed an excellent platform for the speakers. Mr. Lucraft was called to the chair, and opened the proceedings by saying the working men had again been betrayed. The rallying cry of Reformers must now be "Gladstone and Liberty!" The following resolutions were adopted:—

"That this meeting is of opinion that the Cabinet of Earl Russell are deserving of censure for not having advised Her Majesty to dissolve the present anti-Reform Parliament, and hereby declares that it will not in future support any measure of reform short of registered manhood suffrage."

"That this meeting views with alarm the advent of the Tories to power, as being destructive to freedom at home and favourable to despotism abroad."

The chairman then declared the meeting adjourned until the next evening, and then to be held in Whitehall-gardens.

Immediately afterwards the vast assemblage proceeded from the square to the residence of Mr. Gladstone, in Carlton-gardens; and on arriving there the crowd completely filled not only the large space in front of the house, but also the extensive area between Pall-mall and the Duke of York's monument. On the crowd being brought to a halt, the ringing cheers and cries of "Gladstone" soon brought the servant of the right hon. gentleman to the door, who, in reply to the inquiries of the leaders of the people, assured them that Mr. Gladstone was from home. Loud and continued cries were then raised for Mrs. Gladstone, accompanied with great cheering. After the lapse of a few minutes that lady, accompanied by her two daughters, made her appearance in the balcony, when she was greeted with repeated rounds of cheering and clapping of hands, accompanied by vociferous cries of "Gladstone for ever." The assemblage appeared to be almost entirely composed of respectable artisans. There must have been from 7000 to 8000 persons present. On leaving Carlton-gardens the crowd proceeded into Pall-mall, and nearly the whole mass again assembled opposite the Reform Club-house, where the cheering was again renewed and answered by several gentlemen, members of Parliament and others, assembled at the windows and doors of the club. The windows of the houses in Pall-mall were all lined with spectators. The next point to which the attention of the people was directed was the Carlton or Conservative Club, where several gentlemen were sitting at the open windows, and others standing on the steps leading to the entrance-hall. The hootings and groans now became as strong and general as the cheering had been hitherto, interspersed with cries of "Down with the Tories," "Down with Lord Derby," "Down with the Adullamites." This was kept up for fully half an hour, only ceasing when the people had fairly exhausted themselves. The great majority of the crowd now began to disperse in obedience to a cry of "Home," very generally raised, but some cries were also raised of "To Lord Elcho's," whither some 500 proceeded, but on arriving in St. James's-street they found a strong body of police drawn up in front of his lordship's house, and after venting their feelings by giving three groans for "Elcho," they dispersed, but it was eleven o'clock before St. James's-street and Pall-mall resumed their wonted quiet appearance. During the whole time these scenes were being enacted there were no stones or other missiles thrown, nor any indication whatever shown of a riotous character.

30. The Atlantic Cable.—Departure of the "Great Eastern."—The "Great Eastern" steamer, with the Atlantic cable, left the Medway shortly after noon to-day, under her own steam, in charge of Mr. Moore, pilot, and accompanied by H.M. steamer "Adder" to conduct her past the Nore. A large number of other

steamers were also in attendance. She proceeded direct to Berehaven, Ireland.

On reaching Garrison Point she was loudly cheered by a large concourse of spectators as she steamed past.

JULY.

2. Accident to the Prince of Wales.—An accident, of which the consequences might have been very serious, happened to the Prince of Wales in Rotten-row, about a quarter past one o'clock this afternoon. His Royal Highness, who was riding at a foot pace with one of his Equerries and two ladies, had just reached the extreme end of the Row, nearest to Queen's-gate, and was in the act of turning, when a gentleman, who seemed to have lost all control over his horse, suddenly dashed at full speed down the incline, and into the very midst of the party. The Prince's horse, being right in the path of the charging horseman, and receiving the shock on its flank, or shoulder, was instantly knocked down, turning over like a rabbit struck by shot, and apparently rolling upon its rider, while the intruder passed clear over both. For a moment it seemed impossible that the Prince could escape without injury to life or limb from the struggles of his own horse. He disengaged himself, however, and got up without assistance, though at first he looked somewhat shaken, and as if suffering from a blow on the head. Recovering almost immediately, and never losing his self-possession for a moment, he seated himself on a bench close by, while the horse was being caught, and his hat and cane picked up by the bystanders. Long before any great crowd of equestrians had time to collect, he had mounted again, and, rejoining the ladies, was riding homeward as if nothing had occurred, but not without some visible traces of the fall upon his face and dress. It was altogether a very narrow escape, as the few who witnessed it can testify; and the Prince's composure in a very trying position did great credit to his presence of mind and good-humour.

5. Marriage of Her Royal Highness the Princess Helena.—The marriage of Her Royal Highness the Princess Helena Augusta Victoria, third daughter of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, Duke of Saxony and Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, with His Royal Highness the Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, was solemnized in the chapel within Windsor Castle, at half-past twelve o'clock.

The members of the Royal Family and other Royal and illustrious visitors assembled in the White Drawing-room at twelve o'clock.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Helena was in Her Majesty's private apartments. Her Royal Highness's suite remained in the corridor adjoining.

His Royal Highness the Prince Christian, with the supporters of His Royal Highness and attendants, remained in the Red Room.

The Ladies and Gentlemen of the Queen's Household assembled in the corridor, to which also the ladies and gentlemen in attendance upon the Royal visitors were shown.

The Ambassadors, Foreign Ministers, Cabinet Ministers, and others invited to be present at the ceremony, assembled in the Red and Green Drawing-rooms, from whence they were conducted to seats provided for them in the chapel.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London (Dean of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal), the Bishop of Oxford (Lord High Almoner, and Bishop of the Diocese), the Bishop of Worcester (Clerk of the Closet), the Bishop of Winchester (Prelate of the Order of the Garter), the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor (Domestic Chaplain to Her Majesty), assembled and robed in the Audience Chamber, from whence they proceeded to the chapel and took their places within the rails of the altar.

As soon as the visitors had taken their seats, the Royal procession was formed in the corridor, and moved from the White Drawing-room in the following order :—

THE ROYAL PROCESSION.

Lancaster Herald. Richmond Herald.
Equerry in Waiting to the Queen, Colonel the Honourable Dudley F. de Ros.
Comptroller of the Household, the Lord Proby.
Treasurer of the Household, the Lord Otho Fitzgerald.
Clerk Marshal, the Lord Alfred Paget.
Comptroller of the Household and Treasurer to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Lieut.-Gen. Knollys.
Keeper of the Privy Purse, Major-General Sir Thomas Biddulph, K.C.B.
Gentleman Usher, Sir William Martins.
Garter King of Arms, Sir Charles G. Young.
Gentleman Usher, Major-General H. S. Stephens.
The Vice-Chamberlain, the Viscount Castlerosse
The Chamberlain to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, the Lord Harris, G.C.S.I.
The Groom of the Stole to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, the Earl Spencer, K.G.
The Lord Chamberlain, the Viscount Sydney, G.C.B.
The Lord Steward, the Earl of Bessborough.
His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh, G.C.S.I.

His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen, G.C.B.

Her Grand Ducal Highness the Princess of Leiningen.

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.

H.R.H. the Duchess of Cambridge.

H.R.H. the Prince Arthur.

H.R.H. the Princess Beatrice.

H.R.H. the Prince Leopold.

H.R.H. the Princess Louisa.

H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, K.G.

H.R.H. the Princess of Wales.

His Majesty Leopold II., King of the Belgians, K.G.

Her Majesty Maria Henriette, Queen of the Belgians.

The Master of the Horse, the Marquis of Ailesbury, K.G.

The Ladies in attendance on Her Majesty the Queen of the Belgians—The Marquise de Trazegnies Corroy and the Comtesse d'Yves de Bavia.

The Grand Maréchal de la Cour to His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the Count Van der Straten-Ponthoz.

The Chamberlain to Her Majesty the Queen of the Belgians, the Count Gustave de Lannoy.

The Lord in Waiting to the Queen in attendance on their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians, the Lord Camoys.

The Secretary to His Majesty the King of the Belgians, Monsieur Jules de Vaux.

Officier d'Ordonnance to His Majesty the King of the Belgians, Monsieur Brewer.

The Lady of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, the Countess of Morton.

The Woman of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, the Hon. Mrs. Edward Coke.

The Ladies in attendance on their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Louisa and Beatrice—The Lady Caroline Barrington (the Lady Superintendent), the Lady Augusta Stanley.

The Lady in Waiting on H.R.H. the Duchess of Cambridge, the Lady Geraldine Somerset.

The Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, the Earl of Ducie.

The Gold Stick in Waiting, General the Earl of Lucan, K.C.B.

The Captain of the Gentlemen at Arms, the Lord Foley.

The Master of the Buckhounds, the Earl of Cork, K.P.

The Master of the Household, Major Sir John Cowell, K.C.B.

The Groom of the Robes, Major-General F. H. Seymour.

The Silver Stick in Waiting, Lieut.-Colonel R. Palmer.

The Field Officer in Brigade Waiting, Colonel H. F. Ponsonby.

The Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, the Hon. Spencer Ponsonby.

The Equerry in Attendance on H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, the Hon. Elliot Yorke.

The Governor to H.R.H. the Prince Arthur, Major Elphinstone, V.C., C.B.

The Governor to H.R.H. Prince Leopold, Lieut. Stirling, R.H.A.
The Comptroller of the Household to H.R.H. the Duchess of Cambridge, Colonel Home Purves.
The Equerry in Attendance on H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Colonel Henry Clifton.
The Gentleman in Attendance on His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh, Colonel Oliphant.

As the procession passed along the corridor and entered the chapel, Beethoven's "Triumphal March" was played.

The Royal personages having been conducted by the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain to the seats prepared for them in the chapel, and the several persons composing the procession having taken the places appointed for them, the Lord Chamberlain and the Vice-Chamberlain returned to the Red Room, and conducted the bridegroom and his supporters to the chapel in the following order:—

PROCESSION OF THE BRIDEGROOM.

Lancaster Herald. Richmond Herald.
The Master of the Ceremonies, General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H.
Equerry to the Bridegroom, Lieut.-Colonel George G. Gordon.
The Bridegroom's Gentleman of Honour, the Count Rantzau.
Groom in Waiting to Her Majesty in attendance on H.R.H. the Bridegroom, Major-General Francis Seymour, C.B.
The Lord Chamberlain, the Viscount Sydney, G.C.B.
The Vice-Chamberlain, the Viscount Castlerosse.
The Bridegroom,
Supported by His Serene Highness the Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, and His Serene Highness the Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, C.B.

As the procession passed along the corridor and entered the chapel, Mendelssohn's March from "Athalie" was played, while the bridegroom was conducted to the seat prepared for His Royal Highness on the right side of the altar. The supporters occupied seats near His Royal Highness, and the gentlemen in attendance were placed near them.

The Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain then returned as before to Her Majesty's apartments to attend Her Majesty and the bride, whose procession, having been formed, moved to the chapel in the following order:—

PROCESSION OF THE BRIDE.

Lancaster Herald. Richmond Herald.
The Vice-Chamberlain, the Viscount Castlerosse.
The Lord Chamberlain, the Viscount Sydney, G.C.B.
The Bride,
Supported by Her Majesty the Queen and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

The train of Her Royal Highness borne by eight unmarried daughters of dukes, marquises, and earls:

The Lady Margaret Scott. The Lady C. Gordon Lennox.
The Lady Laura Phipps. The Lady Albertha Hamilton.
The Lady Mary Fitzwilliam. The Lady Alexandrina Murray.
The Lady Muriel Campbell. The Lady Ernestine Edgcumbe.

The Mistress of the Robes, the Duchess of Wellington.

The Lady of the Bedchamber in Waiting, the Duchess of Roxburghe.

The Maids of Honour in Waiting, Hon. Emily S. Cathcart, Hon. Horatia C. Stopford.

The Woman of the Bedchamber in Waiting, the Hon. Mrs. Robert Bruce.

The Lord of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, the Viscount Hamilton.

The Lord in Waiting, the Lord Methuen.

The Equerry in Waiting, Lieut.-General the Hon. Charles Grey.

The Groom in Waiting, Lieut.-Col. W. H. F. Cavendish.

The Equerry in Waiting to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Major G. H. Grey.

The Groom of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, the Hon. C. L. Wood.

The Treasurer and Private Secretary to H.R.H. the Bride, Mr. Gardiner D. Engleheart.

As the procession passed along the corridor, Handel's March from "Scipio" was played.

Her Majesty wore a rich black moiré antique dress, interwoven with silver and trimmed with black crape, and a row of diamonds round the body.

Her Majesty wore a coronet of diamonds attached to a long white crape lisse veil, a diamond necklace and cross, and a brooch composed of a large sapphire set in diamonds. Her Majesty also wore the riband and star of the Order of the Garter and the Victoria and Albert Order.

Her Royal Highness Princess Helena wore a bridal dress of rich white satin, with deep flounces of Honiton guipure, the train of extra length, trimmed with bouquets of orange-blossom and myrtle, lined with white glacé and trimmed with Honiton guipure, with cordons and bouquets of orange-blossom and myrtle. The design of the lace was of roses, ivy, and myrtle.

The wreath was composed of orange-blossoms and myrtle, and the bridal veil, a square, was of the choicest Honiton lace to match the dress.

Her Royal Highness wore a necklace, earrings, and brooch of opals and diamonds, the wedding gift of Her Majesty the Queen, and bracelets set with miniatures. Her Royal Highness also wore the Order of Victoria and Albert.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales wore a dress of blue tulle over blue silk, richly trimmed with Irish lace ribands and

lilies of the valley. Head-dress, tiara of diamonds and veil; ornaments, pearls and diamonds. Her Royal Highness also wore the Victoria and Albert Order and the Order of Catherine of Russia.

Her Royal Highness Princess Louisa wore a petticoat of white tulle over white glacé, trimmed with a deep flounce of Irish point lace; train of blue satin trimmed with Irish point and silver gimp, and balls of blue and silver. Head-dress, blush roses, feathers, and veil; ornaments, diamonds. Her Royal Highness also wore the Order of Victoria and Albert.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice wore a dress similar to that of Princess Louisa.

The bridesmaids wore white tulle skirts trimmed with buillons of tulle over white glacé slips, with tunics of silver tulle and chatelaines of flowers—forget-me-nots, blush roses, and heather—with wreaths and veils to match.

The wedding dress of the bride, and the dresses of the princesses and of the bridesmaids, were made by Miss Unitt, of 21, Grosvenor-street.

On arriving at the chapel the bride took her place on the left side of the altar, and the Queen was conducted to the seat prepared for Her Majesty near the bride. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the service. A chorale was sung by the choir. The bride was given away by Her Majesty the Queen. At the conclusion of the service a march (Spohr) was played as the procession left the chapel. A salute was fired in the Long Walk. The procession left the chapel in the following order:—

THE UNITED PROCESSION OF THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

Lancaster Herald. Richmond Herald.

The Master of the Ceremonies.

The Gentlemen of Honour to the Bridegroom.

The Equerry to the Bridegroom.

The Groom in Waiting to the Queen in attendance on the Bridegroom.

The Treasurer to H.R.H. the Bride.

The Vice-Chamberlain. The Lord Chamberlain.

THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

The supporters of their Royal Highnesses on either side.

The train of the Bride borne as before.

The Ladies in attendance on the Bride:—The Lady of the Bedchamber to Her Royal Highness, the Lady Susan Leslie Melville; the Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen in attendance on Her Royal Highness, the Lady Churchill.

Her Majesty the Queen, and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, attended as before.

The Royal procession left in the same order in which it entered

the chapel. All the Royal personages proceeded to the White Drawing-room, where they were joined by the dignitaries of the Church; and the registry of the marriage was attested in due form. The Royal Family retired to the Oak Room, where luncheon was privately served for visitors at a buffet in the Waterloo Gallery.

7. HOME FOR LITTLE BOYS.—The foundation of the new buildings to be erected at Horton Kirby, near Farningham, Kent, for the permanent Home for Little Boys, was laid by Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. The occasion was one calculated to excite a great degree of interest, not only on account of the character of the institution in whose welfare Her Royal Highness was thus graciously pleased to evince her sympathy, but also by reason of the fact that this was the first time the Princess had taken a conspicuous part in similar proceedings. The Royal party left London by special train, and arrived at Farningham station at a few minutes after one o'clock. They immediately entered the carriages which were to convey them to the pavilion where the ceremony of the day was to take place, and were accompanied thither by the Queen's Own West Kent Yeomanry, under the command of Captain Laurie. The Royal party were greeted with every mark of loyalty and enthusiasm all along the road leading to the site of the new buildings of which Her Royal Highness the Princess was to lay the foundation-stone. On the arrival of the Prince and Princess at the ground, they were received by Mr. R. C. Hanbury, M.P., the President of the Home for Little Boys, and proceeded at once to the marquee erected for the occasion. There were present to meet their Royal Highnesses the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord and Lady Cranworth, Lord and Lady Sydney, Lord Darnley, Sir B. W. Bridges, M.P., Sir E. Filmer, and Lady; Sir Morton and Lady Peto, and Mr. Farmer Baily, High Sheriff of Kent. A hymn having been sung by the children of the institution, Mr. Hanbury, the President, read an address to the Princess of Wales explaining the objects of the Home, which were to feed, clothe, educate, and train to industrial work homeless and destitute little boys, whether orphans or not, who were in danger of falling into crime, and who were disqualified by poverty or other circumstances for admission to existing asylums and institutions. To this address Her Royal Highness returned a reply in which she expressed the pleasure she felt at the part she was allowed to take on the interesting occasion, her hearty sympathy with the objects of the charity, and her earnest wishes for its future prosperity. Mr. Willans, the treasurer, then presented to Her Royal Highness the trowel with which to lay the mortar under the foundation-stone. This was an exquisite work of art, and was manufactured at the establishment of Mr. J. W. Benson, of Old Bond-street. Mr. Hanbury then formally requested the Princess to lay the stone, and Her Royal Highness having expressed her assent, a bottle containing a copy of the report of the institution and other papers

were deposited in a cavity under the block, which was suspended from a triangular structure decorated with evergreens. The Princess then took the trowel which had been presented to her, and arranged the mortar for its reception. The block was slowly lowered to its place, and Her Royal Highness set the plumb-line to see that it was properly placed, and having given it a gentle tap with the mallet which had been made for the occasion, the Princess declared the foundation-stone for the Home for Little Boys well and duly laid. Prayer having been offered up by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the presentation of purses took place. As the several ladies who had collected contributions for this excellent charity came forward, Her Royal Highness received them with gracious salutations, but her most cheerful smiles were reserved for a few tiny donors, who had to be assisted to reach the table on which the purses were placed before the Princess. After the ceremony the invited guests sat down to a *déjeuner*, served in the portion of the marquee adjoining that in which the foundation-stone was laid. The Prince of Wales took the chair, and in proposing "Success to the Home for Little Boys" expressed, on behalf of the Princess, the pleasure which it had afforded her to take so conspicuous a part in the proceedings of the day, and her hearty sympathy with the objects of the institution. The proceedings passed off with great success.

8. Meeting of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon.—This great annual gathering of the volunteers took place at Wimbledon, and whether as regards the fineness of the weather, the number of entries, the general excellence of the shooting, or the patronage of the public, with a success unparalleled in the annals of the National Rifle Association.

One great feature of the present meeting was the visit of the Belgian Volunteers and the Garde Civique of Brussels, who expressed in warm terms their sense of the generous hospitality with which they were welcomed by their English brethren. As a proof of the interest taken by the public in the meeting, it may be mentioned that the returns showed that in the first week 10,810 visitors had paid for admission, as against 5444 during the first week of the meeting of last year, exclusive of the many thousand volunteers who, by being in uniform, entered the enclosure without payment. The money taken at the carriage entrance also, up to the same period, showed an advance of 140 per cent. over the meeting of 1865.

With regard to the shooting for the Queen's Prize, and indeed in the prominent competitions generally, it is a noteworthy circumstance that the known crack shots of our earlier volunteer gatherings were superseded by others, and that the lion's share of the prizes in every competition fell to the lot of representatives of provincial corps. This, however, is a circumstance easily accounted for. In the first place, provincial volunteers have their rifle ranges in very close proximity to the towns they inhabit, and in a

large number of instances their butts are placed on open moors, with ravines or rivers lying between the shooting points, and the butts of a somewhat similar character to those at Wimbledon. This circumstance gives them a great advantage over metropolitan volunteers, who, as a rule, have in the first place to travel many miles before reaching the rifle range at which their corps has its shooting practice, and who, secondly, are accustomed to shoot at ranges in comparatively confined spaces, and with level ground lying between the shooting base and the targets. The variations of light and wind which are produced are so marked as to render the obtaining proper sights at the targets extremely difficult, and hence the disparity of shooting which occurs between volunteers at their own ranges and when they come into open moors like Wimbledon-common.

The eighth day (the 17th) was that which, from the nature of the contests to be decided, was looked to as one of the most important, and brought together an unusually large assemblage of visitors. The contest between the sixty competitors entitled to shoot in the second and final stage for the Queen's Prize of 250*l.*, either in plate or money; and the Public Schools' Match, for the honour and glory of holding the Ashburton Challenge Shield and its appendage, the Spencer Cup, coupled with the beautiful weather, were quite sufficient to render the proceedings interesting.

The grand prize of the meeting fell for the second time to the lot of a Scotch volunteer, viz., to Mr. Cameron, of the 6th Inverness-shire, who made the admirable score of 69 points. The Queen's Prize was last year won with a score of 64, but this year Captain Burra, of the 29th Kent, stood second with a score of 66, four competitors made 65, and three made scores of 64. It is a remarkable fact in connexion with Mr. Cameron, that he had only been two years a member of a rifle corps. In the short ranges for the Queen's Prize he only made 44, and stood the last but three on the list of the sixty entitled to compete in the second stage for the Queen's Prize. Private James, of the Queen's, who won the Silver Medal of the Association and 50*l.* as the best shot at the first series for Her Majesty's Prize, stood twenty-second down the list in the second stage, and only made a score of 56. The success of Private Cameron was quite unexpected, but when it became known that he was the winner, he was carried by his countrymen round the camp, the band playing "See the Conquering Hero comes," and the London Scottish joined in the general congratulations with which the winner was greeted on all sides.

The entries for the School Match were made between Harrow, Eton, Cheltenham, Marlborough, and Rugby; and the fortunes of the two previous years having fallen to Harrow, gave the competitors of the Harrow School the favourite positions in the opinion of spectators from the outset; and the result proved that

those who took that view were not mistaken in their anticipations, although the other schools shot better than they did on any previous occasion. The result was—Harrow 256, Eton 233, Cheltenham 232, Marlborough 225, Rugby 209; 5 shots each at 200 and 500 yards, eleven competitors representing each school. The Harrovians were loudly and repeatedly cheered. Then came the contest between the pupils of each squad making the highest score for the Spencer Cup, it becoming his own absolute property. This cup was won last year by Ensign R. G. Jones, of the Harrow team, and he was again victorious with a score of 15 against 13 for Marlborough, 12 for Cheltenham, and 10 each for Eton and Rugby. The gallant young ensign was publicly chaired by the rest of the competitors.

On the ninth day the principal competition was for the Chancellor's Plate, between the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. This prize, of the value of 100*l.*, presented by the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., and the Earl of Derby, K.G., was to be competed for by eight members of each University, at 200, 500, and 600 yards, 7 shots at each range. Large numbers of friends of each University were present, and considerable interest took place in the match. Cambridge, having always hitherto been victorious, had the *prestige* in their favour, although only winning last year by four points. When, at the end of the contest at the 200 yards' range, it was found that Oxford had tied their opponents, great satisfaction was displayed by the friends of the Oxonians. At the second range of 500 yards Oxford had a lead of 10; but although loudly cheered, the team themselves did not seem over sanguine; but when, as the longer range of 600 yards progressed, it was found they were even gaining on their opponents, their spirits were raised; and at the conclusion, when it was discovered they had advanced another 10, beating Cambridge by a gross majority of 20 points, the winning corps were greeted with several rounds of cheering.

The Oxford team consisted of Sergeant Blackburn, Brasenose; Private Holmes, Exeter; Private Carslake, New College; Captain Morrell, Exeter; Corporal Winser, Pembroke; Ensign Kollé, New College; Sergeant-Major Parkinson, Magdalen; and Sergeant Cundey, Magdalen; and the scores made at 200 yards were 158; at 500 yards, 145; and at 600 yards, 109—making a gross score of 412.

The Cambridge corps were—Captain J. S. White, Corpus; Captain the Hon. B. P. Bouverie, Trinity; Sergeant R. M. M'Kerrell, Trinity; Lieut. C. B. Dyer, Emmanuel; Private Hon. J. Gordon, Trinity; Private Hon. W. O. Powlett, Trinity; Private J. L. Templer, Trinity; and Corporal C. F. Roe, St. John's. The scores were—at 200 yards, 158; at 500 yards, 135; and at 600 yards, 99—making their total score 392.

The Enfield Wimbledon Cup, of the value of 100*l.*, was the next important competition of the day, and was again won by Private E.

Ross with 35 points, 5 shots at 200 and 500 yards. Mr. Ross won this prize last year, but in consequence of some rule was held by the Council to be disqualified.

The winner of the "Saturday Review" Prize of 50*l.*, for breech-loaders, five shots at 500 yards, was Sergeant Kerr, of the London Scottish, with 19 points.

On the tenth day, the great event was the international contest for the Elcho Challenge Shield. It was between eight competitors, representing the three nationalities of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with 15 shots each at 800, 900, and 1000 yards. In 1865 England won by two points only. This year Scotland succeeded in carrying off the trophy by 40 points over England, and by 140 over Ireland. The scores were—For Scotland: at 800 yards, 404; 900 yards, 395; and 1000 yards, 371—total score, 1170. England: at 800 yards, 407; 900 yards, 371; and 1000 yards, 343—total, 1121. Ireland: at 800 yards, 388; 900 yards, 332; and 1000 yards, 319—total score, 1030. The contest excited very great interest, and at its conclusion, when it was ascertained that Scotland had won, there were loud hurrahs and great rejoicing in the Scottish camp.

The actual shooting business of the meeting for 1866 closed this evening (the 19th) at gunfire, and the great event of the day was the scratch match got up on the spur of the moment between the Lords and Commons, with 10 shots each, at 200 and 500 yards' range. The Lords' team were the Earl of Denbigh, Lord Bolton, Major the Earl Spencer, and Earl Ducie. The Commons consisted of Lord Elcho, Mr. Bass, Mr. J. W. Malcolm, and Lord Grosvenor.

The Lords at the 200 yards' range made a score of 140, and at the 500 yards 138, or a gross score of 278. The Commons at 200 yards made 129, and at 500 yards 135, or a total of 264. The Lords therefore came off best by 14 points.

The remainder of the competitions were for the finish of the fifth series of extra prizes, the running prizes, and the consolation prizes, the highest in which was won by Lieut. Waller, St. George's, and the marker's prizes, bringing the business of the meeting to a close at 7.30 p.m.

The distribution of the prizes to the successful competitors was not the least attractive part of the proceedings. It was intimated to the Council that the prize-winners of 1866 would be honoured, above all previous winners, by receiving the trophies of their skill from the fair hands of the Princess of Wales. The number of prizes now won at Wimbledon is so great, that the distribution of them all at one time would be altogether out of the question. The Council therefore wisely favoured the practice of each winner taking his prize during the progress of the meeting, reserving only a few of the more important prizes for the ceremony of formal presentation. This year some fifty prizes were so reserved, though there can be no doubt that had it been known sooner that the

ceremony of distribution was to be performed by the Princess, the list would have been vastly increased. The beautiful weather which marked the progress of the meeting continued to its close. That and the presence of the Royal visitors were sufficient to account for an attendance unparalleled in the history of Wimbledon gatherings. The ceremony took place in front of the huge circular tent which had afforded such grateful shade to visitors during the past fortnight. Under this tent, and under five marquees erected on either side, a large number of distinguished spectators were accommodated with seats in a manner much more agreeable than in the unsightly expensive erection which in previous years occupied the same position with the dignified title of the Grand Stand. It is scarcely necessary to say that the seats thus set apart were filled to overflowing, while the unreserved space right and left was crowded with interested spectators. Immediately in front of the flagstaff, and some few yards from the iron railing behind, where the spectators were ranged, an elegant marquee was pitched to shade the Royal party from the rays of the sun. The grass beneath was covered with crimson cloth, and four elegant *fauteuils* in scarlet and gold were ranged in front of the marquee on an elegant Turkey carpet. Right and left of the marquee were large tables, covered also with crimson cloth, on which were arranged, with a shrewd regard to artistic effect, the beautiful samples of the silversmith's art which formed the principal prizes. A guard of honour, composed of one officer, one sergeant, and ten files of the different volunteer corps encamped on the common, was drawn up in rear of the marquee. It was under the command of Lord Bury, as the senior lieutenant-colonel on the ground. The fortunate winners of prizes were ranged in line in the order in which they were to come up on the right of the marquee. All was ready for the reception of the Prince and Princess by four p.m., but it was exactly an hour later before they arrived. H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh reached the ground somewhat earlier. As the Association clock struck five, the Royal party arrived. Thereupon the guard were called to "attention" and shouldered arms, and the Royal Standard was run up to the flagstaff-head. As its silken folds fluttered out in the pleasant breeze, the Royal carriage, with four horses and outriders, drove on to the common, and trotted up to the pavilion. As their Royal Highnesses approached, the band of the London Scottish played the National Anthem, the guard of honour presented arms, and the mass of spectators rose to receive them. The Prince and Princess, who were unaccompanied, were received on alighting by Lord Elcho and Earl Spencer, and the other distinguished persons present, whose presence they graciously acknowledged. Her Royal Highness was then conducted to the seat of honour, and the ceremony of distribution at once took place. The successful candidates were greeted with hearty acclamations by their brother volunteers and the numerous spectators. At the conclusion of the

ceremony three cheers were given for the Princess; the Prince, the Duke of Edinburgh, and Her Majesty received similar loyal tributes, and a parting cheer for Lord Elcho terminated this stage of the proceedings.

— THE REVIEW.—The great concluding event, and not the least popular portion of the fortnight's proceedings of the Wimbledon meeting is the annual volunteer review; and on no occasion did the general public evince a stronger desire to participate in the pleasures which a volunteer field-day affords, than on this occasion. On no previous occasion was there such an immense array of carriages, such a crowding of the Grand Stand, or such a dense mass of spectators as were congregated within the enclosure. No doubt, the fineness of the weather contributed very largely to this increased gathering of the general public, but the announcement that the Prince and Princess of Wales were to be present was also a strong incentive leading to the same end, as well as the popularity of the volunteer movement.

The review was appointed to commence at six p.m., the first division to assemble at 5.30 p.m. on Putney-heath; and the second division at the same hour on Wimbledon-green; but it was long after that hour when the evolutions began. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief, arrived on the ground punctually to time, and was accompanied by General Sir Hope Grant, Major-General Lord W. Paulet, who was to command the 1st Division; Major-General Sir David Russell, C.B., commanding the 2nd Division; Colonel Tyrwhitt, Colonel Erskine, Inspector-General of Volunteers; Colonel Wright, Metropolitan Inspector; and a brilliant staff. The Earl of Cardigan and several other general officers, as well as Colonel M'Murdo, late Inspector-General of Volunteers, were also on the ground, Colonel M'Murdo being attired in the volunteer uniform of the Inns of Court Rifles.

The active operations of the day commenced with a sham fight, the whole of the volunteers on the ground representing two divisions of the same army, engaged with an imaginary enemy.

The march past then took place, headed by the splendidly mounted cavalry troop of the Honourable Artillery Company, followed by the various artillery and infantry brigades in the order subjoined, so far as the various corps could be distinguished from their commanders and the colours of their uniforms, as no official programme was issued, and the brigades were forced up in the main haphazard as they came upon the ground.

The artillery, which followed with their guns in immediate succession to the Hon. Artillery Company's Light Horse, consisted of the battery of four guns of the same regiment; the 2nd Surrey battery of six guns, under Colonel Durnford; 1st Middlesex Artillery Brigade, under Colonel Creed, six guns; and the 1st London Artillery, four guns, under Lieut.-Colonel Walmsley.

The 1st Infantry Brigade, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Lord Elcho; Captain Wigram, Coldstream Guards, Major of Brigade.

The London Scottish headed this brigade, and marched past with their usual springy and steady step, and were loudly applauded. The Civil Service followed, and were succeeded by the 3rd London (red-coats), the 26th Middlesex (Her Majesty's Customs), and the London Rifle Brigade, which, although bringing up the rear of this brigade, lost nothing in comparison with the London Scottish in respect to the steadiness of its marching.

The 2nd Brigade was commanded by Colonel M'Leod, of M'Leod; Captain Thynne, of the Grenadier Guards, Major of Brigade. The regiments forming this brigade were the 1st Middlesex, the 1st Tower Hamlets, and the 1st London Engineers, the 5th Essex Battalion, and the 7th Administrative Battalion of Middlesex.

The 3rd Brigade was under the command of the Marquis of Donegall, and comprised the London Irish, which was almost the strongest corps on the ground, and was received with well-merited applause as it marched past. The 2nd and 8th Tower Hamlets, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Money; the West Middlesex, under Major Bridgman; and the 19th Middlesex (Working Men's College), completed this brigade; and so excellent was the marching of the whole that the difficulty would be to award the palm to either.

The 4th Brigade was under the command of Viscount Ranelagh, who had Captain Adair, of the 13th Regiment of Foot, as Brigade Major, with Major Peters of the North Middlesex as his aide-de-camp, his lordship's usual aide, the well-known and highly-respected Sergeant Harris, of the 1st Devon Light Horse, being disabled by a serious accident which befell him at the late review in Hyde-park. As might naturally be supposed, the first corps of this brigade was Lord Ranelagh's "Lambs," the South Middlesex, who, in addition to an advanced guard of stalwart pioneers, had a diminutive vivandière marching at their head, and were viewed with much interest not only by the occupants of the Royal carriage, but by the ladies generally. Following the South, very appropriately, was the 29th North Middlesex, under command of Colonel Whitehead, which corps shared in the honours bestowed most deservedly on the whole brigade, which also consisted of the 40th Middlesex (Central London), the Victorias, the 36th (Paddington), and the 18th Middlesex (Harrow) Rifles.

The 5th Brigade was under Lieut.-Colonel Briggs, with Captain King, of the 7th Foot, as Brigade Major; and consisted of the 29th Middlesex, the 46th Middlesex (Sir John Shelley's corps), the 1st and 19th Surrey, the 2nd Administrative Battalion of Surrey, and the 48th Middlesex (Havelock) Rifles.

The 6th Brigade was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. C. H. Lindsay, with Captain the Viscount Hinchinbrook, of the Grenadier Guards, as Brigade Major. The St. George's was the leading regiment, followed by the Queen's (Westminster), and the 1st Surrey Artillery.

The 7th Brigade was commanded by Viscount Bury, with Major

Kirk, of the 89th Foot, as Brigade Major. This consisted of the 4th Middlesex, under Lord Truro, the 2nd and 3rd Middlesex Artillery, and some Surrey corps.

The 8th Brigade was under command of Lord Grosvenor, and consisted of the 7th Surrey, under Lieut.-Colonel Beresford; the 2nd City of London, and the 4th Tower Hamlets; and the whole marched well.

At the conclusion the Prince and Princess of Wales left the ground amidst loud cheers; whilst a similar compliment also greeted the Duke of Cambridge. There were somewhere about 10,000 volunteers upon the ground, and the review passed off most successfully.

10. FATAL COLLISION IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL BETWEEN THE STEAM SLOOP OF WAR "AMAZON," AND THE SCREW STEAMER "OSPREY."—The facts of this unfortunate occurrence were as follows:—The steam sloop of war "Amazon" left Spithead on Monday for Halifax, Nova Scotia, having been appointed to the North American station. She was commissioned at Devonport in April last, by Commander James E. Hunter, an active officer of high standing in the service, and left Plymouth Sound on the 4th of June, for a cruise in the North Sea. She had on board a crew of 130 of all ranks, and about twenty supernumeraries. The "Amazon" was a four-gun screw sloop, of 1081 tons and 300-horse power, and was contract-built and constructed of wood, having been designed by Mr. E. J. Reed, the Chief Constructor of the Navy. The ship, about one o'clock a.m., was on her voyage down Channel; it was the watch of one of the lieutenants; the night was clear, and the weather fine, with a light breeze. The "Amazon" had her regulation lights brightly burning, and at the hour named a steamer was reported about two points on the starboard bow. She proved to be the screw steamer "Osprey," 450 tons' register, Captain Bertridge, belonging to the Cork Steam Navigation Company. As they reached each other the "Amazon" put her helm hard a-starboard and exhibited the green light, but the "Osprey" put her helm hard a-port and exhibited the red light. The result of these measures was that, as the "Amazon" fell off, the "Osprey" came across the "Amazon's" fore-foot, and the "Amazon" ran into the "Osprey" on her port quarter, striking her at about one-third of her length from her stern. The "Osprey" was fearfully crushed below her water-line by the prow of the "Amazon." On board the "Osprey" the greatest confusion ensued on the collision; the majority of the crew clambered in over the bowsprit of the "Amazon," which protruded over her deck. It was instantly found that the "Osprey" was settling down by her stern, for, although she was built in three compartments, she was struck at the stokehole, at which point the two after compartments joined, and the partition being crushed in, the compartments were of no service. A great body of water rushed into the engine-room, where the second engineer was in charge, and he, having stopped

the engines on hearing the first concussion, rushed on deck, barely in time to escape the flood of waters. By that time most of the crew and passengers—the latter in various stages of nudity—were running to the forward part of the ship, and an attempt was made to get out a boat. The crew of the "Osprey" had by this time clambered into the "Amazon," hand-over-hand up the ropes from her bow, and two boats were promptly lowered from the "Amazon," and the captain and one or two men were picked up by one of them. The captain's wife, who was attired only in her night-dress, was hauled in over the "Amazon's" bows, as also were one or two of the crew, one of whom, a Dutchman, had a very narrow escape, as he succeeded in grasping a rope when he was on the point of sinking for the third time. But, though by these means the captain, crew, and captain's wife were rescued, the captain's three children—girls aged fifteen and twelve, and a boy aged ten—were swallowed up in the vortex caused by the sinking steamer, in which also were engulfed the whole of the saloon passengers—Mrs. Hubbard, widow of a Dublin barrister, and her two daughters, aged respectively twenty-two and fifteen years; Mrs. Rea, the wife of the master of the ship "Seaflower," and her two young children; and Mary Ann Keating. The stewardess, Mrs. Rea, was seen at her cabin door a moment after the collision, and the second engineer helped her on deck. But her children were below, and she frantically called for them, and made as if to go below in search of them. The moment in which safety might have been secured was thus spent, and, neglecting to go forward, she was seen no more. Less exciting, but almost equally serious incidents, were meanwhile occurring on board the "Amazon." In the shock of the collision the prow of that ship became twisted and wrenched round, and thus a large hole was made in that vessel, through which water was found to be pouring in great volumes. The ship's pumps were instantly set to work, and great exertions were made to keep the vessel afloat; but the water gained on the crew, and the engineer soon came on deck and reported to the captain that the fires were extinguished, and the engine-room half full of water. Captain Hunter received the news with that remarkable coolness which seemed to characterize all hands, but it was seen from that moment that the "Amazon" would go down. Still, no exertions were relaxed, and the five boats of the vessel were got out with as much order as if for a holiday trip. Each boat was laden to the water's edge, some of the men lying flat in the bottom; and had any sea been running, or a breeze sprung up, all must have perished. The boats left the "Amazon" at 3.30 a.m., the ship being then settling down in the sea, although, as a fog shortly afterwards set in, she was not actually seen to founder. They were then about eighteen miles off land, and somewhere off Dartmouth. No provisions, water, or property of any kind were taken on board, and the seamen of the "Osprey" were only partly clothed, and the captain's wife had on only her night-dress, over

which a blanket had been thrown. In the early morning the boats fell in with three fishing-smacks, which were boarded, and which rendered a double service, in relieving the boats of some part of their too great load, and in piloting them into harbour. Thus aided, the shipwrecked men reached Torquay shortly after four p.m. on the 11th. They were provided for very kindly by several of the inhabitants, and, after their more immediate wants had been supplied, the officers and men of the "Amazon" were forwarded by special train to Portsmouth, the captain and crew of the "Osprey" going to Plymouth. The "Osprey's" captain, Mr. Bertridge, and his wife, were greatly distressed at the event, which has deprived them of three children; and the officers and men of the "Amazon" and "Osprey" have also lost every thing. The "Osprey" was of 450 tons' register and 250-horse power. Her crew consisted of the captain, two mates, two engineers, seven firemen, seven seamen, cook, steward, and stewardess, and at the time she had also on board the captain's wife and three children, a little boy a friend of the family, seven saloon passengers, and a man as deck passenger. She was on her passage from Liverpool for Antwerp. The crew were provided for at the Plymouth Sailors' Home. The crew of the "Amazon" were sent on to Exeter, and thence to Portsmouth, where they were berthed on board the "Duke of Wellington." All the crew answered to their names, with the exception of a supernumerary boy, whose absence was not accounted for.

A few days after the occurrence, a court-martial assembled on board the "Victory," in Portsmouth Harbour, to inquire into the circumstances attending the collision. The Court was composed of the following officers:—Rear-Admiral Wellesley, C.B., president; Captain Astley, C. Rey, C.B., Captain E. Tatham, Captain the Hon. F. Egerton, A.D.G., Captain C. Turnour, Captain W. G. Luard, Captain W. C. Chamberlain, Captain C. Fellowes, Captain D'A. D. O. Aplin. Mr. Pope Hennessey appeared to watch the case on behalf of the owners of the "Osprey;" Captain Harris attended for the Board of Trade; and Mr. E. Hoskins officiated as Judge-Advocate. The usual formalities, including the mustering of the ship's company, having been gone through, the correspondence of the officers of the "Amazon," together with the reports on the disaster, was read, and a great deal of evidence was taken. After three hours' deliberation, the "finding" was read by the officiating Deputy-Judge-Advocate as follows:—"The Court are of opinion that Her Majesty's late ship 'Amazon' was lost on the morning of the 10th of July by coming into collision with the late steam-ship 'Osprey.' That the collision was occasioned by a grave error of judgment upon the part of Sub-Lieutenant Alfred Churchill Loveridge, the officer of the watch, in putting the helm of the 'Amazon' to starboard instead of to port when first sighting the light of the late ship 'Osprey,' in contravention of the regulations for preventing collisions at sea. No blame is attributable to

Commander Hunter and the other officers and crew of the said ship. That the efforts made to save Her Majesty's said ship after the collision, as well as the lives of the crews and passengers of both ships, reflect the highest credit on Commander Hunter and the officers and crew of H.M.S. 'Amazon.' The Court adjudge Sub-Lieutenant A. C. Loveridge to be dismissed Her Majesty's service; but on account of the high character given him for zeal in the service, they recommend him to the favourable consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; and the said Mr. A. Loveridge is so sentenced accordingly. The Court adjudge Commander Hunter and the rest of the officers and crew of H.M.S. 'Amazon' to be fully acquitted of all blame."

The President (Rear-Admiral Wellesley), addressing Commander Hunter, said:—"It is now my pleasing duty to return your sword, as well as those of the other officers of the 'Amazon;' and in doing so, I have to express the gratification with which the Court received the testimony borne to the bright example set by yourself to the officers and ship's company, and which was so well followed by them on the occasion after the collision occurred."

The proceedings then terminated.

12. Mysterious Deaths at Brighton.—Considerable excitement was created in Brighton by the very suspicious circumstances attending the death of Mrs. Ellen Vivian Warder, wife of a physician of Penzance, which was increased by the suicide of Dr. Warder, who, with the deceased lady, had come on a visit to Brighton about three months before. Dr. Alfred William Warder was living in furnished apartments at 36, Bedford-square, and his wife, who was a sister to Mr. Richard Branwell, a surgeon resident in the town, appeared to be in her usual health till about five weeks since, when she became unwell, and Dr. Taaffe, of Brighton, was requested by her brother to see her. In the absence of other symptoms, and guided by Mrs. Warder's complaints, Dr. Taaffe prescribed for hysteria, and she got better. Dr. Warder told him that she had experienced great pains in the region of the bladder, for which he had administered tincture of aconite, a continuance of which remedy Dr. Taaffe objected to. As no one but her husband was allowed to attend upon her in serving her with her meals and giving her the medicines prescribed, and as her health fluctuated considerably during the five weeks which he visited her, Dr. Taaffe's suspicions were aroused that something was being administered improperly, and these suspicions were increased when certain symptoms presented themselves. He consulted with the lady's brother, and they resolved to call in another medical man, and the advice and assistance of Mr. Jowers were obtained: this was on the 2nd, but Mrs. Warder died on the following day. She had brought a substantial marriage portion to Dr. Warder, and this being the third wife who had died under peculiar circumstances, Mr. Branwell and the medical men desired a *post-mortem* examination. The result was, the stomach and portions of the

intestines, with their contents, were forwarded to Dr. Taylor, of Guy's Hospital, for analysis. An inquest was also called, which Dr. Warder was requested to attend. He was, however, suddenly seized with sickness and vomiting, the symptoms from which his wife had suffered prior to her death, and the inquest was adjourned till it was thought Dr. Taylor would be prepared with his report. Dr. Warder recovered from his attack on the 7th, and attended the funeral of his wife, returning to his apartments in Bedford-square immediately afterwards. Being afraid that he would not voluntarily attend the adjourned inquest, Mr. White, the chief officer of the borough police, served him with a subpœna to attend, and his movements were pretty closely watched, the circumstances not being sufficiently strong to warrant his apprehension on the charge of having caused the death of his wife. On the 9th he left Brighton for London, but returned at night, and went to his lodgings as usual; but, as it appeared, as soon as the landlady of the house and her servants had retired to bed, Dr. Warder left the house and went to the Bedford Hotel, where he obtained a bed, in which he was found dead on the following afternoon.

An inquest was held upon the body of deceased, who was about forty-five years of age (his wife was ten years younger), before the borough coroner, Mr. David Black, at the Bedford Hotel.

Mr. Richard Branwell, surgeon, was the first witness called, and deposed that deceased married his (Mr. Branwell's) sister, about five months ago, without the knowledge of any member of the family. He was a perfect stranger to witness till he came to Brighton about the end of May last. The last time that he saw him alive was on the 7th at the funeral of his wife. Witness never observed the slightest symptoms of insanity in deceased; on the contrary, he was a remarkably cool and collected man.

By the Jury—I did not speak to him at the funeral of my sister, because the circumstances of her death rendered it disagreeable for me to do so; in fact, I believe him to be her murderer.

Miss Charlotte Lansdell, the landlady of 36, Bedford-square, deposed that the deceased had lodged with her since the 23rd of May last, and the last time she saw him alive was on the evening of the 2nd at about nine o'clock. He required nothing done for him then, and said he had dined; but asked her for his account. She sent it up the next morning by her servant, and it was then discovered that he had not retired to bed, but had left the house. She subsequently received a letter, which was given her by the police. It was addressed, "To be forwarded immediately. To Miss Lansdell, 36, Bedford-square," and was as follows:—

"My dear Miss Lansdell,—You have already suffered enough through me and mine, and another death in your house would of course be worse. When you receive this, have the kindness to telegraph to Miss Gunning, 7, Sydney-street, Brompton, London, S.W., to whom you give up what I have left in your house. I

have left on the table the cash for the bills, and 3*l.* in addition, as some compensation.

"Believe me truly yours, "A. W. WARDER.

"P.S. Inquire for my keys and watch."

Mary Miles, servant to the last witness, corroborated as to the time deceased returned to the house on the evening of the 9th after being absent all day, and said she left him sitting in the dining-room, at a quarter past eleven o'clock, when he asked for a pen from the sideboard. Witness proved finding some money and some bills on the table when she took up the account for the last two weeks, and discovered that the deceased had left the house. When she left the room on Monday night he appeared as cheerful as usual.

Evidence was then given by the servants at the hotel of the arrival of deceased at a quarter to twelve o'clock on the 9th, and of his being found dead in bed on Tuesday afternoon, when the chambermaid went to the room in consequence of being told that he had not been seen.

Dr. James H. Pickford, a physician, residing on the opposite side of Cavendish-place to the Bedford Hotel, proved being called to see the deceased, and described his appearance, which was characteristic of poisoning by prussic acid. He appeared to have been dead about twelve or fourteen hours. On a table by the side of the bed was a small blue bottle, which would contain ten fluid drachms, and there were in it about four drachms of what witness believed to be Scheele's prussic acid, which contains four per cent. of the pure acid, twice the ordinary strength of that employed in medicine. Four of the six drachms of which the bottle was deficient, supposing the bottle to have been full, would cause almost instantaneous death, unattended by convulsions, and witness believed that quantity had been taken by deceased, from the easy position in which he lay and the undisturbed state of the bed-clothes. In one of his trouser pockets the chief officer of police found a very small bottle, which contained two pills, each containing four grains, if not wholly, principally of opium. Dr. Pickford here called the attention of the jury to the rounded edge of the lip of the bottle, which he said was "an old stager," the edge being much worn by friction in being carried a long while in the pocket.

Witness, at the close of his evidence, asked the Coroner if he could give permission for the body to be examined for the sake of medical science. It was not absolutely necessary for judicial purposes, as there was no doubt of the cause of death; but it was very rarely that a case occurred in which such an extraordinary quantity of prussic acid had been taken, and for the sake of science he wished to ascertain its action on the body.

The Coroner said he could give no such permission, unless the jury thought it requisite that a *post-mortem* examination should be made, but he thought there could be no objection.

Mr. White, the chief officer, then gave evidence, and deposed to finding, among other things, the letter given in Miss Lansdell's evidence. He had searched what papers he could find in the boxes of the deceased, but found nothing relative to the death of himself or wife—no testamentary document whatever. He had telegraphed to Miss Gunning, but had received no reply.

At his lodgings witness found three other small bottles, which he produced.

One of these bottles contained tincture of aconite, purchased from a chemist—Mr. Colby, in the Western-road; another contained spirits of wine, but whether it held any thing in solution the medical men present were unable to say; and the third bottle was empty, but labelled "Opium.—J. Buchanan, physician and surgeon, Cambelton."

The Coroner remarked that Cambelton was in the extreme north of Scotland, where one of the deceased's other wives died.

Deceased's first wife had four children by him when she separated from him, but was subsequently induced to return and live with him. She died in a few weeks after renewed cohabitation. His second wife, whose life he insured, died eight months after their marriage.

As the inquest was being brought to a conclusion, a gentleman, who said his name was Eland, a solicitor, of Trafalgar-square, London, entered the room, and said he had been requested to attend and watch the case on behalf of Miss Gunning, who had received a telegram announcing Dr. Warder's death.

In reply to questions asked by the Coroner, Mr. Eland said that Miss Gunning was the sister of deceased's first wife; and he produced three letters which she had received from him since the death of his last wife.

The first letter was dated July 3, the day after she died, and before the inquest upon her was held. It requested her, "in the event of any thing happening to me," to see to the disposal of his property, which it detailed, among his children. It consisted of land in New Zealand, deposit notes, shares in various speculations, &c. The second letter was dated July 9, in which he said, "I thought it best to leave this little property in your hands to take care of. I will write to you again." The third letter was dated the same day as the second, in which deceased said, "I write to you for the last time. When you receive this, I shall be no more. I feel happy in leaving the children in your care. When you write to the girls, don't tell them all things." The remainder of the letter consisted of instructions as to what interest certain shares realized, and telling Miss Gunning what to sell out and what it would be better to keep. Mr. Eland then said that it was represented to him that members of deceased's family had exhibited insanity, and that his own conduct at times had been that of a madman, but he was not at present in a position to prove it. He asked for an adjournment.

The jury considered this point, and after half an hour's deliberation they said they had carefully weighed the application and the grounds upon which it was made; but they felt that, assuming the fact stated to be proved, they could not, in the face of the evidence before them, alter an opinion which they had formed as to the state of his mind at the time of his committing this act. They would, however, direct an examination to be made of the deceased's brain, to ascertain if there was any organic disease in it, and would adjourn for a day. What their verdict might be if such disease were found, they could not say; but if no such disease existed, they would certainly find that he was of sound mind when he destroyed himself, and return a verdict of *felo-de-se*.

Upon the inquest being resumed, it appeared that there was no ground for the alleged unsoundness of mind, and the jury being satisfied that the deceased was fully responsible for his own acts, found him guilty of felonious self-murder accordingly. He had previously been declared guilty of the murder of his wife, upon the inquest held on the body of that unfortunate lady, whose death the jury found to have been caused by poison administered to her by her husband.

13. Stoppage of the Birmingham Banking Company.—Great consternation was occasioned in Birmingham and its vicinity by the appearance of the following letter:—

"To the Shareholders of the Birmingham Banking Company.

"Gentlemen,—By order of your directors it becomes my painful duty to inform you that, owing to gross past mismanagement recently discovered, they have sustained heavy losses, and a large amount of capital has been locked up in securities that for a time cannot be realized. Under these circumstances your directors have been compelled to close the Bank. While expressing deep sympathy with creditors, it is not necessary for me to say any thing more than that their claims are perfectly safe; but to you I am authorized to say, that in all probability it will prove that although the whole of the reserve fund is lost, a portion of the paid-up capital will remain if the estate is realized with care and economy.

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"Thos. F. Shaw, Manager."

The amount of the deposits was about 800,000*l.* The total liabilities were supposed to be about 2,000,000*l.* The number of shareholders exceeds 800. The company was established in 1829; its paid-up capital at the time of the stoppage was a little short of 280,000*l.* Contingent depreciations and reserve fund at the last report in February, 200,000*l.* Upon the original shares no more than 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* had been paid up. The dividend and bonus of late years had been 2*l.* per share annually. Less than two years since, the capital was increased by the issue of 10,000 new shares of 10*l.*, paid up, at 10*l.* per share premium. At that time the

price of the original shares was 14*l*. Within the last few months a gradual decline had taken place. The stoppage of Attwood and Spooner's Bank was far less disastrous than this. There had been a conference among the other bankers in the town the night preceding the stoppage. The following circular was issued:—

"SUSPENSION OF THE BIRMINGHAM BANKING COMPANY.

"The undermentioned banks, desirous of alleviating as much as possible the effects of the stoppage of the Birmingham Banking Company, are prepared to afford facilities for supplying the immediate necessities of the depositors and customers of the bank:—Birmingham Town and District Bank, Birmingham and Midland Bank, Birmingham Joint-Stock Bank (limited), Lloyd's Banking Company (limited), National Provincial Bank of England."

20. ARRIVAL AT DUBLIN OF THE NEW LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.—The Marquis of Abercorn arrived in Dublin this morning. He proceeded direct to the Viceregal Lodge. At three o'clock in the afternoon he drove to the Castle, and was there sworn in as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The oath was administered by the Lord Primate. He was then invested with the collar and insignia of the Order of St. Patrick, as the Grand Master thereof. On taking his seat at the council-board as Lord-Lieutenant, a salute of fifteen guns was fired in the Park. He left Kingstown the same evening by the mail steamer "Connaught." Mr. Walsh, the new Attorney-General, was presented to the Lord-Lieutenant, and took the oath and his seat as a Privy Councillor.

23. RIOTS IN HYDE PARK.—This evening Hyde Park was the scene of great confusion, and a somewhat violent conflict between the populace and the police, arising out of the Reform agitation. A great meeting and demonstration in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage had been announced to take place within the Park by the Committee of the Reform League; but the authorities, disapproving of such an occupation of a space devoted to public recreation, and apprehending a disturbance of the peace of the metropolis in case such a gathering were permitted, determined to close the gates of the Park, and to prevent the multitude from attending the meeting. The adoption of this resolution excited a determined spirit of resistance on the part of the Reformers; and the power of the authorities being quite insufficient to carry out their resolve of excluding the demonstration from the Park, the result was somewhat humiliating to the Government. As soon as it became known that the police had received instructions to prevent the meeting being held, a written notice was forwarded by the "Demonstration Committee" to the various sub-committees, to the effect that the members were to march in procession to the Park, and if prevented from entering it, were then to form four deep and proceed by way of Grosvenor-place, Victoria-street, and past the Houses of Parliament to Trafalgar-square. The notice also alluded to the circumstance of the police acting under the orders

of a Tory Government, and concluded by exhorting those to whom it was addressed to show by their peaceable and orderly conduct that they were determined to have manhood suffrage and the ballot. In accordance with previous arrangements processions were formed shortly after five o'clock in the afternoon in the different metropolitan districts included within the operations of the Reform League. The preliminary proceedings at Clerkenwell-green were almost an exact counterpart of what took place at the other starting-places. At half-past four o'clock about fifty persons were collected round an empty waggon near the drinking fountain. This crowd gradually increased, until, at half-past five, some two or three hundred people were collected round the waggon, which was taken possession of by the leaders of the expedition, who were distinguishable by their wearing red sashes and other badges of office. A Mr. Coffey commenced the proceedings by delivering a speech in which he denounced the conduct of the Government in giving orders to close Hyde Park against the advocates of Reform, and declared that the Reform League were fully determined to have the question tried whether the parks were the property of the Crown, or of the people who paid for them. He trusted, however, that the people would go quietly and use no violence whatever. No amount of advertising, he observed, could have made the meeting so generally known as the notice which had been issued by Sir Richard Mayne. After some severe remarks on the aristocracy in general and the Earl of Shaftesbury in particular, Mr. Coffey concluded amid general cheering by declaring his belief that if the people did not get the right of voting, the sooner they left the country by millions the better. Some other speeches were delivered, and then the audience formed in procession, and, preceded by a drum-and-fife band, marched through Hatton-garden to Holborn, and thence along Oxford-street to the Marble Arch. During its progress through the City the procession met with no interruption, owing to the conduct of the City police, who caused vehicles to stop until it had passed by. The Reformers complained, however, that as soon as they had got beyond Holborn-bars very little attention was paid to their convenience by the metropolitan police, who sought rather to prevent any undue obstruction of the ordinary traffic.

Meanwhile, vast crowds had collected in the neighbourhood of Hyde Park. A force of foot and mounted police, numbering 1600 or 1800, was here assembled under the direction of Sir Richard Mayne and Captain Harris; and at five o'clock the gates were closed. Before that hour a considerable number of people had collected inside, in order to witness what was about to take place, and these were permitted to remain there. Outside, the throng was, as might be supposed, much greater. Masses of people had assembled at all the approaches. The Marble Arch was the centre of attraction, and for an hour or two previous to the proposed commencement of the demonstration the traffic was seriously impeded.

The windows and balconies of the neighbouring houses were also crowded with spectators. Shortly after seven o'clock Mr. Edmund Beales, Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, and other leading members of the Reform League, in a line of cabs which headed the Clerkenwell, Islington, and other processions, advanced to the Arch, and, the sub-committee having succeeded in making a clear passage, Mr. Beales and his friends went up to the police, who were drawn up in line, staves in hand, some of them being mounted. The crowd immediately closed in, and endeavoured by an "ugly rush" to effect admission. The police used their staves freely to defeat this attempt. After being refused admission, and having thus raised the question in the form they desired, the leaders went back to their vehicles, and with some difficulty managed to make their way through the crowd in order to proceed to Trafalgar-square, there to hold the meeting, according to the programme which had been laid down.

Printed bills were distributed among the various detachments as they came up from Clerkenwell, Southwark, Finsbury, &c., directing them not to attempt to force an entrance into the Park, but to proceed to Trafalgar-square. It is much easier, however, to collect throngs of people than to keep them in leading-strings when collected, and a large portion of the "masses" were not disposed to follow implicitly the instructions of their leaders. The gates, it is true, were strongly fortified, but to throw down the railings seemed a feasible undertaking, and this was promptly attempted. The police, indeed, hastened to every point that was attacked, and for a short time kept the multitude at bay; but their numbers were utterly insufficient to guard so long a line of frontier, and breach after breach was made, the stonework, together with the railings, yielding easily to the pressure of the crowd. The first opening was made in the Bayswater-road, where the police, rushing to the spot, prevented for a time any considerable influx of people; but they could not be ubiquitous, and along Park-lane especially a great extent of railing was speedily overturned, till in the end the crowd entered *ad libitum*. A good deal of scuffling attended these incursions. The police brought their truncheons into active use, and a number of the "roughs" were somewhat severely handled. Several persons received injuries which caused them to be carried off to the hospitals. The police, on the other hand, did not come off unscathed. One of them received a thrust in the side from an iron bar; another was knocked off his horse by sticks and stones, and several others sustained slight injuries. Stones were thrown at Sir Richard Mayne, who, as well as his men, was much hooted. Between forty and fifty persons were taken into custody in the vicinity of the Marble Arch, and about as many more at the other approaches. Many of the leaders of the crowd exerted themselves to prevent a breach of the peace, and Mr. Bradlaugh got considerably hustled for so doing, falling under the suspicion of being a Government spy. About eight o'clock a company of the Grenadier Guards and a troop of the Life Guards

entered the Park, but it was then too late to prevent the influx of people, for, though the gates were still jealously guarded, breaches had been effected in every direction in the palings, and the military, who were loudly cheered by the crowd, confined themselves to manœuvres, the only effect of which was to oblige the mob occasionally to shift their position. The numbers in the Park were by this time very large, and although of course there were a considerable number of "roughs," who look on the police as their natural enemies, many of the persons present appeared to be quiet and respectably dressed people, who had simply been attracted by curiosity, and showed no political propensities. Speeches were made at various spots, one of the orators being a Miss Harriet Laws, who delivered a very fervid address on the political and social rights of the people.

At one of the meetings, held near the Marble Arch, and presided over by Mr. De Gruyther, the following resolution was passed, on the motion of Mr. Cuthberton, seconded by Mr. Tomkins :—

"That this meeting condemns in the most emphatic and unqualified terms the attempt on the part of the Ministry to rule the country by force, and their recklessness in compromising the dignity of the Government by wantonly provoking a collision between the people and the officers appointed to keep the peace, and resolves that a deputation of not more than six persons wait on Her Majesty with a petition, signed by the chairman, in the name of the meeting, requesting the dismissal of Earl Derby and his colleagues, and the appointment of a Ministry who have a better appreciation of the value of the lives of Her Majesty's subjects, and of what is due to their own high office."

None of the speakers, male or female, were interrupted by the police. By this time darkness was drawing on, and the crowd rapidly thinned until, at about ten o'clock, only a very few persons remained in the Park.

With regard to the proceedings of that section of the Reformers who adhered to their original programme, it is sufficient to state that on arriving opposite New Palace-yard some of the more violent of the party attempted to get over the railings into the square, but in this attempt they were completely foiled by the police, who were posted in the enclosure. At this point there was much cheering, and among the shouts could be distinguished the name of Mr. Bright, a reprint of whose letter in "The Times" had been extensively circulated during the day. Another party passed by the Carlton Club, where they raised a storm of hisses, and the Reform Club, where they indulged in the most uproarious cheering, which was renewed when some of the members waved their handkerchiefs and gave other signs of approval. Arrived at Trafalgar-square, Mr. Beales ascended the base of Nelson's column and commenced haranguing the crowd, who occupied the *bas reliefs* on the column and every other position from which a good view could be obtained. Mr. Beales was followed by several other gentlemen, who

all concurred in condemning the conduct of Sir Richard Mayne and the Home Secretary. Two other meetings were also held in the square, under the presidency of Messrs. Howell and Cremer. This part of the proceedings, however, was exceedingly tame after the exciting scene which had been enacted in the Park, and the fatigued audiences were glad to get back as soon as possible to the various public-houses which served as their head-quarters.

27. SUCCESSFUL LAYING OF THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH CABLE.—This evening, at about five o'clock, English time, the cable was completed between Europe and America. Conversations had been carried on throughout the day, until word was sent to Valentia to cease signalling, as they were about to make the splice with the shore end at Trinity Bay. This was effected soon after dusk.

The following telegram was received from Newfoundland at an early hour on the morning of the 28th :—

"*Gooch to Glass.*

"Our shore end has just been laid, and a most perfect cable, under God's blessing, completes telegraphic communication between England and the continent of America. I cannot find words to express my deep sense of the untiring zeal and the earnest and cheerful manner in which every one on board, from the highest to the lowest, has performed the anxious and arduous duties they, in their several departments, have had to perform. Their untiring energy and watchful care, night and day, for the period of two weeks required to complete this work, can only be fully understood and appreciated by one who, like myself, has seen it. All have faithfully done their duty, and glory in their success, and join with me in hearty congratulations to our friends in England, who have, in various ways, laboured in carrying out this great work."

At this period there was no electric communication between Newfoundland and the mainland, the cable being out of order; but it was soon repaired, and messages received direct from New York.

One of the earliest messages transmitted by the cable was the following :—

"*From the Queen, Osborne, to the President of the United States, Washington.*

"The Queen congratulates the President on the successful completion of an undertaking which she hopes may serve as an additional bond of union between the United States and England."

The President replied as follows :—

"*From Andrew Johnson, the Executive Mansion, Washington, to Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

"July 30, 11.30 a.m.

"The President of the United States acknowledges with profound gratification the receipt of Her Majesty's despatch, and cordially reciprocates the hope that the cable that now unites the eastern and western hemispheres may serve to strengthen and

perpetuate peace and amity between the Government of England and the Republic of the United States."

The following telegram was sent by the Earl of Carnarvon to Viscount Monk, Ottawa, Canada:—

"I am commanded by the Queen to convey to the Governor-General of her North American Provinces Her Majesty's congratulations on the completion of the Atlantic telegraph, and the strengthening thereby of the unity of the British Empire.

"Her Majesty includes her ancient colony of Newfoundland in these congratulations to all her faithful subjects.

"CARNARVON.

"July 28, 1866."

President Johnson's reply to the Queen occupied only one hour and nine minutes in its transit from Newfoundland to Osborne.

Her Majesty's ship "Terrible" and the screw-steamer "Albany" started on the 25th on the expedition to pick up the cable of 1865[1].

DIARY OF THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH EXPEDITION.

The "Great Eastern," laden with a freight in which the whole civilized world is interested, took her departure from Berehaven, Bantry Bay, at 6.30 p.m. on Thursday, the 12th of July. The shore end of the cable had been successfully landed by the "William Cory" steamer at Foilhummerum Bay on Saturday, the 7th of July. On Friday, 13th July, at 11.30 a.m., the end was brought on board the "Great Eastern," and by 11.40 it was on the drum. This was the first practical test of the pick-up machinery and steam engine attached thereto. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the manner in which it did its work. The joint was completed by 1.20 p.m. Mr. Willoughby Smith, the chief electrician, lost no time in testing the insulation of the cable to shore, which was found to be perfect. The making of the splice was commenced; by 2.30 p.m. it was completed and coiled in the after-cable tank. Just as the hands of the clock indicated 3.30 Greenwich time, the Atlantic telegraph cable of 1866 commenced to pass over the V wheel at the stern of the great cable ship. A hearty cheer from those who witnessed thus far the success of the start, the firing of a couple of guns, the hoisting of the ensign with the union jack and the stars and stripes, made up all the demonstrations on board the great ship. The "Racoon" gave one parting gun, and availing herself of as fair a wind as could well blow in her favour, set every stitch of canvas, and left for Valentia. The course of the ship was settled W.N.W. for 33 miles, to be changed about nine o'clock to N.W. by W., in order to bear quite clear to the southward of the sunken cable of 1865. This was the course during the night of Saturday the 14th. The wind was W.S.W. to W.N.W. The paying-out machinery was working to perfection. The cable came up from the tank with

[1] For an account of the result of this undertaking, see Chronicle for September, *post.*

great facility. The "Terrible," "Albany," and "Medway" kept their allotted position. Weather fine, smooth sea. At noon (ship's time) the ships were 135·5 miles from Valentia, and 1533·5 from Heart's Content; 144·58 miles of cable had been paid out. Lat. 52° 15′, long. 14° 3′. The convoy kept their position accurately during the next day. At 1.45 p.m. the "Terrible" signalled that a man had fallen overboard. Her cutter was speedily lowered. The sailor had, however, laid hold of a rope thrown to him from the frigate before the boat reached him. At 10.45 p.m. Mr. Willoughby Smith issued, for the benefit of the expedition, the latest news from Europe. On each day during the voyage the news from Europe, together with the latest intelligence received from America, was sent through the cable and printed on board, under the title of the "Great Eastern Telegraph." While the messages, however, were being transmitted, the insulation tests were kept up without intermission. The paying-out apparatus was the same as used last year, with the exception of a stronger drum. The hauling-in machine for grappling, placed at the fore part of the ship, is more powerful than the one used for the attempt made in 1865. It consisted of two drums of 5 feet 8 inches in diameter each, by 20 inches broad, connected by gear with an engine of 40-horse power, similar to that attached to the paying-out machine. The rope or cable passed over both drums, and an arrangement was made for "fleeting" the grapnel rope or cable on the drums by means of small rollers. At ten minutes past ten p.m. on the 15th July, the "Albany" was observed to drop astern. By the medium of Colomb's flash signals, at a distance of about eight miles those on board the great ship learned that she had lost the bolt of her eccentric. At daylight, the damage having been repaired, she was again in position. On Monday, July 16, every thing was going on well—the sea like a mill-pond. The paying out of the cable from the after tank progressed with uniform certainty and steadiness, and the electrical tests were reported perfect. On this day some of the cable of 1865 was paid out. The after tanks contained 839·685 miles, of which 267 miles were of the old cable. The track was about thirty miles to the south of that of last year, and at that distance, on the 16th, the ships passed parallel to where the telegraph cable parted in August, 1857. The depth of water was between 1950 and 2100 fathoms: temperature 58 deg. The average strain indicated by the dynamometer was 10·54; the average speed about five knots. When Captain Moriarty issued his bulletin, it stated that since noon on the 11th, 136·88 miles of cable had been paid out; percentage of slack, 18·82; distance run, 115·2 miles. Distance from Valentia, 378·2; from Heart's Content, 1290 miles. Lat. 52° 6′, long. 20° 36′.

The succeeding twenty-four hours was a period of uninterrupted success. All day on the 16th it was so calm that the masts of the convoy were reflected in the ocean, an unusual thing to see. A

large shoal of porpoises gambolled during half an hour round the ships; there was a glorious sunset, and later a bright crescent moon. At 7.55 a.m. Greenwich time, on the 17th, the remaining portion of the cable of 1865 was paid out of the tank. At 9.10 the screw engines were slowered to eighteen revolutions, and the paddles reduced to four. Some canvas was set, with a steady breeze from the south and a smooth sea.

On the 18th of July, the breeze from the southward had freshened, and the sky was of a dull grey, with occasional rain. A moderate sea prevailed. At 5.28 p.m. Greenwich time, a bell in connexion with the electrical room sounded in the tank. Mr. Temple, one of Mr. Canning's staff, being on duty, immediately pressed the valve of the steam whistle which was fitted at the stern, and communicated by compressed air through piping to the screw, the paddle engines, and the helm. A similar apparatus was fitted in the bows of the ship. The signal was so promptly answered by the engineers, that the "Great Eastern" was stopped in less than her own length. Mr. Gifford, hearing the bell, ran at the top of his speed to the paddle-engine hatchway, but long before he could reach it these engines were stopped. Of course great anxiety arose to ascertain what was the matter. All on board were soon relieved by learning that the alarm was a false one. One of Mr. Willoughby Smith's assistants had, by mere accident, touched the spring of the bell. This accident, however, served to show conclusively that every one was at his post. All went on well until 12.20 a.m., Greenwich time, when the first real check was given to the success which had hitherto attended the undertaking. This time the cause of alarm was real. A foul flake took place in the after tank. The engines were immediately turned astern, and the paying out of the cable stopped. Almost every body soon came on deck. It was found that the coil being paid out had caught three turns of the flake immediately under it, and carried them into the eye of the coil, fouling the lay-out and hauling up one and a half turns from the outside and five turns in the eye of the under-flake. This was stopped, fortunately, before it entered the paying-out machinery. Stoppers of hemp with chains also were put on near the V wheel astern, and Mr. Canning gave orders to stand by to let go the buoy. This was not very cheering to hear; but his calm and collected manner gave every one confidence that his skill and experience would extricate the cable from the obvious danger in which it was placed. No fishing-line was ever entangled worse than the rope was, when thrust up in apparently hopeless knots from the eye of the coil to the deck. There at least 500 feet of rope lay in this state. It was raining thickly at the time, with increasing wind. The cable crew set to work, under the instructions of their chief engineer, to disentangle it. Mr. Halpin was patiently following the bights as they showed themselves, the crew now passing them forward, now aft, until at last the character of the tangle was seen, and then it

soon became apparent that ere long the cable would be cleared and pass down to the tank. All this time Captain Anderson was at the taffrail anxiously watching the strain on the rope, which he could scarcely make out, the night was so dark. He was endeavouring to keep it up and down, going on and reversing with paddle and screw. When one reflects for a moment upon the size of the ship and the enormous mass she presented to the wind, the difficulty of keeping her stern over the cable can be appreciated. The port paddle-wheel was disconnected, but shortly afterwards there was a shift of wind, and the vessel canted the wrong way. Welcome voices were, however, soon heard passing the word aft from the tank that the bights were cleared, and to pay out. Then the huge stoppers were gently loosened, and at 2.5 a.m., to the joy of all, the "Great Eastern" was once more discharging the cable. They veered it away in the tank to clear away the foul flake until 3 a.m., when the screw and paddle engines were slowed, so as to reduce the speed of the ship to $4\frac{1}{2}$ knots. During all this critical time there was an entire absence of noise and confusion. Every order was silently obeyed, and the cable-men and crew worked with hearty good-will. But what of the electrical condition of the cable during this period? Simply through its entire length it was perfect, or, as it is technically called, O.K. (all correct). The "Terrible" was lost sight of in the thickness of the night, and, save for a few minutes, was not seen till seven o'clock the next morning. The "Albany" and "Medway" showed on the starboard and port quarter at 5 a.m. The weather continued very hazy. The distance from Valentia was at this time 600·2 miles; from Heart's Content 1068·8, lat. 52° 1′ N., long. 26° 37′ N. In the evening a fresh breeze sprang up, bringing a heavy swell on the port-quarter, which caused the ship to roll. The paying out from the after tank went on steadily. Two of the large buoys were lifted by derricks from the deck near the bows of the ship, and placed in position on the port and starboard side of the forward pick-up machinery, ready for letting go if necessary. The sun went down with an angry look, and the scud came rapidly from the eastward, the sea rising. A wind dead aft is not the best for cable-laying, particularly if any accident should take place. The swell was very heavy, to which the "Great Eastern" proved herself not insensible. Her rolling, like every thing else appertaining to her, is done on a grand scale. Those on board the great ship could, however, note the more than ordinary liveliness with which that operation was performed by the "Albany" and "Medway," and were not at all disposed to be too critical on the behaviour of their own vessel. The speed was kept up at $4\frac{1}{2}$ during the night.

The 19th of July was a day of complete success, the paying out in every respect satisfactory. The wind continued from the eastward, but the sea had entirely gone down. The wind shifted to S.W. about daybreak on the 20th. The "Terrible," "Albany," and "Medway," all kept their allotted positions. It blew very

hard from 2 up to 10 p.m., by which time the wind gradually found its way from south-west to north-west, which was right ahead. During the night there were heavy showers of rain, but on the morning of the 21st the sea was comparatively smooth.

Between six and seven p.m. on the 22nd the "Great Eastern" passed over the deepest part of the course. There was no additional strain on the dynamometer, which indicated from 10 to 14. The wind was still fresh from the north-westward; during the night it went round to the south-west, and on the morning of the 23rd a long roll from the southward set in. On the 24th and 25th of July the weather became foggy; on the last-named day thickly so. The fog, however, was occasionally lifted. At noon this day, the ship was in lat. 42° 29′ 40″, long. 48° 10′ 42″. Distance run, 1430; cable paid out, 1610·53; percentage of slack, 12·62. Distance from Heart's Content, 239·8 miles.

Captain Anderson signalled to the "Albany" at 10.15 on the night of the 25th to start at daybreak and proceed to lat. 40° 25′, long. 52° 30′, to discover the station-ship, and report the arrival of the expedition; should she fail to find her, then to try and make the land and guide the big ship to Trinity Bay. Another signal was sent at 12.30 to the effect that the "Terrible" and "Medway" would be sent ahead to meet the "Albany," and establish a line to lead the ship in, even with a fog. The "Albany" started at 3.30. At 4.45 (Greenwich time), the cable engineer in charge took one weight off each brake of the paying-out machinery. At 7.40 all weights were taken off; the assumed depth being 300 fathoms. The indicated strain on the dynamometer was gradually decreasing. At 8.55 signals were made to the "Terrible" to sound; the reply was 160 fathoms. All arrangements for the operation in Trinity Bay were got forward as far as possible.

Shortly after two p.m. on the 26th, two ships, which were soon made out to be steamers, were seen to the westward, and the "Terrible," steaming on ahead, in about an hour, signalled that H.M.S. "Niger" was one of them, accompanied by the "Albany." The "Niger" (Captain Bruce) sent a boat to the "Terrible" as soon as he came up with her. The "Albany" shortly afterwards took up position on the starboard quarter of the "Great Eastern," and signalled that she spoke the "Niger" at noon, bearing E. by N., and that the "Lily" was anchored at the station at the entrance of Trinity Bay, as arranged with the Admiral. The "Albany" also reported that she had passed an iceberg about 60 ft. high in lat. 48° 34′, long. 52° 10′. At twenty minutes after four p.m. the "Niger" came on the port side of the cable ship quite close, and Captain Bruce, sending the crew to the rigging and manning the yards, gave three cheers, which were heartily returned from the "Great Eastern." She then steamed ahead towards Trinity Bay. The "Albany" was signalled to go on immediately to Heart's Content, clear the N.E. side of the harbour of shipping, and place a boat with a red flag for Captain Anderson to steer to

for anchorage. Just before dinner, on the southern horizon, distant about ten miles, an iceberg, probably the one which the "Albany" met with, was seen. The fog came on very thick about eight p.m., and between that and ten, guns were constantly exchanged and blue lights were burnt with the "Terrible," who, with the "Niger," went in search of the "Lily" station-ship. Catalina Light, at the entrance of Trinity Bay, had been made out three hours before this, and the loom of the coast had also been seen. The fog, however, still prevailed. The expedition by six a.m. was within ten miles of Heart's Content, but objects would have been invisible more than a ship's length ahead. The "Niger," however, with her repeated guns, led the "Great Eastern" with accuracy.

At about eight o'clock the massive curtain of fog was lifted gradually from both shores of Trinity Bay, disclosing the entrance of Heart's Content—the "Albany" making for the harbour, the "Margaretta Stevenson," surveying vessel, steaming out to meet the expedition; the pre-arranged course all marked with buoys, and a whole fleet of boats fishing at the entrance. It could be plainly seen that Heart's Content, so far as its capabilities permitted, had prepared a welcome. The British and American flags floated from the church and telegraph station, and other buildings. The "Great Eastern" dressed ship, fired a salute, and three cheers were given. At nine o'clock, ship's time, the cable was cut, and arrangements were made for the "Medway" to lay the shore end. Shortly afterwards the "Great Eastern" steamed into the harbour, and anchored on the N.E. side. She was quickly surrounded by boats laden with visitors.

AUGUST.

2. Goodwood Races.—The Cup Day.—The great event of this brilliant meeting, which was honoured by the presence of Royalty, attracted a vast assemblage of spectators.

Though the weather was not all that could be wished, it did not rob the lawn of its attractions, nor exercise the slightest influence on the general attendance. On the contrary, the carriages formed an unbroken line for hours, and the "setting down" at the Stand was incessant. The Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by the Duke of Richmond, arrived on the course shortly before one o'clock, preceded by the distinguished circle staying at the house, and it is not too much to say that the county gentry of Hants and Sussex were there *en masse* to receive them.

The principal contest of the day was decided as follows:—

The Goodwood Cup, value 300 sovs., added to a subscription of 20 sovs. each, h. ft. The second to receive 100 sovs. out of the stakes. Two miles and a half. Twenty-nine subs.

Marquis of Hastings's The Duke, by Stockwell, 4 yrs., 9st. (Fordham)	1
Baron Rothschild's Tourmalin, 3 yrs., 7st. 3lb. (Peak)	2
Lord Bateman's Moulsey, 5 yrs., 9st. 7lb. (Morris)	3
Mr. Dane's ch. g. Watchman, 5 yrs., 8st. 3lb. (Cannon)	0
Lord Stamford's Archimedes, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (Edwards)	0

Betting.—Even The Duke, 2 to 1 agst Tourmalin, 6 to 1 agst Moulsey, and 20 to 1 agst Archimedes.

They left the post in Indian file, headed by Watchman, Tourmalin going on second, the pair being clear of the favourite, Archimedes, and Moulsey, the pace being so indifferent that Fordham had some difficulty in restraining the impetuosity of The Duke. They retained their positions to the turn out of the course, where Lord Stamford's nomination dropped into the rear, and gradually disappeared from the contest as they rounded the "Clump" for the ascent of the hill, his temper evidently not much improved by his recent operation. Half-way up, Watchman gave way to Tourmalin, who came on with the running into the straight, when The Duke with Moulsey became her immediate attendants to the distance. Here Moulsey hung out signals of distress, and immediately dropped back, leaving the issue with the two, the Baron's filly apparently having the best of it to half-way up, when The Duke challenged, but running out immediately he was asked, the success of Tourmalin was loudly proclaimed by the thousands on the stand and enclosure, but these hopes were but short-lived, as Fordham having steadied the favourite for his final effort, came with one run at the stand, and landed the Marquis of Hastings's colours first by a length. Moulsey was third, beaten off. Watchman walked in fourth, and Archimedes last.

8. Great Reform Meeting at Guildhall.—A crowded, but respectable and orderly meeting, convened by the National Reform League and the London Working Men's Association, to express the opinion of the working men on the extension of the franchise, was held in Guildhall, the Lord Mayor presiding. The spacious hall was filled in every part, and the proceedings were throughout characterized by the greatest decorum.

The Lord Mayor, who was greeted with loud cheers, returned thanks for this cordial and hearty reception, and said:—"The man must have a heart of stone who could witness this magnificent sight without the deepest emotion. I am here to-night in the discharge of my municipal duty. It is not my intention to express any opinion of my own or to endorse the opinion of any one else. Now, gentlemen, there are three things essential to the success of a meeting like this. There is, first, good temper; then there is good judgment; and, thirdly, there is moderation. And

I think I see all these three requisites strongly written upon the faces of as good, as fine, and as intellectual a gathering of working men as I have ever seen brought together under one roof."

Mr. Beales, in rising to move the first resolution, was loudly cheered from all parts of the hall. He said: "It has been assigned to me, as president of the Reform League, to propose the first resolution, it being intended that the other speakers should be working men, in what might be called the popular sense of that expression. There is work of the brain as well as of the hands, and, as regards work of the brain, I also may be considered as a working man, and a hard-working man too, with all due deference to my friends of the Tory Press, who, in the excess of their loving-kindness for one who has furnished them with so much to write about at this dull season, dub me, whilst they would fain make me, if they could, a briefless barrister. The resolution which I have the honour to propose is as follows:—'That the moderate measure of Reform introduced by Her Majesty's late Government having been rejected by Parliament, and the present Government having indefinitely postponed the question of Reform, this meeting feels it its duty to declare that the great body of the unenfranchised working classes in this country will be satisfied with nothing less than the speedy introduction of a Bill for the amendment of the representation on the basis of residential and registered manhood suffrage and the ballot.'" The learned gentleman proceeded to say that no stronger proof could be given that the present system of parliamentary representation was a mockery and a delusion, than the fact that although the necessity for Reform had been acknowledged in several Royal speeches, the Reform measure of the late Government had been rejected, and the Government which had just taken office had indefinitely postponed the measure. Lord Derby, for whom individually, as possessing great powers in debate and high literary eminence, he (Mr. Beales) had the greatest respect, had said at a recent banquet in the City, "that no cause, however good, was ever otherwise than injured in public opinion, and in the opinion of the Legislature, if supported by any thing which bore the appearance of intimidation or violence." He (Mr. Beales) cordially assented to every word thus uttered, and the truth of the principle thus laid down brought vividly back to his recollection the memorable scene of the 23rd of July last, when his request for admittance to Hyde Park was met by intimidation and the uplifted truncheons of an army of police on foot, acting under the orders of the Government of which Lord Derby himself is the chief, whilst a magnanimous Chief Commissioner of the same body did his best to place him (Mr. Beales) under the gentle pressure of his horse's hoofs. The learned gentleman then at some length commented upon the attempts of "The Times" to attribute to the Reform League the desire to intimidate by brute force, whereas the first resort to brute force was by the police,

acting under the orders of Government, not only to silence, but to prohibit discussion. The learned gentleman concluded by saying, "The prohibition of the League meeting on the 23rd of July, and the exclusion of the public from Hyde Park on that day, have done far more than a hundred such meetings could have done to advance the cause of Reform and unite the people in its support, though, to be sure, the Government and their partisan justices are still doing all they can to advance our cause, and I confess that I cannot, after all that passed between Mr. Walpole and myself, but express my scorn, contempt, and disgust at various remarks made on several recent occasions. No half-and-half measure of Reform will now be listened to. The banner of the League, having inscribed on it 'Residential and Registered Manhood Suffrage, and the Ballot,' is now hailed in all quarters."

Mr. Potter seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. Conolly (stonemason, Working Men's Association) moved the second resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Odgers and agreed to *nem. con.*:—"That unless the present Government be prepared to redeem the antagonism it has already exhibited to popular rights, by the speedy introduction of a Bill for the amendment of the representation of the people, in accordance with the preceding resolution, it will be the imperative duty of the Reformers throughout the country to withhold from such a Government all sympathy and support."

Mr. Upshall (joiner, and member of the Working Men's Association) was called upon to move the third resolution, as follows:—"That the working men and others composing this meeting pledge themselves to support the objects and principles of the Reform League and the Working Men's Association, by enrolling themselves as members either of the Association or the League, and by all other legitimate means."

Mr. Coffey (bootmaker, and member of the Reform League) seconded the resolution.

Mr. Mason Jones and Mr. Bradlaugh also addressed the meeting in support of the resolution, which was carried like the others. The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor for the use of the Guildhall and for his conduct in presiding.

9. The Prince and Princess of Wales at York.—Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by their infant children, arrived in York, where they were received with an enthusiasm quite in keeping with the traditional loyalty which is a boast of the Northern metropolis. The Princess and her children were on their way to Studley Royal, the seat of Earl de Grey and Ripon, where they were to sojourn while the Prince of Wales was grouse-shooting on the Yorkshire moors. Her Royal Highness accompanied the Prince to Bishopsthorpe, where they were to stay two days as the guests of his Grace the Archbishop.

Great preparations had been made in the ancient city to give the Prince and Princess of Wales a fitting reception. The streets were decorated with flags, and in many places hung with drapery. The façades of the ancient houses gave a particular picturesqueness to the scene at many points when the streets were thronged by the people and every window filled with expectant faces. In Petergate, through which the procession which escorted the Royal visitors had to pass, it was necessary that the narrow roadway should be kept clear from foot-passengers. The ancient houses in Petergate make that thoroughfare one of the most remarkable in all York. With gaily-dressed spectators crowding every window, from which hung flags and other decorations, this portion of the Prince's route bore an aspect almost peculiar, and as interesting as remarkable. Four great triumphal arches had been erected; the first, designed to represent an ancient city entrance of the Tudor period, was raised over Lendal-bridge; a second, of Roman architecture, stood across St. Leonard's; another, 64 feet in height, was on Ouse-bridge—this also was in the Roman style; and a fourth was built in Bootham, on the highest level of the road, near the Exhibition building, to which it serves as an entrance. The city generally was illuminated as the evening fell, and each of the arches was particularly lighted up, so that the loyal inscriptions with which they were plentifully adorned could be easily read.

The train bearing the Royal visitors came into York station at a few minutes before half-past five. Amongst the company in the station were the Archbishop of York and Mrs. Thompson, the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, the Recorder of York (Mr. Hindmarsh), the Sheriff of York, the Venerable Archdeacons Creyke and Long, the Rev. J. H. Phillips, and the Rev. Canon Jones, Mr. G. Leeman, M.P., Sir John Lowther, Mr. Commissioner Ayrton, Messrs. J. H. Seymour, G. Dodsworth, and W. C. Copperthwaite (directors of the North-Eastern Railway Company), and the officers of the company. The station was kept by a company of the 1st West York Volunteers, under the command of Captain M'Culloch. The band of the 1st West York Volunteers struck up the National Anthem as the train drew up to the platform. The Prince and Princess, who occupied a saloon carriage, were received on alighting by the Archbishop of York. Almost immediately the Archbishop presented the Lord Mayor, who read an address expressing the loyal welcome with which the city received the honour of their Royal Highnesses' visit. The address was very graciously received. The Prince bowed his acknowledgment of it, and then, accompanied by the Princess and escorted by the Archbishop, the Lord Mayor, and the dignitaries present, proceeded to the carriages which were in waiting. A grand procession was formed, in which the yeomanry, volunteers, the city companies, magistrates, the Lord Mayor and corporation, the city members, and a number of benefit societies took part, preceding the Archbishop's carriage, in which their Royal Highnesses rode.

The band and corps of the West York Rifles and a troop of yeomanry brought up the rear. Unfortunately, just at the moment of starting from the railway station, the rain, which had for some time been threatening, poured down heavily. There was an immense crowd all along the route, and the cheering was most enthusiastic. The Prince stood up in the carriage, bareheaded, notwithstanding the rain. In a short time, however, the weather cleared, and the evening was fine. A conspicuous feature in the civic display was a carriage in which sat the sergeants of the mace, one of them carrying erect the sword presented to William of Selby, first Lord Mayor of York, by Richard the Second, and which may be borne upright in every presence save that of the monarch himself. The course of the procession was by Lendal-bridge, up the street towards the Minster, through Petergate and Church-street, and Parliament-street, into Low Ousgate, over Ouse-bridge, under Micklegate-bar, through which Cromwell once passed, and on which the heads of some of his most devoted adherents were subsequently placed, and into Blossom-street. At this point the carriage containing the Prince and Princess left the procession, and, turning to the right without any escort, proceeded through the quiet country lanes to Bishopsthorpe. Along all the route the greatest enthusiasm was manifested. The suite of apartments at Bishopsthorpe occupied by the Prince and Princess of Wales were the same in the north corridor wherein the late Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria stayed in 1837, when they visited York to attend the musical festival held there in that year.

The Archbishop gave a grand dinner in the evening, to which a large number of distinguished guests were invited to meet their Royal Highnesses.

The next day the Prince and Princess visited the Agricultural, Horticultural, and Industrial and Fine Art Exhibitions, at this time collected in the vicinity of York. Their Royal Highnesses left Bishopsthorpe about noon, and drove direct to the Yorkshire Agricultural Society's Show at Knavesmire, being greeted with loud cheers by the crowds of gaily-dressed spectators assembled along the road, and receiving a hearty welcome from the assemblage of visitors gathered in the show-yard. Amongst the noblemen and gentlemen on the ground awaiting the arrival of their Royal Highnesses were the following:—Admiral Duncombe, President of the Society; the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Cathcart, Lord Macclesfield, Lord Portsmouth, Lord Feversham, Lord Poltimore, Sir Watkin W. Wynn, &c. Their Royal Highnesses were conducted to the Grand Stand, and from the balconies viewed the collection of dogs, which is the distinguishing attraction of the show, and witnessed the exercises of the hunters which had taken prizes in two classes. After lunching with the Council of the Society they proceeded to the Guildhall, where the great event of the day—the unveiling of the Prince Consort memorial window—was to take place. The streets along the route from the Agricul-

tural Show to the Guildhall were thronged with people; and the sky at this time being comparatively clear, the streets, the decorations of which were completely finished, presented a very animated aspect. The vestibule leading from the street to the Guildhall was adorned with flowers, grasses, and ferns, tastefully arranged, and making a delightful approach to the ancient building. The appearance of the interior of the Guildhall was exceedingly brilliant. The centre of the floor, which was surrounded by coloured railings, was covered with crimson cloth, as were also the tiers of seats on either side of the building, while the oak pillars supporting the roof were almost concealed from view by banners with armorial bearings, wreaths of flowers, flags drooping gracefully from the rafters of the open roof, and other decorations. A daïs, bearing two chairs of state, and covered with a carpet, was placed at the south end of the hall; and above it were displayed the sword and mace of the city, a number of flowers in pots placed on a small platform forming an effective background. The seats in all parts of the hall were occupied principally by elegantly-attired ladies, and as the Prince and Princess of Wales, attended by the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, the aldermen in their robes, and other members of the corporation, entered the hall at ten minutes past three, the assemblage rose to receive them. Their Royal Highnesses gracefully acknowledged the cheers which greeted them on every hand as they walked up the floor and took up their position on the daïs. The band of the 2nd West York Light Infantry, which was stationed in the Guildhall-yard, played the National Anthem, and at its conclusion the Lord Mayor addressed their Royal Highnesses. He said he wished to express the loyal and grateful appreciation of the citizens of the honour conferred upon them by the presence of their Royal Highnesses that day. The annals of York could point to no prouder occasion, but they could not but regret that the Municipal Corporation Act of the year 1855 had deprived them of the power of presenting to any one the freedom of the city, for they would have been proud to have had the privilege of inscribing on the roll of their freemen the name of the Prince of Wales. He begged to introduce to their Royal Highnesses Mr. Alderman Leeman, one of the representatives of the city in Parliament, and the donor of the memorial window. Mr. G. Leeman, M.P., came forward and read an address.

The Prince of Wales replied as follows:—

"Mr. Leeman, Sir,—In recalling the circumstances which gave rise to the idea of commemorating them by this window, I beg you will believe how much my feelings are associated with yours, and how strongly my sympathies are in accordance with all that you have expressed. To no one can the homage which you have paid to the memory of him whose first object was the advantage of the country of his adoption be more grateful than to his son. It is beyond measure gratifying to me to find the late Prince Con-

sort's spirit still animating the exertions of all who have at heart the benefit of their fellow-creatures, and more particularly the improvement—whether in art, science, or a more extended cultivation of the mind—of those classes in favour of whom the voice of duty distinctly calls for the employment of our best energies. To you, Sir, who, in the presentation of this window to the corporation of one of the first cities of the empire, have thus generously striven to perpetuate the memory of my revered father, the best thanks of his son are due. I can assure you that my most ardent desire is to tread in those footsteps which you have held up for imitation, and which I cannot fail to recognize as the best path for his son to walk in. It would have been a great pleasure to the Queen, however deep the emotion which would have accompanied it, to have performed the ceremony which Her Majesty has been pleased to direct me to complete, by unveiling your noble memorial for the admiration of the citizens of York."

His Royal Highness then pulled an ornamental rope which hung above the daïs from the roof, and this communicating with an ingenious mechanical contrivance, the crimson curtains covering the memorial window at the north end of the hall, opposite the daïs, were drawn on one side, and the window was revealed to view, amidst general cheering.

The Prince and Princess attended evening prayer in the cathedral. The ball took place in the evening in the great Assembly Room, supper being served in the Festival Concert Room. The great feature of the proceedings at night were the illuminations; and it would be difficult to say too much regarding the imposing appearance of the city when the Prince and Princess drove through it on their way to the ball. The most imposing spectacle of the night was presented at Ouse-bridge, when the great triumphal arch was completely outlined in fire. A most beautiful effect was produced at the cathedral, in front of which the magnesium light was burnt during the evening. It is difficult to imagine any thing more exquisite than the great western front of the Minster when thus illuminated, all the details of its gorgeous architecture being brought out with marvellous distinctness in the brilliant light of the magnesium wire. A display of fireworks also took place in St. George's-fields.

21. Fatal Collision off the Suffolk Coast.—At twenty minutes to three o'clock this morning, the weather being then exceedingly fine, the steamship "Bruiser," from Hull for London, laden with a general cargo and passengers, was run into amidships by the screw collier steamship "Haswell." Ten of the passengers were either drowned or killed in the collision, and three of the "Bruiser's" crew were also lost.

The "Bruiser" left Hull for London about eleven o'clock on Saturday night. She was a very strong iron-built screw steamer of 506 tons' register, with engine power of 80-horse, and formerly belonged to the Government. She was under the charge of Cap-

tain Charles Hartly, and manned with a crew of sixteen hands (not including steward and stewardess). The number of passengers was about 110, which, with the crew, made 128 souls in all. Many of the saloon passengers had retired to their sleeping-berths as soon as the steamer got under way, and the sleeping-berths in the fore-cabins were also occupied. The bulk of the passengers remained on deck. Some made temporary beds under the seats, others got into the boats, while the larger number promenaded the deck. It was a clear, fine night, the sea was quite smooth, and the weather so clear that every object for miles distant could be plainly observed. Captain Hartly, the master, remained in charge till one o'clock, when he was relieved by the chief mate, Mr. Scott, who took his post on the bridge, Captain Hartly retiring to his cabin. Two men were forward on the look-out, and all was proceeding as favourably as could be desired. The first that was observed of the vessel with which they came in contact was about ten minutes past two o'clock in the morning. They were approaching Aldborough, steaming along some four or five miles off the coast. There was no alteration in the weather, and the light of the vessel was plainly seen. It was a masthead white light; and no other light being observable, it was concluded it was the ordinary light of a vessel at anchor, and that was the opinion up to within a few moments of the collision. The "Bruiser" kept her course, and on nearing the vessel, which proved to be the "Haswell," Captain Chase, from London for Sunderland, under steam and sail, the chief mate signalled the man at the wheel to starboard the helm, which order was obeyed. The distance between the two vessels rapidly shortened, the "Bruiser" continuing her course to starboard, and the result was that in a few moments both steamers came in contact with terrible force. The "Bruiser" was struck on the starboard side, abreast her engine-room, the "Haswell's" bows demolishing her plate down almost to the "Bruiser's" keel. Indeed, so great was her damage, it was miraculous she did not instantly founder. The scene that followed among the passengers was heart-rending. There was a frantic rush to gain the "Haswell," whose bows remained buried in the "Bruiser's" hull. Frightful shrieks and screams filled the air from the poor creatures who were crushed amid the broken woodwork. Captain Hartly and his officers and men strove to extricate them, but were unable to do so. The passengers were got up as fast as possible on the bridge of the steamer, whence they were hauled up hand over hand by the crew of the "Haswell" on board their vessel, while others pulled themselves up by ropes that were thrown to them. In this way nearly the whole of those on board were saved, and it was in but a very brief period, for within nine minutes the "Bruiser" went down in deep water. It is due to Captain Hartly to state that he was the last to quit the sinking ship. His last act was to rescue the stewardess, Mrs. Hyde, who was seen struggling in

the sea as the steamer went from under her. Two or three ladies were also picked up floating away; they had nothing on but their night-dresses, and were much bruised and hurt. A boat was lowered from the schooner "Perseverance," of London, which was near the spot at the time, and it was fortunate enough to pick up three other passengers who were drowning. They were landed safe at Yarmouth. The "Haswell" lowered her three boats, and these rowed about for a long time in the hope of saving those still missing, but they saw none, and the "Haswell," after remaining nearly three hours on the spot, put back to London and landed the "Bruiser's" passengers at Victoria Dock at about five o'clock in the evening. Respecting the "Haswell's" course prior to the accident, it appears she was bound down to Sunderland in ballast. She belongs to the General Steam Iron Screw Collier Company, is of about 500 tons' register, and was manned with a crew of nineteen hands. It was the second mate's watch on deck; Captain Chase and the first mate were both below. They asserted that the "Haswell's" three lights were burning brightly when they went below at two o'clock, and there was nothing to obstruct their being seen. After the collision both the port and starboard lamps were found still alight, though the port light was rather dim, which might have been caused by the concussion. The second mate stated that he never quitted the bridge when he first saw the "Bruiser's" lights some three miles off, and as the steamer came closer he ported his helm, in accordance with the rules laid down, and kept it so, fully expecting the other steamer every moment would do the same. The bows of the "Haswell" were stove completely, and the fore part of her filled with water. He kept the engine still going slowly in order to keep the vessel fixed in the "Bruiser," as the only chance of saving the lives of the passengers. This was done as long as practicable. Then, to prevent the "Haswell" from receiving further damage, the engines were backed astern; and the moment she was clear the "Bruiser" disappeared. Among the passengers who perished were:—A son of the Rev. Mr. Barth, Yarmouth; a woman named Dewhurst, and William Knock, an engineer residing at New Holland, near Grimsby; a woman, name unknown, was asleep in one of the boats; she was fearfully crushed, and could not be got out; she was alive, and went down in the vessel. Two little boys met with a similar fate, as also two foreigners (names unknown). The names of the crew who lost their lives were Robert Bland, George Atkins, and Thomas Mills; the latter two were firemen; they were in their berths asleep on the starboard side of the ship, and must have been literally cut in two by the bows of the "Haswell."

A passenger on board the "Bruiser" gave the following account of the catastrophe:—

"I had gone to bed in the saloon part of the cabin about eleven o'clock on the previous evening, the weather being calm and the

sea smooth. I went to sleep soon after, and remember nothing more until I was suddenly awoke in the morning about three o'clock. The noise which awoke me was as of a strong loud crash, and when I looked out I saw a gentleman who slept in an adjoining berth already on the cabin floor. I hurriedly asked what was the matter, but received only as a reply that something had happened to the ship. I then put some articles of dress on, and at once hurried on deck, where I found the greater portion of the passengers half dressed. Every thing was in the greatest confusion. The captain told the passengers to take to the rigging, as the ship was sinking. A great number of people obeyed the order, but I was so unnerved by the sight that I was unable to mount into the shrouds. The boats, which were suspended to the davits amidships, were both stove in, and there was only a small boat on the quarter-deck that could be launched. In the mean time the ship that had run into us was entangled in the rigging. Her bowsprit extended right across our vessel, and all her crew were in the bows. They lowered ropes to bring the people on board, and by this means some were hauled up, while others managed to scramble on board by the bowsprit or any other means that they could command. In the mean time the captain gave orders that the only remaining boat should be lowered; and the women and children were ordered to be ready to get in. The sea was perfectly calm at the time, and there appeared no difficulty about getting all the passengers transferred from the one vessel to the other. The boat was got down, and all was ready, but some of the women, in the dim twilight of the morning, hesitated about being lowered down the side of the ship into such a small boat; and after endeavouring to persuade a young girl to go in after two sailors, who had taken charge of the boat, and finding she would not go in, I descended by a rope, and was the third person in the boat. I think there were nine or ten of us got in, and we pushed off. We reached the side of the other ship, and got on board, but not too soon. The vessel we had left had been gradually settling down; and although in the hurry, which distracted every one except the captain, we could not see exactly what injury our own ship had received, we discovered when we felt safe that our own vessel was almost cut in two. She was going down rapidly, and half-naked figures of helpless women were seen clinging to the shrouds. Just then a schooner hove in sight, and seeing what had occurred, bore down upon us. She arrived in time to be of service, for she succeeded in taking off several of the unfortunate persons who were left on the wreck. That vessel afterwards proceeded to Yarmouth. I was not among those who were rescued by the schooner, but I went in the other steamer to London. I never shall forget the scene which presented itself when the ship went down. As I have said, there were a great number of persons clinging to the shrouds, and their wailings for help were heard above the bustle and hurry which possessed every one. Orders

were given for all manner of things to be done, and every thing was done to save life which it was possible to do under the circumstances; but above all the shrieking of terrified women was heard, and half-frantic men rushed in every direction, with the hope of rendering assistance to those who were yet on the wreck. The ship into which I had got had steamed astern, so as to clear herself from the sinking vessel; but we had not gone further away than was absolutely necessary for safety. I have said that I got into the small boat, and so reached the other ship; but my time of relating it far exceeds the time in which the occurrence took place. Indeed, so rapidly did one event succeed another, that it is with difficulty I can recollect what took place. One thing I do remember—the sinking of the ship with those on board. All of a sudden she seemed to reel, and then, plunging head foremost beneath the waves, a boiling surge succeeded, and for ever drowned the cries of the unfortunate creatures who had been unavoidably left on the wreck. I afterwards inquired of the captains of the two vessels how the accident occurred, but they replied they were unable to say. Both ships showed lights, and both had men stationed on the look-out, but no signal was given to the helmsman until the collision took place."

A full inquiry was afterwards instituted by the Board of Trade into the cause of the collision, when the evidence adduced by the owners of the respective vessels and the statements (not on oath) of the first mate of the "Bruiser" and the second mate of the "Haswell," the officers who were in actual command of the vessels when the collision took place, were given before Mr. Traill and his nautical assessors, Captains Harris and Baker. After a full consideration of the facts as deposed to, the following judgment was delivered by the Court:—

"After a careful consideration of all the circumstances attending this lamentable collision, and maturely weighing the evidence adduced on behalf of the respective vessels, as well as the evidence of those witnesses who were not interested in the question, the Court have come to the conclusion that John Scott, the chief mate of the 'Bruiser,' committed a grave error in judgment in mistaking the masthead light of the 'Haswell' for the red light of a vessel at anchor, as it appears clearly from the evidence of the mate of the 'Grenadier' that all the lights of the 'Haswell' were distinctly to be seen at a considerable distance a few minutes before the collision. From the evidence of the witnesses of the 'Grenadier,' in corroboration of the officer on the look-out on board the 'Haswell,' the 'Bruiser' was no doubt on the port bow of the 'Haswell,' and, had a better look-out been kept, ought to have seen the red lights of the 'Haswell,' if not before, at all events on passing the 'Grenadier,' and in sufficient time to have ported his helm and have avoided the collision. It was contended on the part of the mate of the 'Bruiser,' that the 'Grenadier' might have intercepted the view of the

side lights of the 'Haswell' until the former had passed the 'Bruiser,' and that the mate might have been confused by the brightness of the lights that had just been passed. The Court cannot assume this to have been the case in the absence of positive proof, and it can only be urged in mitigation of his default, and will no doubt be taken into consideration by the Board of Trade on application for a renewal of his certificate, which, under the very serious circumstances of this case, the Court feel it necessary in the execution of its very responsible duty to cancel; and it is hereby cancelled from this date. The Court have no reason to attribute any portion of the blame of this collision to the officer in charge of the 'Haswell,' and therefore return him his certificate."

The certificate of the chief mate of the "Bruiser" was ordered to be cancelled from the date of the judgment, September 15.

At an inquest held at Aldborough on the body of one of the deceased passengers, the jury returned the following verdict:—

"That Ada Bell came to her death by drowning, through a collision between the 'Haswell' and the 'Bruiser;' such collision having taken place through the culpable negligence of John Scott, the mate of the 'Bruiser.'" The latter was committed for trial.

22. The British Association.—The thirty-sixth session was opened in Nottingham. The Corn Exchange, a building centrally situated and well adapted for the purposes of a reception-room, had been prepared for the occasion.

The next evening, at eight o'clock, there was a large assemblage of members in the theatre to hear the address of Mr. Grove. The proceedings were as usual inaugurated by the exchange of courtesies between Professor Phillips, the late President, and his successor, Mr. Grove, who thereupon took the chair. The learned gentleman then delivered the inaugural address. He commenced by speaking of the surprise which our rude ancestors would feel if they could rise and see our country in its present state. The immense progress which had been made between their time and ours had all been effected step by step, and it would be difficult to trace its causes. He looked upon the growth of Associations such as that with which they were connected as being one great cause of the rapid advance in science. In its annual visits to different localities the Association not only imparted fresh local knowledge to the visitors, but left behind stimulating memories which roused into permanent activity dormant or timid minds. He wished to submit to his audience certain views of what had within a comparatively recent period been accomplished by science, what had been the steps leading to the attained results, and what, as far as he might fairly form an opinion, was the general character pervading modern science. He then proceeded to show that the development of observational, experimental, and even deductive knowledge was either attained by steps so extremely small as to form really a continuous ascent, or, when distinct results, apparently separate from any co-ordinate phenomena, had been attained, that

then, by the subsequent progress of science, intermediate links had been discovered uniting the apparently segregated instances with other more familiar phenomena. The President concluded with the following words:—"We, this evening assembled, ephemera as we are, have learned by transmitted labour to weigh, as in a balance, other worlds larger and heavier than our own, to know the length of their days and years, to measure their enormous distance from us and from each other, to detect and accurately ascertain the influence they have on the movements of our world and on each other, and to discover the substances of which they are composed. May we not fairly hope that similar methods of research to those which have taught us so much, may give our race further information, until problems relating not only to remote worlds, but possibly to organic and sentient beings which may inhabit them—problems which it might now seem wildly visionary to enunciate—may be solved by progressive improvements in the modes of applying observation and experiment, induction and deduction?"

The following day the meetings of the various sections commenced, and were continued for the usual period. Some of the papers read and the discussions which took place upon them were of unusual interest. The addresses of Sir Samuel Baker, recently returned from his great discovery of the Nile sources, and of Mr. Palgrave, the enterprising explorer of Arabia, were among the most attractive of the communications made to the Association. The attendance of members was very large, and the excursions to various places of interest in the vicinity of Nottingham afforded much satisfaction.

24. Public Entry of the Lord-Lieutenant into Dublin.—The arrival in state of the Marquis of Abercorn, the new Lord-Lieutenant, had been for some time past looked forward to with special interest by all connected with Viceregal and fashionable life in Ireland. His Excellency, with the Marchioness of Abercorn, the Ladies Georgina, Albertha, and Maude, and Lords George, Frederick, and Ernest Hamilton, with Viscount Hamilton, M.P., Lord C. J. Hamilton, M.P., and Admiral Hamilton, left London for Holyhead by special train on the 23rd, on the night of which day, at about 10 p.m., they embarked on board the City of Dublin Company's Royal Mail steamer "Munster," Captain Rogers commanding. This vessel, having steam up then as a special steamer, left at once for Kingstown Harbour, where she arrived with the Viceregal party at about 2 a.m. The vessel remained at moorings till 11.30 a.m., when she steamed out of harbour in order to come alongside the Carlisle landing-pier with greater ease. Precisely at noon the "Munster" reappeared at the mouth of Kingstown Harbour, and almost instantaneously the yards of Her Majesty's ship "Royal George" were manned, long lines of gay-coloured bunting run up from taffrail to trucks, and a Royal salute thundered forth from her heavy main-deck guns.

The cannon at the Pier-head and Pigeon-house forts also sent forth volumes of smoke under similar salutes as she slowly crossed the harbour to the landing-stage. The numerous shore establishments and vessels in harbour became in a moment bright with flags, while a vast crowd of spectators occupied every "point of vantage" near the place of landing, whence the spectacle of the day might be seen comprehensively. The weather was fine in the extreme, and set off to advantage the picturesque shores of Dublin Bay, the villas and residences, the new palatial hotel at Kingstown, the richly-wooded lands backing the town, and in the distance the graceful line of the Dublin and Wicklow hills, in combination presenting a sea-side landscape not easily to be excelled for beauty and variety of scenery and effect.

The arrival platform of the Carlisle pier was covered with crimson cloth, and a select portion of it had been set apart for those officially attending the reception. Here a guard of honour, two companies, with the band of the Coldstream Guards, were drawn up, under command of Captain Buller, the Hon. Lieutenant Legge, and Lieutenant Ramsden. Among the chief of those officially or semi-officially present on the pier were Dean Magee, of the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle; Captain Miller, R.N., Her Majesty's ship "Royal George;" Inspecting-Commander Roache, R.N., Captain Hutchinson, Harbour Master; Captain Wilcox, R.N., Mr. W. Lefanu, Harbour and Board of Works Commissioner; Mr. Hornsby, Secretary to the Board of Works in Ireland; Lord James Butler, Captain the Hon. C. Edgcumbe, A.D.C., Lieutenant the Hon. Mr. Welsley, A.D.C., Colonel Foster, and other members of the household; Colonel Taylor, M.P., Mr. I. T. Hamilton, M.P., Mr. Verner, M.P., High Sheriff, County Dublin; Mr. M'Dermott, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Allen, city magistrates; some of the directors of the Wicklow line, with their secretary and officers; and the chairmen of the Kingstown, Black Rock, and Dalkey Town Commissioners.

Precisely at twelve o'clock the "Munster" came alongside the landing-pier, and His Excellency having left a purse for distribution among the crew of the "Munster," landed amid the continued roar of the cannonade in saluting, the strains of the National Anthem played by the band of the Coldstreams, and the cheers of those immediately near him on the reserved portion of the pier. Entering the Royal carriage of the Wicklow line, His Excellency and the Viceregal party and staff left at once by a special train, drawn by an engine gaily decorated with evergreens and banners, Royal salutes being again fired as the train moved along the short line connecting Kingstown with Dublin.

On arriving at the Westland-row terminus of this line, His Excellency, who wore the stars of the Orders of the Garter and St. Patrick, was received by the Lord Mayor of Dublin and some twenty members of the Corporation. There were also present awaiting His Excellency's arrival, Lord Naas, Lord Strathnairn,

the Hon. Charles Fowler Bourke, Mr. Robert Richard Wingfield, Mr. Richard Martin (High Sheriff for the City), Hon. A. G. Stewart, William Dargan, J.P., D.L. (Chairman of the Dublin and Wicklow Railway Company), Dr. Alley (Chaplain to the King of the Belgians), Mr. John Wilson Gray, Major-General Cunyngham, and a large military staff.

The Lord Mayor, in presenting the keys of the city, according to prescriptive custom, said,—

"May it please your Excellency,—As chief magistrate, and on behalf of the citizens of Dublin, I bid your Excellency welcome to this country, and beg to offer our congratulations on your assuming the high office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The citizens of Dublin have from time immemorial regarded with special interest the distinguished office which your Lordship this day assumes; and in presenting you with the keys of our ancient and loyal city permit me to express on behalf of those citizens their earnest hope that your Excellency's government may be marked with signal success in promoting the social and material prosperity of Ireland."

The Lord-Lieutenant in reply said,—

"My Lord Mayor,—As the representative of Her Majesty, I thank you sincerely for your expressions of loyal attachment to the Throne. I cordially accept the keys of your ancient and loyal city, and in returning them to you I may say that I know no more worthy hands in which they could be placed."

Mounting a splendid charger outside the railway terminus, the Lord-Lieutenant, preceded by a body of cavalry, the Lord Mayor, and civic officers, and surrounded by a brilliant staff, among whom Lord Strathnairn, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, was conspicuous, and followed by a *cortége* of State carriages, proceeded through the principal streets of Dublin to the Castle, cavalry bands being interspersed throughout the procession. The streets were lined with military, and flags innumerable waved from the chief residences and public buildings on the line of route. Military bands were stationed at various open positions, such as College-green, and performed "God save the Queen," and "Patrick's Day," and various popular and national airs. Crowds thronged the streets and occupied every available window, scaffolding, or housetop on the line of the procession, and the cheering was warm and general, the reception on the whole being decidedly satisfactory.

Entering the Presence Chamber of Dublin Castle, His Excellency received the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Clonbrock, Colonel Stewart Wood, C.B., Inspector-General of Constabulary; Viscount de Vesci, Lord Castlemaine, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Dr. Nugent, Inspector-General of Lunatic Asylums; Sir James M. Stronge, M.P., the Hon. George Handcock, the Dean of St. Patrick's, W. Conolly, M.P., Henry W. Crofton, Robert R. Wingfield, Colonel Miller, Mr. John

George, M.P., Richard Martin, High Sheriff, City of Dublin; Edward Blackburne, John Lentaigne, Inspector-General of Prisons; Ralph S. Cusack, Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper; William Donnelly, C.B., Registrar-General; James Nagle, Clerk of the Crown, Court of Queen's Bench; Sir Edward Grogan, Rev Charles Grogan, Rev. Mr. Murray, Chaplain Convict Prisons.

After conversing for some time, the proceedings of the reception closed, and the Lord-Lieutenant and his family, at a later hour, left for the Viceregal Lodge, Phœnix-park.

On the 25th a Viceregal pageant was presented, which proved not a little pleasing to the Dublin people and strangers who were present in or near the Irish capital on autumnal tours. The Lord-Lieutenant proceeded in state from the Viceregal Lodge, Phœnix-park, at noon to the Castle for the purpose specially of receiving the addresses of the Dublin University and the Dublin Corporation, the reception taking place in the time-honoured Throne-room, which has so often been the scene of Viceregal ceremonies.

26. GREAT FIRE IN BLOOMSBURY.—Early this morning a fire occurred on the premises of Messrs. Holland and Hannen, builders in Duke-street, Bloomsbury, destroying much valuable property, with materials and machinery, and alarming the whole surrounding neighbourhood in the dead hours of the night. The premises, consisting of saw-mills and workshops in which almost every branch of the building trade was carried on, lay in a sort of nook between the city end of New Oxford-street and Broad-street, St. Giles's, with a principal entrance in Duke-street, Museum-street, which runs at right angles with it. The main building was disposed in three floors, the two upper of which were used as joiners' shops, and on the lower one were blacksmiths', wheelwrights', painters', and other shops and offices, and the saw-mills. There were about thirty-four joiners' benches in each of the two upper floors, at which nearly seventy men in the whole worked, and about forty benches in an adjoining building, employing about that number more carpenters. Much of the work, and especially the sawing, mortising, and tenoning, was done by machinery, and the steam-engine which gave motion to it all was housed in the basement. The business in its various departments gave employment to 130 or 140 men altogether, about ninety of whom were carpenters and joiners, and the rest were chiefly plasterers, plumbers, painters, engineers, blacksmiths, and wheelwrights. The greater part of these were for a time thrown out of work; and to make matters worse, their tools were all destroyed, which, in the case of the joiners especially, were of considerable value, ranging from 4*l.* or 5*l.* a man, to as much as 50*l.* or 60*l.* in some cases of the more skilled artisans. Some of the workmen had been thirty and forty years in the employment of the firm. About twenty-six years ago the place was destroyed by fire. The firm was then "Winsland and Holland," but of late years the business has been conducted by the present proprietors, Messrs. Hol-

land and Hannen. They have also extensive premises in the Belvidere-road, Lambeth, with a wharf and frontage towards the Thames.

The fire broke out shortly after midnight, and burnt with amazing rapidity. A workman employed on the premises passed the place a few minutes after twelve o'clock on his way home, and there was then no visible sign of fire; but by half-past twelve they were in a blaze. Three powerful steam fire-engines were soon on the spot, and others followed afterwards, with some hand engines, and the proper complement of men to each; but, in spite of all the exertions of the brigade and of the material appliances at their command, the building in which the fire originated, with all its valuable contents, was almost wholly destroyed, for nothing but the bare walls remain, and an adjacent house, in which the foreman of the works resided, was burnt out. Some houses in Museum-street which caught fire were also a good deal injured. At the outbreak of the fire there were nine or ten horses in an adjoining stable, but these were fortunately saved harmless, as was, likewise, a chained watch-dog, a favourite with every body connected with the place. For hours a large distillery situated on the west side of the burning premises was in imminent peril, and all the energies of the brigade were wisely directed to warding off the fire from it—happily with complete success; for had such an establishment caught fire, situated as it is in a crowded neighbourhood and stored with inflammable materials, the consequences must have been disastrous almost beyond conception. A building in the occupation of Messrs. Holland and Hannen, outside the entrance to their principal factory, and used as joiners' workshops, was also saved; but with that exception the whole place was destroyed, with large quantities of Spanish mahogany and other valuable timber, and a great deal of cabinet and joiners' work, finished and unfinished, especially a grand oak staircase, elaborately carved in some parts, which was intended for Campden-house.

Happily no lives were lost, but the foreman and his family, who resided in a house close to the premises, had a narrow escape. The fire burnt with inconceivable fury and rapidity, from the quantities of dry wood and other combustible materials with which it was fed, and threw a flood of light over the whole metropolis, and for miles round. During the whole of the next day a number of the fire brigade, with powerful engines, were engaged in throwing volumes of water over the ruins to cool them; and the divisional police were on duty keeping the crowds who collected about the spot out of danger.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Opening of the Cannon-street Station.—An event long looked for by proprietors of the South-Eastern Railway took place, viz., the opening of the Cannon-street Extension, providing a communication with Charing-cross and London-bridge, and through it with the whole of the South-Eastern system. The bridge across the Thames approaching the station has five lines of rails, the curves branching east and west to Charing-cross and London-bridge have three lines, and in the station there are nine lines of rails and five spacious platforms, one of them having a double carriage road for exit and entrance. The signal-box at the entrance to the Cannon-street station extends from one side of the bridge to the other, and has a range of sixty-seven levers, coloured yellow for distance signals, red for in-trains on the east line, blue for out, and black for points. Each lever is numbered on the face and on the top, and the work of each is further indicated by the lettering on the brass plate which runs along the front of the lever frame. The station presents a very imposing appearance. The segmental roof is wider in a single span and longer than the roof of any other building in London. At the inner corners of the station there are to the right the station-master's offices, and adjoining them the bullion office. At the opposite corner there are spacious refreshment-rooms, the booking-office for local traffic, and Messrs. Smith and Son's bookstall at appropriate distances on the edge of the wide cross platform at the inner end of the station. The principal booking-offices and waiting-rooms, with the entrance and exit to and from the station platforms are, as at Charing-cross, on and through the ground-floor of the hotel, which at Cannon-street is reached by a long range of easy steps, the breasts of which are of strong glass, by which light reaches the basement. Engine-sheds, turn-tables for engine and tender, sidings, and other conveniences occupy a large space near this junction. The hotel, through which the passengers have to pass to reach the station, as at Charing-cross, and which forms the front to Cannon-street, is not yet finished; but when it is, it will present a noble specimen of architecture, after the designs of Mr. Barry. The various booking-offices and waiting rooms are replete with accommodation, and arrangements have been made for the reception of about 20,000,000 passengers yearly.

8. Recovery and Completion of the Atlantic Cable of 1865.—The following telegram was received by Reuter's Telegram Company (Limited), at 11.20. p.m., from Mr. R. A. Glass, manag-

ing director of the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company (Limited) :—

"Valentia, Sept. 8.

"Following received from Heart's Content, through the 1865 cable at 9.20 p.m. :

"'It is with the greatest pleasure I have now to report to you the successful completion of the Atlantic cable of 1865.'"

This result, however, was not achieved until after much persevering labour and several unsuccessful attempts to secure the prize, as will appear from the following brief recapitulation of the operations which took place between the 10th of August and the 2nd of September :—

"The 'Albany,' with the 'Terrible,' reached the position of the end of the cable of 1865 on August 10, and had grappled and buoyed the cable in lat. 51° 27′ 30″ N., lon. 38° 50′ W., but, the chain breaking, they lost the rope and the cable. On the 12th the 'Great Eastern' and 'Medway' reached the above position. At midnight on the 15th, in lat. 51° 26′ N., lon. 38° 37′ W., the 'Great Eastern' had raised the cable 500 fathoms, but in buoying it she lost the rope and cable. On the 17th the 'Great Eastern' grappled the cable at 1.55 a.m., and raised the bight to the bow sheave, in lat. 51° 29′ N., lon. 38° 48′ W., when, in attempting to bring it on board, it parted, at 10.50 a.m., the sea being too rough for the boats to operate. On the 19th the 'Great Eastern' grappled the cable in lat. 51° 31′ 30″ N., lon. 38° 40′ W., and buoyed the bight at 9.30 p.m., the cable being raised 86 fathoms from the bottom. On the same day the 'Albany' grappled the cable in lat. 51° 29′ 30″ N., lon. 38° 40′ 30″ W., but cleared it again at 8 a.m. On the 26th the 'Medway' grappled it in lat. 51° 31′ N., lon. 38° 40′ W., close to the bight, but at 5 p.m. the cable parted, the 'Medway' having raised it to 1,000 fathoms. At 11 p.m. on the 26th the 'Albany' grappled it, about lat. 51° 31′ N., lon. 38° 40′ 40″ W., raised it to the surface, and buoyed it. On the 27th the 'Great Eastern' secured it about buoy with the bight of the cable, and brought on board two miles, attached to it in lat. 51° 42′ N., lon. 38° 24′ W., being carried this distance by the draught. On August 29 changed grappling to lat. 51° 52′ 30″ N., lon. 36° 3′ 30″ W. On September 1 she grappled the cable, raised it to 860 fathoms from the surface, and buoyed it. On the 1st the 'Great Eastern' grappled the cable again about three miles westward of the buoy, and the 'Medway' also two miles westward of the 'Great Eastern,' and brought the bight on board. At 3.19 a.m. on the 2nd the splice was completed, and the paying out commenced at 6.45 a.m."

The daily journal of the operations of the ships composing the telegraph squadron in raising the lost cable of 1865 was soon afterwards made public. It is a record in which heroic perseverance, extraordinary mechanical ingenuity, and able seamanship vie with each other in exciting admiration. From the three

weeks' diary of the proceedings kept by the Secretary of the Anglo-American Company, the following account of the last successful act of grappling with and raising the lost cable is extracted:—

"*Sunday Morning, Sept.* 2 (3.45).—We have succeeded! Untiring energy and perseverance have conquered all the difficulties. The Atlantic Telegraph Cable of 1865 has been raised to the surface, and in a few minutes afterwards communication established with Valentia. It is impossible adequately to describe the enthusiastic joy which prevails on board the ship at the present moment. Those men who by their skill have achieved this great success deserve well of their country. The grapnel went down for the fifteenth time at 10 a.m. Save that there was a long swell, as there always is in the Atlantic, the sea was like a mill-pond, and as we saw the grapnel go down we could not help remarking to each other that the circumstances under which we were going to make another effort to recover the cable were as favourable as they could possibly be. In fact, it was felt that if we did not succeed on such a day as this, there was very little chance of our succeeding at all. The buoys had all been placed accurately to mark our position, the 'Medway' was signalled to, to grapple, and we were drifting as fairly for the line of the cable as if our course had been marked by a line on the water. From 3.45 p.m., when we began to haul up, the strain on the dynamometer varied from 9 to 11. After dinner we received a signal from the 'Medway' that she, having hooked the cable, had hauled it up about 500 fathoms. We told her to heave up as rapidly as possible, and, in fact, to break the cable, so that we might have the strain taken off our portion of it, and so increase our chance of raising it to the surface. To the eastward the effect would be produced by the bight we lifted the day before, and buoyed on the bight buoy. The picking up went on with its usual certainty and precision, and by twelve o'clock (midnight) the bows of the ship were crowded, not only by those actually on watch, but by nearly all the hands, who turned out to see the result of this attempt to recover the cable. By this time the boats of the 'Albany' and 'Medway' rowed up under our bows, not so much with a view to assisting in putting stoppers on the cable, but to be there in case any of the men who were lowered in bowlines over the bow should fall into the water during their perilous work. Precisely at 12.50 this morning the cable made its appearance upon the grapnel; and save when the voice of Captain Anderson or Mr. Canning was heard giving an order, one could almost hear a pin drop, such was the perfect silence which prevailed. No excitement, no cheering, as there was on the day when we lifted it before—all was calm and quiet, the men scarcely spoke above their breath. The cable hands, having had the bowlines slipped over them, were lowered down over the bows, and placed huge hempen stoppers on the cable, which was speedily attached to 5-inch ropes, one being placed to protect the eastward

side of the bight, and the other the westward. This took the best part of three-quarters of an hour. It was then found that the bight was so firmly caught in the springs of the grapnel, that one of the brave hands who put on the stoppers was sent lower down to the grapnel, and with hammer and marlin-spike and other implements the rope was ultimately freed from the tenacious gripe of the flukes. The signal being given to haul up, the western end of the bight was cut with a saw, and grandly and majestically the cable rose up the frowning bows of the 'Great Eastern,' slowly passing round the sheave at the bow, and then over the wheels on the fore part of the deck. Even then there was no excitement, but now men were seen to cross the platform and to touch the rope, in order to feel satisfied that success had been achieved. The greatest possible care had to be taken by Mr. Canning and his assistants to secure the cable by putting stoppers on between the V-wheel and the pick-up machinery, and to watch the progress of the grapnel rope and shackles round the drum before it received the cable itself. This occupied a considerable time; and now it became evident that ere long the end would be passed down as far aft as the electrician's room. There awaiting its arrival were Mr. Gooch, M.P., Mr. Cyrus Field, Captain Hamilton, Mr. Canning, Mr. Clifford, Professor Thompson, Mr. Deane, and others. At last Mr. Willoughby Smith, the chief electrician, made his appearance at the door with the end of the cable in his hand, and the connexions having been made, he sat down opposite the instrument. A breathless silence prevailed. Not a word was spoken, all eyes being directed upon the experienced operator, whose expression of countenance indicated the deep anxiety he felt in making the test. At the expiration of some ten minutes he relieved our suspense by stating that, as far as he had then gone, he believed the tests to be perfect; but another minute had scarcely elapsed when he took off his hat and gave a cheer, which was lustily taken up in the room; and having been heard outside, it was echoed from stem to stern of the ship with a heartiness which every Englishman can appreciate. A rocket or two having been fired from the ship to announce to our convoy that we had succeeded, the crews of the 'Albany' and 'Medway' answered our cheer enthusiastically. Mr. Canning at once sent a message to Mr. Glass, the managing director of the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, expressing the pleasure he felt at speaking to him through the cable of 1865, and the operator at Valentia telegraphed back his congratulations."

The concluding part of the journal is as follows:—

"*Monday, Sept.* 3.—At 9.15 a.m. yesterday, the splice having been made between the picked-up and that in our main tank, the critical operation of slipping from the bow to the paying-out machinery aft was completed. It was an anxious time. As the first bight was let go, eyes were strained to see the next drop clear, and so rapidly was the cable passed along the starboard side that

one was obliged to run at a fast pace to see it go to the stern and on to the paying-out wheel. At 9.22 the paddles were started ahead, and we commenced to pay out in 1900 fathoms. By noon we had paid out 28·96 miles, and were in lat. 51° 56′ 30″ N., lon. 36° 42′ W., having given for slack 29·91 per cent. [*Sept.* 2. On receiving the Greenwich time direct, through the recovered cable, as formerly, Staff-Commander Moriarty found that the mean accumulated error (in 25 days) of the remaining four chronometers, by Mr. Barraud, of Cornhill, required a correction of six-tenths of a second only.] All went on well during the day. Several messages were sent from the ship to England and Newfoundland, and we got the current news from home. We learnt after dinner that Captain Commerell had arrived in the 'Terrible' at St. John's at noon, and we were also informed by Mr. Kerr, commanding the 'Lily,' that he and the 'Margaretta Stevenson' would meet us at the rendezvous at the entrance of Trinity Bay. Orders were sent to the agents, Brooking and Co., of St. John's, to bring stores for the 'Great Eastern' to Heart's Content, and Mr. Wyatt, of that house, replied that he would be there on Saturday morning. And so, being in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, we talked to Valentia, Valentia to Newfoundland, Newfoundland to Valentia, and Valentia back to us, a distance of nearly 5500 miles. It was only this morning at three o'clock that we were reminded of our old enemy 'Foul-fluke.' A part in the coil brought away the next turn with it, but before it could get up in the 'eye' it was held back by the watch in the tank. The order was given to stop the engines, but it was all right before the paddles and screw ceased to revolve. This occurred almost at the precise spot where the cable was lost last year.

"*Thursday, Sept.* 6.—A congratulatory telegram came to Mr. Cyrus Field from Mr. Low, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, requesting him to send a message to be read at a meeting of that body held that day. It was thought right to send a reply in the name of the directors on board, who have accompanied the expedition.

"*Saturday, Sept.* 8.—It was not until six p.m. yesterday that the signalman made out the smoke of the 'Terrible' on the horizon, and on coming on deck after dinner we saw her plain enough, and close near her the 'Margaretta Stevenson.' At eight o'clock a boat was sent from the latter vessel with Mr. Kerr, R.N., who was to pilot us up the bay, and the 'Terrible' sent a boat with our letters, which had arrived by the last mail. By ten p.m. we saw the lights of Catalina and Bonavista on the northern shores of the entrance to Trinity Bay, and Bacalieu on its southern side. It continued calm all night. This morning a glorious sunrise welcomed us into Trinity Bay, whose broad waters were as still and placid as a lake, and as the morning light became more distinct the whole cable squadron were well together. Her Majesty's ship 'Terrible,' Her Majesty's ship 'Lily,' with his Excellency the Governor of New-

foundland and suite on board, the 'Medway,' the 'Margaretta Stevenson,' and the 'Hawk,' formerly Her Majesty's ship 'Plover,' from St. John's, with a large party on board, joined the fleet, and we proceeded on until six o'clock uninterruptedly. At that hour the wheels of the 'Great Eastern' were suddenly stopped, the alarm of a 'fault' in the cable having been made from the electrician's room while a message from Valentia was being received; the spot of light disappeared from the scale of the galvanometer, indicating 'dead earth.' Instructions were speedily given, and the cable was cut immediately forward of the paying-out machinery, and tested through a wire leading to the testing-room; the result of which was a declaration on Mr. Smith's part that the fault was not far off. He next tested the sea end, and, very much to his own gratification, as well as to the joy of every one on board the ship, it was reported to be perfect. Valentia, upon being called, gave an immediate reply. Communication was now stopped in order to make a splice with another length of cable in the after tank, and in about half an hour it was completed, and the ship on her way up Trinity Bay, Heart's Content being distant thirteen miles. The discovery of this fault was instantaneous, and showed the great practical utility of Mr. Willoughby Smith's testing arrangement.

"We went on paying out until 2.20 Greenwich time, or 10.45 ship's time, and shortly afterwards the 'Terrible's' paddle-box boats, under the command of Lieut. Curtis, First Lieutenant, and Lieut. Arundell, were under the stern of the 'Great Eastern.' The cable was then cut and handed into their charge to pass to the 'Medway,' on board of which was coiled the shore end. The big ship, having now completed her work, steamed slowly into the harbour of Heart's Content, followed by the 'Terrible,' 'Lily,' and 'Margaretta Stevenson.' The splice took about two hours to make on board the 'Medway,' and at 3 p.m., ship's time, she had arrived in the harbour, and anchored opposite the telegraph-house.

"The shore end was now passed to the boats of the 'Terrible' under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Canning, chief engineer, Mr. Gifford, and Messrs. Temple and Loudons. Shortly after four o'clock it was landed amid the enthusiastic cheers of those who were gathered about the beach, a Royal salute being fired from the 'Terrible,' 'Lily,' and 'Great Eastern.' Passed up from the shore in the trench leading to the telegraph-house, the end was speedily handed in to the instrument-room, and the connexions made. The cable crew were loud in their congratulations to their chief, Mr. Canning; and he and his able assistant, Mr. Clifford, had to submit to the process of being chaired around the large space adjoining the telegraph-house, where the end was coiled. Mr. Field received a similar honour. The Governor, the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland, Mr. Gooch, Captain Hamilton, Mr. Field, and Mr. Deane were in the operator's room; and the first message having been sent and an answer received from

Valentia, a loud cheer was given by those assembled there, his Excellency and the Bishop saying a few words appropriate to the occasion.

"An address of congratulation from the Commercial Society of St. John's was presented to Captain Anderson, Mr. Canning, Mr. Gouch, Mr. Field, and the principal executive officers engaged in the cable expedition, to which a suitable reply was given, and a large party of ladies and gentlemen were entertained on board the ship. All night Mr. Laws, of Mr. Latimer Clark's electrical staff, was engaged in testing the cable, Mr. Latimer Clark himself being similarly occupied at the Irish end. Mr. Gooch sent the following message to Lord Stanley:—'Mr. Gooch has the pleasure to inform Lord Stanley that the cable of 1865 was recovered from the bottom of the Atlantic on the 2nd of this month, and has been safely landed to-day in Heart's Content, the recovered cable being in the most perfect condition. He also takes this opportunity of saying how much all men engaged in the undertaking were gratified on receiving a newspaper to-day to see the kind reference made to their efforts in Her Majesty's Speech on the closing of Parliament.'

"*Sunday, Sept.* 9.—This morning Mr. Gooch and Captain Hamilton went ashore to the telegraph-house, and the test messages required by the contract between the Anglo-American Telegraph Company and the Atlantic Telegraph Company were sent. This official act being completed, the line was formally handed over to the Anglo-American Telegraph Company. The blue Peter was now sent up to the fore of the 'Great Eastern.' At 3 p.m. we were under way, amid the cheers of the 'Terrible' and 'Medway,' repeated over and over again. Mr. Cyrus Field, on leaving the ship for the latter vessel, in which he goes to lay the cable from Cape Ray to Cape North, was heartily cheered by the whole crew. All on board looked forward with happiness to meet their friends in England, and felt proud at having been identified with an enterprise which will ever be memorable in the history of the world."

11. Great Fire in the Minories.—Early this morning an alarming fire occurred in the depôt of the London and North-Western Railway Company, situated in Haydon-square, Minories. It continued during the rest of the morning, and a great part of the day, and up to 10 o'clock p.m. it was not wholly extinguished. The premises of the railway company there are very extensive, and cover a large area of ground. They consist of lofty and commodious warehouses with a direct communication on the one hand with the Blackwall Railway, over which the London and North-Western have running powers, and with Aldgate High-street on the other. There immense quantities of commodities and goods of various kinds, but principally wool, spirits, and ale, are constantly stored or *in transitu*, and between 200 and 300 men are employed about the place. Messrs. Allsop, the ale-brewers, have an exten-

sive depôt there, but the premises for the most part are occupied by wool merchants in a large way of business, the chief of whom are Messrs. Gooch and Cousens and Messrs. Brown and Eagle. Hydraulic power is extensively used in raising and lowering ponderous trucks from one story to another, and is also made easily applicable in cases of fire, against which elaborate arrangements are made. The fire originated in the top floor of a lofty range of warehouses, at the back of Somerset-street, in the occupation of Messrs. Gooch and Cousens, and stored with wool. It burnt both upwards and downwards, and eventually communicated with a bonded warehouse of the London and North-Western Railway Company on a lower story, containing, at a rough calculation, between 300 and 400 casks of whisky, most of which it destroyed. Thence it extended right across the goods station, burning out one warehouse after another, chiefly stored with wool, and reducing them to ruin. The fire was first discovered shortly after midnight, and Mr. Fogarty, the line foreman, who lives hard by, being soon upon the spot, what appliances the company had there for extinguishing fire were brought speedily into action. The intelligence was quickly communicated to the head-quarters of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade in Watling street, and thence telegraphed to some of the subsidiary stations. To others of the stations the fire spread its own alarm by the blaze it created, and the men of the brigade there turned out voluntarily, without waiting for a formal summons. Eventually from sixteen to twenty engines, twelve of which were powerful steamers, arrived at the scene, with about 80 or 100 of the brigade, and by this combined force of men and means the fire, though not arrested until it had caused great havoc, was in the end confined to a comparatively limited range of the extensive premises. As the roofs fell in one after another, the flames shot high into the air, lighting up the whole city. Occasionally a floor gave way, and with it a ponderous iron girder and large masses of blazing wool and other commodities fell with an alarming crash. When the fire reached the spirit warehouse the whisky casks burst one after the other with a slight explosion, and the liquor burnt with a blue flame. Quantities of saltpetre were promptly removed beyond the action of the flames, or the consequences might have been still more disastrous. For hours the whole neighbourhood, which is thickly populated, was kept in a high state of alarm, for the place was known to contain great quantities of inflammable material, such as hog's-lard, tallow, and oil, and there was an apprehension that petroleum *in transitu* might be among the combustible substances. The total loss must have been very large indeed, though the salvage, especially of wool, was considerable.

12. Doncaster Races.—The St. Leger.—Yorkshire's great sporting festival was this year attended with the usual amount of excitement and *éclat* inseparably connected with it. The weather rather detracted from the brilliancy of the assemblage on the Town

Moor, but the masses were there in their usual numbers. That wonderful, never-ending procession to the course, which begins in a thin dark line at some indefinite hour in the morning, and swells to its full volume soon after noon, was there on this occasion. The steadiest downpour and the most broiling sun have never in the least affected it, and save when the cotton famine and hard times weighed down the industry of the north, there has been no diminution in the crowds which the great towns of the county have sent forth to do honour to the St. Leger.

The contest about which so much anxiety was felt, and on which such large sums were staked, eventuated as follows:—

The St. Leger Stakes of 25 sovs. each, for 3-yr.-old colts, 8st. 10lb.; fillies, 8st. 5lb. The owner of the second horse to receive 100 sovs. out of the stakes. St. Leger Course. 238 subs.

Mr. R. Sutton's b. c. Lord Lyon, by Stockwell (Custance)	1
Lord Ailesbury's ch. c. Savernake, by Stockwell (Challoner)	2
Lord Exeter's b. c. Knight of the Crescent (Norman)	3
Mr. Watt's ro. c. Strathconan, by Newminster (J. Snowden)	4
Mr. Bowes's b. c. Westwick, by Stockwell (Fordham)	0
Mr. W. C. Brown's Harefield, by Defiance or Barrowby (J. Mann)	0
Lord Glasgow's b. c. by Young Melbourne, dam by Teddington out of Maid of Masham (T. French)	0
Sir W. Booth's br. c. Emigrant, by Warlock (Lynch)	0
Mr. Graham's ch. c. Caithness, by St. Alban's (Parry)	0
Lord Zetland's br. c. Podargus, by Newminster (Osborne)	0
Mr. Savile's Sealskin (J. Goater)	0

Rustic and Repulse were struck out at 2.10 p.m.

Betting.—7 to 4 on Lord Lyon, 9 to 2 agst Savernake, 100 to 7 each agst Strathconan and Westwick, 25 to 1 agst Knight of the Crescent, 40 to 1 each agst. Podargus and Caithness, and 2000 to 15 agst the Maid of Masham colt.

The usual parade past the Stand having been performed under the command of Mr. M'George, the horses speedily met at the post, and were immediately despatched on their way. When fairly in their places the running was taken up by the Maid of Masham colt, lying on the left of his horses, having the favourite on his whip-hand, the pair being followed wide, on their right, by Knight of the Crescent and Westwick, close in whose rear were Caithness, Strathconan, and Savernake, and to these succeeded Hare-

field and Emigrant, Sealskin being a long way in the rear of every thing. They ran thus to the foot of the hill, ascending which Emigrant dropped back, followed as they disappeared from sight by Podargus, the two being hopelessly in the rear as they came along the Woodside. Lord Glasgow's colt maintained his place, closely pressed by Lord Lyon to the rifle butts, when they were joined by Caithness, who followed the pair to the Red-house, where the former was beaten, leaving the favourite and Caithness side by side with the lead, Knight of the Crescent lying third, Savernake fourth, with Strathconan and Westwick next, the Maid of Masham colt at the same time gradually dropping into the rear with the beaten horses, who at this period exhibited a lengthened tail. Caithness was seen to give way as they came fairly into the straight, followed, as they crossed the road before reaching the distance, by Knight of the Crescent, which left Savernake in attendance upon Lord Lyon, the pair being a couple of lengths in advance of Lord Exeter's colt, close up with whom came Strathconan. On reaching the distance, Challoner, who had ridden his horse with great tenderness, brought up Savernake, and, getting to the favourite's head half-way down, the pair came on locked together amid the breathless silence of the vast multitude, and finished one of the closest and most exciting contests seen here for many years, by a head in favour of Lord Lyon, whose owner was met with vociferous cheering on the number 15 being hoisted on the telegraph. Knight of the Crescent finished third, four lengths in their rear; a similar distance separated the latter from Strathconan. Caithness was fifth, Westwick sixth, the Maid of Masham colt seventh, and Sealskin next. Podargus, Harefield, and Emigrant were beaten off a long way, and did not pass the post.

20. Inauguration of the Queen's Statue at Aberdeen.—The Prince of Wales presided at the inauguration of a fine marble statue of the Queen. The situation chosen for the statue is at the corner of St. Nicholas-street, right opposite the top of Market-street, and within two hundred yards of the Post-office, having for a background the Town and County Bank. The subscriptions to procure the statue were collected immediately after the inauguration of the statue of the Prince Consort by Her Majesty in October, 1863. A thousand pounds was soon obtained, not a few of the subscribers being working men. Baron Marochetti's statue of the Prince Consort is of metal, and represents his late Royal Highness seated in a chair in the dress of a field-marshal. The work now unveiled has a more effective appearance; the artist, Mr. Alexander Brodie, a local sculptor, has represented the Queen standing, bearing the sceptre in her right hand, while with the other hand she clasps the folds of a tartan plaid. The drapery is skilfully managed. The figure of Her Majesty stands 8 ft. 6 in. in height, is cut from a block of Sicilian marble, and is placed on a richly-polished pedestal over ten feet in height. The arrival of the Prince of Wales was the signal for a hearty round of cheers.

The Prince, who was dressed in Highland costume, on alighting acknowledged the compliment by frequently bowing to the spectators. His Royal Highness was accompanied by General Knollys, Colonel Keppel, and Dr. Robertson, Her Majesty's commissioner at Balmoral. Some disappointment was felt that the Prince was not accompanied by the Princess.

In accordance with a unanimous resolution of the Town Council, the freedom of the city was conferred upon the Prince. When the diploma of this honour had been read, it was fastened by a riband of the Highland cap of the Prince. The Provost then proceeding, said:—

"The manner in which this diploma is handed to your Royal Highness is in accordance with time-honoured usage. I now have the honour to welcome your Royal Highness as the youngest burgess of *bon accord*, in memory of your illustrious father, and to a long list of honourable names standing on the roll."

The Prince in reply said:—

"My Lord Provost and Gentlemen,—I thank you for the honour you have conferred on me by presenting me with the freedom of the ancient city of Aberdeen. I thank you also for the welcome I have received to-day. I shall not easily forget the kindness you have shown me on this occasion."

This ceremony over, no time was lost by the gentlemen of the reception party, the Prince, and *suite*, in making their way to the carriages in waiting. All along the route the Prince received a hearty welcome from the crowd, and he frequently acknowledged the demonstrations made from the streets and windows. The procession halted at the Royal Hotel, which is only separated from the statue by the breadth of Union-street. In front of the hotel a balcony was erected, from which the ceremony of unveiling the statue was to take place. The Prince entered the hotel and appeared on the balcony, preceded by the Lord Provost, and accompanied by a number of gentlemen already named. Loud cheers greeted him, which he answered by lifting his bonnet and bowing. The Rev. Professor Milligan, D.D., one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal, offered up an appropriate prayer, after which Mr. Leslie, chairman of the subscribers to the statue, read an address, to which His Royal Highness replied:—

"Gentlemen,—It has afforded me the greatest satisfaction of attending here this day by wish of Her Majesty and at your invitation for the purpose of inaugurating the statue of the Queen, my dear mother. Her Majesty has desired me to express how much she appreciates the motives which have led the people of Aberdeen to give this lasting evidence of their attachment and loyalty to her person, of which she has had so many proofs, and whose sympathy in her great sorrow has touched her so deeply. Her Majesty's satisfaction is much enhanced by the cordial unanimity which has combined all classes in your city and county in the erection of a work so grateful to Her Majesty's feelings, and so satisfactory as a

work of art. On my part, I have to thank you, gentlemen, for the expressions of attachment you have been good enough to make use of towards myself and the Princess of Wales and other members of the Royal family, and I heartily desire to join in your prayers that Her Majesty may long be spared to reign over a happy, devoted people."

The Prince then advancing to the front of the balcony, pulled the cord affixed to the flag which enveloped the statue, and in a second or two it was unveiled amid loud and enthusiastic cheering. The Prince expressed his high admiration of the statue, and warmly complimented Mr. Brodie on his success. Before leaving the balcony His Royal Highness also congratulated Mr. Leslie, chairman of the committee of subscribers, and Mr. Alexander Yeats, their secretary, on the success of their labours.

When the ceremony had been completed, the Prince drove to the house of the Lord Provost, where his Lordship and Lady Anderson had the honour of entertaining His Royal Highness and a distinguished party at luncheon.

24. Great Reform Demonstration at Manchester.—This afternoon a meeting supposed to be larger than any hitherto assembled in England, was held at Manchester. During the morning many local divisions marched into the town from the various populous districts around, carrying flags inscribed with the words "National Reform Union," and proceeded to the square called Campfield, a centre surrounded by ten acres, in which six platforms were erected. Notwithstanding the torrents of rain which continued throughout the day, the numbers assembled were estimated by the reporters, both of the local and of the London press, at between 100,000 and 200,000 persons. At each of the above sections three resolutions were carried, namely, 1. "That this meeting protests against the perpetuation of class government to the exclusion of the great majority of the people from the franchise; refuses to allow itself to be made an instrument to further the means of contending parties or the selfish interests of any class; and pledges itself to adopt all means of organizing and agitating for the only just basis of representation—registered residential manhood suffrage and the ballot." 2. "That this meeting rejoices in the formation of the northern department of the Reform League, and pledges its support to the executive council in the organization of branches throughout the north of England, and hereby declares its confidence in Mr. Edmund Beales and the executive of the Reform League in London." 3. "That this meeting tenders its warmest and most grateful thanks to the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, John Bright, Esq., John Stuart Mill, Esq., and all friends of Reform who, throughout the late discussions in Parliament, vindicated the character and protected the rights of the people; and further expresses confidence in the honesty and ability of Mr. John Bright to champion the people's cause in Parliament during the coming parliamentary struggle."

In the evening a great meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, all parts of which were so crowded that of the thousands who sought admission but one-fourth could possibly succeed. As each person of note appeared on the platform, he was greeted with rounds of applause; but when Mr. Bright stepped forward to receive the address which was to be presented to him, the greatest enthusiasm was manifested.

The admission to the Free Trade Hall was by tickets, which were given away to the first applicants; but so great was the demand, that a guinea and even two guineas premium were offered for admission to the platform. Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., presided, supported by Mr. Fildes, M.P.; Mr. Whitworth, M.P.; Mr. Lawson, late M.P. for Carlisle; Mr. G. Wilson, Sir James Watt, Mr. Jacob Bright, and a number of leading Liberals of the city and its neighbourhood.

The chairman having opened the proceedings, the following resolution, moved by Sir J. Watt, and seconded by Mr. Ernest Jones, was carried by acclamation:—"That this meeting, while recording its indignation at the insults offered in Parliament and by the Press to the working classes and their advocates, calls on the people of this country to allow themselves no longer to be trifled with by an oligarchic few, and to rally round those men who have upheld their cause."

An address to Mr. Bright was then carried by acclamation, and the chairman presented it.

Mr. Bright in answer spoke for upwards of an hour, his speech being received with enthusiastic applause. The next day the members of the northern department of the Reform League entertained Mr. Bright at a banquet; and, in acknowledging the toast of his health, that gentleman delivered another very eloquent address.

OCTOBER.

3. Social Science Congress.—The tenth annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science commenced at Manchester. A large number of visitors arrived during the day and in the evening. The Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., the president for the year, delivered his inaugural address in the Free Trade Hall.

At the close of the noble lord's address thanks were voted to the Earl of Shaftesbury and to Lord Brougham, the retiring president.

Not fewer than 2000 people were assembled in the large room of the Free Trade Hall during the proceedings.

The next day was one of active operations in all the departments. The business began in the Nisi Prius Assize Court, which was densely crowded. A large number of ladies were present. Lord Brougham, as President of the Council, delivered an address. His lordship said it was once more his painful duty to notice their losses since the last Congress. Of these the latest was that of Sir C. Hastings; another was Lord Glenelg, by whose death social science had sustained a great loss. His public virtues and the entire unselfishness of his nature were strikingly displayed when dismissed from high office by being suddenly told that his place was wanted for some other arrangement.

Passing on to public affairs, the noble lord observed that the last session of Parliament had been most unfruitful in measures of law amendment, and, indeed, it had been in all respects disappointing to the friends of social science. This was chiefly owing to the lengthy debates on Reform, which led to no measure, and it was to be regretted that attention was not given to the acceptance by the Whigs, at the private meeting in December, 1829, of the proposed household suffrage with a year's residence, which might have been extended to all inhabitants of each house, and occasioned the admission to the suffrage of the better class of working men as well as the middle classes. The Reform debates ended in the dissolution of the Liberal Ministry, whose resignation was wholly unexpected, and must be admitted to have been quite unnecessary. Amongst other matters the important subject of courts of reconcilement had been passed over, though Mr. Kerr, the able and learned Sheriffs' Court judge, had suggested an admirable plan. The great success of such courts in Denmark and elsewhere rendered this postponement truly vexatious. In Denmark 29,000 out of 30,000 suits commenced had been thus settled without being brought to trial. The noble lord then referred to the defects in the law of evidence. The French system of subjecting the accused to the moral torture of judicial examination was, of course, to be avoided, but the accused should be allowed to give evidence at his option. The examination of parties in civil suits should be extended to the divorce courts. One of the deficiencies in the last session was in not passing the optional clause in the Act to amend the County Courts Act. These courts have given great relief to suitors, and the last return showed that in 1865 there were 782,849 plaints for sums exceeding in all 1,847,000*l.* But unfruitful as the last session had been, the issue of the election commissions had led to important and scandalous disclosures of bribery. That offence could only be stopped by the infliction of severe punishment on the candidates and agents, and by sending those who give and those who receive bribes to the treadmill, like other offenders.

Lord Brougham then referred to the successful establishment of

telegraphic communication between Great Britain and America, and to the inestimable social as well as commercial benefit to be derived therefrom. His lordship also commented upon the satisfactory progress of co-operation, a result which was due not to the Government or to the Legislature, but to the people. The noble lord then pointed to the general tendency in Germany towards free institutions, and said that the Protestant interest had gained considerably, and that against the great evils of Austria's defeats must be set their unquestionable tendency to lessen the Papal power, and to hasten the departure of the French from Rome, as well as their securing the liberation of Venice, at which our friends must rejoice on account of the Venetians, and by no means because the kingdom of Italy had the least right to obtain this extension of its territories. In France, there is so strong an opposition to the Imperial Government, and so general a desire of material prosperity, that there seems good ground for a belief in greater freedom of discussion being given to public bodies, and even in some relaxation of the laws respecting the Press. The noble lord then eulogized the pacific policy of the French Emperor, and denounced the glorifying of extensive slaughters, whilst the common murderer is justly punished with death—such is the universal horror of murder, or even of attempts to commit it, and of partial committal. "Then why do the same parties regard the slaughter of tens of thousands, some with tolerance, and some even with approval?

> 'One to destroy, is murder by the law,
> And gibbets keep the lifted hand in awe;
> To murder thousands, takes a specious name,
> War's glorious art, and gives immortal fame.'

Such is the result of war; and while men slay their tens of thousands, the crime of murder on the largest scale must go on unpunished and unrepented. Yes; unpunished in this world. But our Heavenly Father, bestowing free will on His creatures, hath declared them accountable for its abuse; and, administering justice in mercy towards the numbers deceived or compelled into blood-guiltiness, He condemns those that have betrayed or forced them, as their accomplices or their instruments, to the unspeakable and enduring torments of hell." His lordship was frequently cheered during the reading of the address.

On the 5th several important papers were read. In the Nisi Prius Court there was a large attendance to hear the opening address of the Hon. George Denman, the President of the Law Amendment Department. In the section for the Repression of Crime, which was largely attended by ladies, the subject of the day being the best way to prevent infanticide, Dr. Lankester and Mr. A. H. Stafford read papers. The discussion was taken part in by Dr. Mary Walker, an American lady who served in the Federal army for some time, and during the late war was captured by the Confederates, and detained a prisoner for four

months. In the paper read by Dr. Lankester he gave statistics showing the enormous prevalence of infanticide in London. In the paper written by Mr. Stafford, he suggested the passing of an Act to legalize establishments on the plan of reformatory schools, to be open to mothers applying to them.

Much discussion took place upon these papers, in which Dr. Mary Walker took part.

In Section A of the department of Economy and Trade (presided over by Mr. E. Potter, M.P., and Sir J. Shuttleworth), a question was raised as to what measures, legislative or other, should be adopted to supply better dwellings for the working classes. On this subject various papers were read.

In the evening a great meeting of working men was held in the Free Trade Hall, Lord Shaftesbury presiding. Lord Brougham, in an admirable address, expressed his sympathy for the working classes, and for all the movements which tend towards their improvement. Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P., described the operation of working-men's colleges, and urged that they should be opened in all parts of the country. General Neal Dow, Mr. George Godwin, and others also addressed the meeting. The Earl of Shaftesbury defended the aristocracy from the attacks of certain persons who described the House of Lords as being composed of men devoid of intellect. There were about 5000 persons present.

8. Great Reform Meeting of the Working Classes in Leeds.—This afternoon a gathering of from 100,000 to 110,000 persons, composed of working men and their wives almost exclusively, took place. No political movement had for a long time attracted so much attention, as was proved by the collecting together of so great a multitude from far and near, in order to discuss and support the principles of the Manhood Suffrage Association, which has lately carried on a vigorous agitation in all the towns and villages comprised in what is known as the "woollen district." The place where the great mass meeting took place was in a north-western suburb, known by the name of Woodhouse Moor, which was originally a common, but of late years made use of for recreative purposes. This open space consists in the whole of sixty statute acres, but a turnpike-road detaches about ten or fifteen acres of it, and that portion was not much resorted to by the Reformers to-day. However, the other and much larger area was completely taken possession of by the Reformers and by those who repaired hither with a view only to gratification at the spectacle of so many working men sallying forth to "pronounce" upon a point of their political faith lately magnified into a matter of vital importance.

The weather, on the whole, was very favourable for the object in view. As early as four o'clock in the morning some arrivals into Leeds from distant localities took place, and during the greater part of the forenoon every highway and byway leading into Leeds was overrun by larger or smaller parties of operatives, the

majority well clad and in holiday trim—all of whom were hastening with exuberant cheerfulness to some rendezvous which had been fixed upon as their rallying-point. Along the Bradford road, as well as those of Dewsbury and Halifax, and by the country lanes leading from the many clothing villages of the district, there came trooping along on foot at short intervals large bodies of men with music and banners. For the denizens of Bradford and the other larger towns first named, the railway authorities had declined to provide special trains at excursion fares, and therefore the sturdy thousands determined to depend upon their own abilities as pedestrians. At many of the mills and workshops, both of Leeds and of Bradford, and the adjacent and intermediate towns, there was a complete holiday. At noon most of the tradesmen in the principal streets closed their shops either temporarily or until evening, when the turmoil had somewhat subsided.

A carefully-prepared programme of the proceedings was published, and sold at a small charge. In consequence of the extensive circulation which this document obtained, the great bulk of the people were made aware of the organization by which it was proposed to carry out an orderly procession, and to avoid much of that confusion and turmoil which is almost inevitable from the assembling together of extraordinary numbers. According to the instructions of the committee, the numerous large bodies representing populous districts at a distance, as, for instance, such places as Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, Dewsbury, Cleckheaton, Guiseley, Yeadon, Pudsey, Rothwell, Idle, Holmfirth, &c., mustered at eleven o'clock with rare punctuality, either in the quadrangle in front of the Town-hall or in some of the streets which diverge from that well-known central point. Of course, it was a work of time for the men who were designated "marshals" to apply certain rules of etiquette and discipline for bringing all the various atoms of so mighty a whole into a state of methodical adhesion. At one o'clock the procession was to begin its somewhat lengthy march, and, owing to the energy and alacrity of those on whom devolved the supreme control of the demonstrations, all was in readiness for a well-regulated start at that hour. The line was four miles long—the men walking five abreast, and comprising not less than 70,000 persons. To fully describe the principal features of the procession would be an arduous task, for it was computed that hundreds of flags and banners were carried aloft, almost all of which bore devices and mottoes, or, while merely announcing the name of the trade or community to which they respectively belonged, were lavishly ornamented by stencil, and tinsel, and spatula. The ensigns of the various trades were among the most artistic, and numerous were the banners belonging to various Yorkshire branches of the National Reform Union. Arrived at the door, the flag-bearers and the musicians were ordered to the rear of five platforms (waggons, having on them piles of timber to increase the elevation) which were placed in a line on low ground,

and fronting to a somewhat far-stretching slope on which the Committee of the League stated that at least 150,000 persons could find convenient standing-room. Here it was evident that the middle class were represented somewhat strongly. The whole concourse which was assembled on the Moor probably numbered little less than 200,000 persons, but among these were many boys, helping to swell the ranks of the more seriously disposed, and of working men's wives there were not a few, who, like their husbands, seemed proud to display green and white rosettes, or orange cards on which were printed "Manhood Suffrage and the Ballot." It was evident that there were likewise very many persons on the Moor who cared little or nothing as to what was going on; but neither from these nor any other persons was there the least attempt at obstruction to the proceedings.

At each of the platforms there was a chairman, who had been chosen some time beforehand. These and the speakers assigned to each platform, who had also been previously selected, were in their appointed places at nearly half-past two o'clock. A flourish of trumpets was the signal for silence on the part both of the bands and the multitude, and then, after a few words of admonition with a view to good order and respectful attention, simultaneously at all the five platforms, the first resolution was moved as follows:—

"That this meeting enters its solemn protest against, and its denial of, the charges of venality, ignorance, drunkenness, and indifference to Reform, brought against the working classes during the last Session of Parliament; and hereby pledges itself to advocate for the future registered residential manhood suffrage and the ballot, as the only just and proper basis of representation."

Exactly at three o'clock this resolution was put to the vote by the several chairmen, and in answer to a trumpet call a show of hands took place in its favour, which was one of the most decided attestations of unanimity the most ardent and uncompromising Manhood Suffrage devotee could possibly have desired. The second resolution ran thus:—

"That this meeting desires to acknowledge the services of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Mr. John Bright, Mr. John Stuart Mill, and all those who have supported the people's claim and vindicated their character in Parliament; and further expresses its confidence in Mr. John Bright as the champion of the national cause in the House of Commons."

This, like the first resolution, was carried with great acclamation. The following was the third resolution:—

"That this meeting expresses its indignation at the conduct of those members of Parliament who have refused to aid the working classes in their endeavour to obtain a fair share of the franchise, and hereby pledges itself to unite with the men of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol, Northumberland, Glasgow, Dublin, and elsewhere in their determination to press the question of

Reform to an immediate settlement, to maintain the peace and secure the contentment of the country."

The following were the chairmen at the different platforms:—Mr. Woodhead, Huddersfield; Mr. R. Kell, Bradford; Alderman R. M. Carter, Leeds; Mr. Clarkson (Town Councillor), Dewsbury; and Mr. A. Illingworth, Bradford. According to previous arrangement, each resolution was disposed of in half an hour, so that the whole proceedings were brought to a close by half-past four; and then the bands struck up "Rule Britannia," as an intimation that the time had arrived for the procession to get once more into marching order and return to the Town-hall and its vicinity. Several of the speakers fiercely abused Mr. Lowe, M.P., and highly eulogized the working man.

Every thing passed off in an orderly manner, notwithstanding that the enthusiasm was at a high pitch. There were but few symptoms of brutish and sensual indulgence on the part of the labouring class. Whether it was in consequence of a warning voice having gone forth from the central committee, it is impossible to say; but the chairman of the Leeds Association had publicly exhorted these parties to be on their guard, as he knew that their conduct would be strictly watched by those who did not believe in their many high qualities.

9. The Church Congress.—The annual meeting of the Church Congress commenced at York, when a sermon was preached in the Minster by the Archbishop of Canterbury, after which, in a temporary building near the Cathedral, the Archbishop of York delivered an inaugural address: after which, His Grace moved the appointment of the Lord Mayor of York, the Bishops of Chester, Oxford, and Ripon, Lord Feversham, the Hon. and Rev. the Dean, and Colonel Akroyd, M.P., as vice-presidents of the Congress, which was carried.

The Bishop of Ripon and the Rev. T. Espin read papers on "The Obligation and due Observance of the Lord's Day." The Right Hon. J. Napier, the Rev. H. Stevens, the Rev. Archdeacon Denison, Mr. Beresford-Hope, M.P., and Mr. Bandinel also made observations.

In the evening, the Bishop of Ripon in the chair, the Rev. Canon Randolph read a paper on "The Social Condition and Recreations of the Poorer Classes."—After which the Hon. and Rev. Canon Lyttelton also read a paper on the same subject, and Colonel Akroyd, M.P., made some remarks which were applicable to the factory workers in the neighbourhood of Halifax.—The Rev. W. Caine, of Manchester, pointed out the great evils of the public-house and beer-house, and the discussion was kept up by Mr. F. S. Powell, M.P., the Rev. J. B. Landon, Lord Teignmouth, the Rev. T. Myers, the Rev. Canon Atlay, and several others.—In the York Festival Concert Room the same evening, the Bishop of Oxford in the chair, the subject was "Colonial Church and Foreign

Missions." The Right Rev. Prelate made a few observations on the subject, after which the Rev. Dr. Kay read a paper. The meeting was subsequently addressed by E. B. Cowell, Esq., the Bishops of Newfoundland and Pennsylvania, Mr. Beresford-Hope, M.P., and the Bishop of North Carolina.

On the 10th, in the Congress Hall, the Archdeacon of York presiding, the Dean of Emly read a paper on "Preaching"—dogmatic teaching from the pulpit. The Rev. Canon Shirley, D.D., had written a paper on the same subject, which was read for him; and then the Dean of Cork called attention to the fact that such teaching in certain quarters was unpopular.—In the Concert Hall the same day, Lord Feversham in the chair, papers were read on "Diocesan and Parochial Organization," by the Rev. Canon Atlay and the Rev. W. Cadman. Both urged the necessity of an increase of the episcopate, and the need of suffragan bishops being appointed in overgrown dioceses. The organization of parishes in our densely-populated districts was also urged as imperfect.—The Rev. Canon Mackarness referred to the unequal distribution of the clergy in parishes.—The Earl of Harrowby followed with an argument for an increase of the episcopate.—The Rev. D. Wilkinson, the Rev. W. J. Beaumont, the Rev. G. Hathwaite, the Ven. Archdeacon Emery, the Archdeacon of Lindisfarne, Mr. Rutson, the Dean of Ely, and the Rev. P. S. Duval followed, and in the main dwelt upon the imperfect system of organization both with regard to dioceses and parishes.—The section at the De Grey Rooms was presided over by the Bishop of Ripon, and the subjects for discussion were "Adult and Sabbath Schools," and "Catechizing."—Papers were read by the Rev. E. Jackson and Rev. F. Hessey, D.C.L.; and Dr. Howson, the Rev. J. Bardsley, Earl Nelson, and others took part in the discussion.

The concluding meeting of the Congress was held on the 11th, in the Congress Hall; the Archbishop of York presiding. The report of the committee showed that a communication had been received from the Mayor of Wolverhampton, inviting the Congress to meet in that town next year, and the committee recommended that that town be selected for the purpose.—The Dean of York moved that the invitation of the Mayor of Wolverhampton be accepted. The Dean of Ely seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.—Sir Roundell Palmer, Q.C., M.P., then delivered an able lecture on English Church hymnody, which was illustrated by the choir of York Minster, under the direction of Dr. Monk.—Votes of thanks to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Dean and Chapter of York and the Churchmen of Yorkshire, to the Lord Mayor and Corporation and inhabitants of York, and to the Archbishop of York, closed the proceedings.

Another subject for discussion in the section which met in the concert-room was "Cathedrals: their proper work and influence." The Dean of York was in the chair. In the Congress Hall the

Archbishop was in the chair, and Earl Nelson and Archdeacon Hale read papers on "Lay agency in the Church's work." In the evening a public meeting was held in the Congress Hall, to which the working men had been particularly invited to be present. The Archbishop of York was in the chair, and delivered an address in reference to the Divinity of Christ, and the influence of the Christian religion throughout the world for so many centuries. His Grace was followed by the Dean of Cork, the Earl of Harrowby, the Dean of Chichester, Sir Roundell Palmer, Earl Nelson, and the Dean of Carlisle. Simultaneously with the last meeting, a *conversazione* of the clergy took place in the Yorkshire Exhibition building, at which upwards of 2000 persons were present.

In the Congress Hall, Sir Robert Phillimore, Q.C., D.C.L., read a paper on "The improvement of the process in Ecclesiastical Courts." A. J. Stephens, Esq., Q.C., LL.D., argued that the procedure and practice of ecclesiastical courts at the present moment was a scandal upon the administration of public justice.—The Venerable Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., and the Rev. Canon Trevor read papers on the advantage and influence of diocesan synods.—The Dean of York, Mr. Beresford-Hope, M.P., and the Bishop of Illinois were the speakers.—Another subject considered was the best mode of attaching people to the Church of England. —Another was church-rates. Mr. Hibbert, M.P., stated his intention to bring in a Bill next session for the amendment of the law of church-rates.

The closing hours of the Congress had a gloom thrown over them by the melancholy tidings of the drowning of the Bishop of Calcutta in the Ganges. The news was first transmitted from London by telegraph to Mr. Beresford-Hope, M.P., and the arrival of the evening papers was anxiously looked for, in the vain hope that there might be some mistake in the intelligence. A new pastoral crook for the deceased prelate had been exhibited during the week at the exhibition of ecclesiastical art. It was the workmanship of Messrs. Frank Smith and Co., and was a fine specimen of mediæval art. In the centre of the crook (which is of silver, ornamented with gilt foliage) is an Agnus Dei of exquisite workmanship in ivory, and around the staff is inscribed the words in three languages (Bengalee, English, and Hindustanee), "Feed my sheep—feed my lambs." A paper from the deceased Bishop was also read in one of the sections.

In summing up the results of this gathering, it may truly be pronounced a most successful one. At least 3000 tickets were taken—the larger part for the whole week, day tickets being but a very small percentage. The attendance of the higher orders of the Church was unexpectedly great. Next, the presence of three American and six or eight colonial Bishops, was a remarkable feature in the gathering. It seemed visibly to indicate the far-spreading arms and influences of the Mother Church of England.

So also did the large and sympathizing attendance which all the cognate or collateral subjects obtained. The meeting of working men was also a great success.

An extensive, and certainly a very remarkable exhibition of "vestments" now in use in the Church of England was another feature of the meeting. To the archæologist it must have been deeply interesting. The lectures given by the friends of ritualism were largely attended; and as sixpence was charged for admission, more than sufficient was realized to cover all expenses.

— Execution at the Old Bailey.—This morning John Richard Jeffery, who was convicted at the last sessions of the Central Criminal Court of the murder of his son, and sentenced to death, was executed in front of the gaol of Newgate in the presence of an immense concourse of people. The murder for which he forfeited his life was most atrocious, having regard to the relentless and deliberate manner in which it was perpetrated and the tender age of the victim, which precluded all idea of effective resistance. The convict was a tailor by trade, and about thirty years of age. He had lived for years unhappily with his wife, and she eventually left him to cohabit with another man. This appears to have greatly enraged him, and he continued to brood over his wrongs. The unfortunate child, Richard Arthur Jeffery, was barely six years of age at the time of the murder, and was reputed to be the offspring of the marriage, but the mind of the convict seems to have been continually haunted and harassed with the notion that he was not the boy's father. After the separation between him and his wife the child lived chiefly with the wife's mother, a very poor woman, in the neighbourhood of Holborn, the convict contributing little or nothing to its maintenance, but calling to see it occasionally, and being harsh and kind to it by turns. The grandmother, though in very indigent circumstances, was willing to keep it, without any assistance from the father; and she and it were endeared to each other by mutual affection. On a Sunday evening in July last the convict called unexpectedly at her house and demanded the child. It had then gone to bed, and she tried to persuade him to leave it with her over night and to call for it next morning, but he was obdurate and insisted upon taking it away at once. The child, on being awakened, begged with a touching pathos that would probably have moved to pity any heart but his to be allowed to remain with the grandmother; but the father objected, and he dressed the child and took him away, in spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of the grandmother. Without, as she said on the trial, either bonnet or shawl, she followed them into Holborn, with a sad foreboding that the father was bent upon taking the boy's life, and invoked the assistance of a policeman, but in vain, the constable declining to interfere on learning from her that the man was the child's father. The convict then went with the boy to the house of his sister, who

lived with her husband, a cripple, in the neighbourhood of Seven Dials, occupying a single room, and asked and obtained permission to sleep there. Towards morning he got up, alleging that he could not sleep for vermin, and insisted on leaving with the boy. His sister entreated him not to take the child away at that dead hour of the night, but in vain. He then went to a cupboard, and taking from it some broken victuals, he said he was going a long journey into the country, and that the boy would never see his "aunty" again. He had previously gone out and bought a candle, and on returning with it he cut it in two, lighting one piece in the room and putting the other in his pocket. The frightened child cried much on parting with his aunt, but his tears and her entreaties were alike useless, and the father, opening the door with a heartless air, commanded the boy to "march;" and a few hours afterwards he was found hanging by the neck, with his hands firmly tied behind his back and quite dead, in a dark and lonely passage or cellar in St. Giles's, open to the street at nights, by a young woman who had gone there to get water from a cistern. The father fled, and some weeks afterwards voluntarily surrendered himself to justice at a place near Halifax; but the murder was eventually brought home to him on his trial by circumstantial, but still irresistible evidence, and on receiving sentence, he acknowledged that he was guilty.

After sentence the convict behaved in a becoming manner, receiving gratefully between that and his execution the religious advice and consolation afforded by the Rev. Mr. Lloyd Jones, the prison chaplain, and the Rev. Mr. M'Cree, a Baptist minister. This morning, about half-past seven, the Sheriffs of London (Mr. Alderman Waterlow and Mr. Francis Lycett), with Mr. De Jersey, one of the Under-Sheriffs, went to Newgate to attend the execution. The convict, having been taken into a room to be pinioned, partly in reply to a question by Mr. Sheriff Lycett and partly of his own motion, acknowledged in the most emphatic manner the justice of his sentence, and said he was prepared to die. At this trying moment he was completely penitent; and while his arms were being pinioned he prayed for mercy without ceasing, and in tones so imploring and touching as to move every one present. He said he forgave all his enemies, and especially his wife, whom he expected to meet in heaven, and he expressed his gratitude to the officers of the prison for their uniform kindness to him, and particularly to Mr. Jonas, the governor. The prison bell began to toll, and the convict was conducted to the scaffold, which he mounted with a light step. As he appeared on the drop he was at first assailed with shouts of execration, but these soon died away. The necessary preparations having been made, the drop fell, and all was over.

10. Visit of the English Volunteers to Belgium.—The splendid reception of the English volunteers at Brussels, and the honours paid to them and to the country which they repre-

sented by the Sovereign and the most distinguished citizens of Belgium, will long be remembered by all who took part in the expedition, and will be treasured up among the most honourable recollections of our national army of defence. All circumstances combined to give lustre and attraction to this international celebration.

The splendour of the weather, the clearness of the atmosphere, and the cordial hospitality of the Belgians of every grade, from the King down to his poorest subject, created in the breast of every Englishman who participated in this year's *fêtes* a feeling of deep gratitude and sympathy with the nation which thus did them honour.

A few of the staff officers and some volunteers went to Brussels on the 9th; but it was on the morning of the 10th the first body set out. A special train started for their accommodation from Charing-cross station at half-past six o'clock. They were conveyed from Dover to Ostend in the "Ruby" and the "Emerald," 236 riflemen being on board. On their arrival at Ostend they were met by the Bourgmestre, W. Van Iseghem, and the officers of the Garde Civique. The band of this force played the English National Anthem as the steamers came alongside the pier; and the townspeople, who were assembled in large numbers at the place of debarkation, gave several hearty rounds of cheering. The young Duc de Brabant, the King's eldest son, witnessed the landing. The Bourgmestre having bid them welcome, invited them to the Hôtel de Ville, where, offering them *le vin d'honneur*, he gave the toast of "Queen Victoria," which was heartily responded to by Her Majesty's subjects then present. In their cheering they were joined by the Belgians. On their way from the Hôtel de Ville to the railway station the volunteers were surrounded by the townspeople, who tendered a hundred civilities, and appeared to feel themselves honoured when they were allowed to do any volunteer a service. By the time this large detachment had arrived at Brussels, Lieutenant-Colonel Loyd Lindsay, commanding officer of all the volunteers visiting Belgium, who had arrived, accompanied by Lord Bury and Sir Paul Hunter, had established his headquarters at the Hôtel de Belle Vue. From various points on all sides of this building the British flag was displayed, and in the Brigade-Major's office Mr. Bigmore, the quartermaster, assisted by other gentlemen, was busy making out lists and attending to applications for quarters. The next morning brought fresh and still more numerous arrivals. On the previous evening Colonel Lindsay was visited by M. Pletinckx, General of the Garde Civique, and next morning the gallant colonel returned the visit, and also called upon the Bourgmestre at the Hôtel de Ville. By that time the whole city was *en fête*. Flags hung from almost every house in the principal streets; the Garde Civique were turning out to receive their foreign visitors, and the shrill blasts of trumpets and the beating of drums were heard in all quarters. The Garde

Civique of Brussels are 6000 strong. At two o'clock the officers of this force, headed by the cavalry band, proceeded to the terminus of the Chemin de Fer du Midi to receive the French riflemen coming to the Tir. These were Gardes Nationaux to the number of 125 men and 71 officers. Mr. Funck informed the colonel that the Garde Civique and the foreign riflemen already arrived would assemble at the Place des Nations at seven in the evening to receive the English volunteers who were expected to arrive about that time, after which the official reception would take place at the Hôtel de Ville. In the mean time Lord Bury and Sir Paul Hunter had left Brussels for Ostend to meet the great body of the volunteers, and to represent the commanding officers at the various towns *en route*, where *le vin d'honneur* was to be offered. Three steamers freighted with volunteers arrived at Ostend; but owing to a fog in the Channel they were two hours late in arrival, and this and delays on the way up, threw the reception at Brussels back till an unexpectedly late hour. The whole town of Ostend turned out to accompany the visitors to the Hôtel de Ville and the railway station. Speeches were made to them by the Burgomaster and the commander of the Garde Civique, "God save the Queen" was played, and they left in two trains, amid loud acclamations. At Bruges not only the railway station and platform were filled, but the line was lined with spectators for a distance of half a mile before the point at which the train pulled up. Then, again, there were more cheers, more music, and more *vin d'honneur*. At Alost the Garde Civique presented to Lord Bury, for the English volunteers who shoot at Wimbledon, a large and exceedingly elegant silver cup. While such honours were being paid to the English riflemen coming by the Ostend route, the quays at Antwerp were covered with the inhabitants of that town, who assembled to receive the 360 volunteers who had come over that way. The latter reached before evening; but a telegram received in the afternoon informed Colonel Loyd Lindsay that the main body coming up from Ostend would not arrive till eight o'clock, though they had been expected at seven. The gallant officer had, however, issued orders for a parade of all volunteers then in the city for six o'clock, and at that hour he rode into the place appointed, the square in front of the Museum, accompanied by Lieutenant Furley, 29th Kent, Brigade-Major; Lieutenant-Colonel M'Gregor, 1st Midlothian Artillery; and Captain Burgess, adjutant. Several hundreds of the volunteers assembled, and were formed into companies to proceed to the terminus of the Chemin de Fer du Nord, in the Place des Nations. It had become dark before they marched, but all Brussels was coming out to witness the reception; and at eight, the hour at which the telegrams stated the men would arrive, the Place des Nations presented an extraordinary appearance. The great square in front of the station was surrounded by the Garde Civique, the French National Guards, and the volunteers who had marched down to await the arrival of their comrades. Inside the

ring of riflemen, and stretching far up the Boulevard Botanique, which goes off in long and graceful ascent at right angles with the Place, were the pompiers of the city, bearing flaming torches; outside of both riflemen and pompiers were thousands of men, women, and children, covering the pavement on both sides, and filling every window that looked out upon the scene. This sort of thing went on until a few minutes before ten o'clock, and still the people in the streets, who had stood their ground since half-past six or seven o'clock, never uttered a murmur, but conducted themselves with the greatest good-humour, and passed various compliments on the volunteers. At length the approach of the long-expected trains was announced by the station-master, and the words "*Ils sont arrivés*" were passed to the troops outside. The Committee of Reception had scarce formed themselves into a group in the hall of the station when two long trains were drawn up at the platforms amid a cheer from all the *employés* of the company, which was taken up by the crowd outside, and by them continued almost without intermission till the march to the Hôtel de Ville was commenced. Before the trains had come to a stand, one of the bands of the Garde Civique had struck up "God save the Queen," which, of course, raised the enthusiasm of the volunteers to such a pitch that they mingled their acclamations with those which were raised in their own honour. The moment Lord Bury, heading the volunteers, stepped into the hall of the station, the committee surrounded him, and the Échevin, addressing the visitors in French, said:—

"Gentlemen,—We thank you with all our heart for desiring to celebrate with us the anniversary of our national independence. We are happy to receive among us representatives of the nations which have given to Belgium numerous proofs of their sympathy. The visit with which you honour us will, I hope, have for its result to draw still closer the bonds which unite grateful Belgium to the two great peoples which guaranteed its young nationality. I bid you welcome."

Lord Bury thanked the Échevin for the sentiments he had expressed in the name of the city of Brussels, and assured him that the volunteers entertained feelings of the greatest regard for the people of Belgium.

Then commenced a demonstration, which for grandeur and picturesque effect has not often been equalled on any occasion of a civic festival. For two hours previously the torches had been numerous; but as the volunteers commenced to pour out from the station these lights increased a hundredfold in number and brilliancy, as if by magic. At the same moment the double lines of the Garde Civique, who kept a pathway, raised their rifles aloft; those of their body not under arms rushed forward and shook hands with every volunteer they could seize, and hurrahs for "les Anglais" were again raised, each cheer sounding louder than the previous one. Mixed up with all this jubilant expression of popular

joy was the clanking of the hoofs of officers' chargers, the shouting of the word of command, and the music of some half-dozen bands. After a delay of a few minutes in setting the men in order, the procession moved on. First marched a band, and next a battalion of the Garde Civique; next came another band; then followed the Committee of Reception, followed by all officers, foreigners and Belgians, not charged with commands; next, the Gardes Nationaux Français; then the volunteers of Great Britain; after them the other foreign riflemen, arranged alphabetically; and, lastly, another battalion of the Garde Civique, and another band. Torch-bearers at short intervals lined the procession at either side, and these were flanked by a vast body of the citizens. The night was very dark, which was all the better for the effect of the torches, the gas-lamps, and the wonderful illumination of the tower of the Hôtel de Ville. As the procession passed up the Boulevard Botanique the effect was very fine; thence it turned into the Rue Royale, on through the Place Royale, when, descending by the Montagne de la Cour, it passed along through the Rue de la Madeleine and the Rue de la Colline into the Grande Place. Bouquets were thrown at the volunteers from several windows. The entire space in front of the Hôtel de Ville was kept for the troops. It chimed a quarter to eleven as they began to enter it. One of the bands of the Garde Civique played the "Brabançonne," as they did so, and "Partant pour la Syrie" and "God save the Queen" followed. The Bourgmestre, accompanied by his Échevins, all in full official costume, descended and received the foreign riflemen in the court. Having passed through the lines and distributed a small memorial medal, with ribbon attached, to each rifleman, the Bourgmestre received all the officers in the beautiful saloons of the Hôtel de Ville, which were brilliantly lighted with wax lights, and hung all round with the famous old Gobelins tapestry. When he had assembled all the officers he addressed them in French, which was duly responded to. Cheers were then given for the King of the Belgians, and others for the Queen; after which the Bourgmestre offered the *vin d'honneur*, and refreshments of a more substantial kind were also provided for the company. It was midnight before the ceremony of the distribution of the medals in the courtyard had concluded, and after one o'clock in the morning when the proceedings of the reception had terminated.

It had been arranged beforehand that the general place of muster for parades of the English volunteers should be the Place du Musée, near the Place Royale, and also near the head-quarters of the British contingent and staff. The first parade after arrival was on Friday the 12th, when over 1000 English volunteers fell in, and marched to the Tir National to participate in its opening. Here they met M. De l'Herpe, the commandant of the 29th Regiment of the National Guards of the Seine, who with about 125 officers and men of the National Guard of France had also assembled, and where M. Dailly, the president, M. Auspact, the burgomaster of

Brussels, received them, and again presented the *vin d'honneur*, in the shape of champagne and other wines, *ad libitum*. The ceremony of opening at once commenced, and Englishmen, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Swiss, and Belgians soon went to work at the short ranges in right earnest. In the evening a grand ball took place at the Salle of the Société Royale de Lyrique, where refreshments were again served. Saturday the 13th was devoted principally to shooting and to such other amusements as the visitors might themselves be inclined to, another still more grand ball taking place in the evening at the magnificent rooms of the Société de l'Harmonie.

Sunday the 14th was a grand day for Brussels, and a proud one for England and her volunteers. The muster was at half-past ten o'clock at the Place du Musée, where 1077 of all ranks fell in to hear Divine service performed. The scene was a solemn and imposing one; the various divisions of the brigade were formed inwards, the mounted officers in the centre, and a few minutes after eleven o'clock the Rev. Mr. Drury, the Chaplain to the British Embassy, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, his curate, performed Divine service from the balcony of one of the houses. At the conclusion of the prayers, the Rev. Mr. Jenkins delivered a short but impressive sermon, in the course of which he pointed to the fact that there were many still living at that moment in Brussels who remembered the daring gallantry and noble bearing of the British soldiery in 1815, and expressed his assurance that the representatives of the British volunteers would, by their conduct, entitle themselves equally to the good opinion of the Belgian people. Service being over, the English brigade were marched through the Place Royale, round the Parc to the Boulevard du Régent, where the grand inspection by their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians was to take place. Their Majesties had travelled from the palace at Laeken for this purpose, and both the King and Queen rode splendid chargers. The King, who wore his magnificent diamond star and other orders, was attired in the uniform of a Capitaine-Générale of the Garde Civique; Her Majesty the Queen wore a lady's black riding-habit and a high-crowned hat. Accompanied by a brilliant staff, their Majesties passed in front of the ranks of the volunteers, acknowledging by their repeated and gracious bows the loud and reiterated cheers with which they were greeted throughout the whole line. At the conclusion of the parade Colonel Lindsay communicated to the divisional commanders the high gratification the King had expressed to him of the way in which the English volunteers had marched and gone through their evolutions in his presence; and, on his own part, begged them to tender his personal thanks to the whole body for the way in which they had performed their duties.

In the afternoon of this day a grand and aristocratic assemblage took place at the Zoological Gardens, to which all volunteers were admitted free. Here there was an open-air concert and other

amusements, including a balloon ascent by M. Godin, an aëronaut who ascended several times last year from Cremorne. Another grand ball of the Philharmonic Society took place in the evening. The 15th was devoted to shooting; and those who did not participate in it made parties to Waterloo and other places. During the day upwards of 300 volunteers visited the field. In the evening there were two or three concerts and balls given in various parts of the town by the respective societies; but the great event of the day was the advent of "M. le Lord Maire of London" in Brussels. His lordship had, it appeared, arrived in the morning, and in the evening was invited to meet the Order of Freemasons, of which the Lord Mayor is a most distinguished member. A large number of English volunteers, being also Masons, met the Lord Mayor in the first instance at the rooms of the Société de l'Harmonie, and marched in procession to the Freemasons' Hall of Brussels, where a grand lodge was held, wine served, and toasts drunk to the health of the Queen, the Lord Mayor of London, and the English and French and other Masons, and to the various nationalities.

On Tuesday the 16th it was announced that the King would go to the Tir National, and arrive there at one o'clock. This announcement attracted not only the English volunteers, but thousands of all classes of the Brussels population in that direction. Every possible species of conveyance was in requisition, and in direction towards the Tir National, and a species of fair took place in the vicinity. The King did not arrive till two o'clock, but in order to while away the time, as was understood at His Majesty's request, the Commission of the Tir National, the civic authorities, with such of the visitors of English volunteers as felt disposed, were requested to take their places in the rear of the building, for the purpose of being photographed by M. Ghemar of Brussels. This had scarcely been accomplished when it was found the King was approaching. The royal *cortége* consisted of half-a-dozen carriages and outriders, and servants clad in liveries of scarlet and gold, closely resembling those of our own Royal family. In the first carriage rode the King, and by his side the Lord Mayor of London, who was attired in the uniform of scarlet with blue facings and silver worn by the members of the Court of Lieutenancy of the city of London. His lordship also wore his diamond badge of office, and as soon as it was discovered by the Belgians who he was, his lordship shared largely in the cheers which were bestowed on the King. There was an escort of cavalry, and the guard of honour consisted of the Civic Guard and Éclaireurs of the city of Brussels. On reaching the daïs in the centre of the shooting gallery, M. Dailly, the President of the Tir National, presented His Majesty with an address, and invited him to inspect the shooting. The King proceeded to every compartment when the competition was proceeding; and where he found English or other volunteers shooting he exhibited much interest, and put a variety of questions to them upon the subject. Having thus inspected the "Tir," the

Royal *cortége* proceeded to the long-range shooting at the Wimbledon targets on the English principle. This was situate about half a mile beyond the Tir National on the left of the same road, and was indicated by the number of flags of all nations hoisted upon long poles, the Belgian, of course, being predominant. On reaching this several of the crack competitors amongst the English volunteers were making some excellent shooting. His Majesty and the Lord Mayor and several members of the suite alighted and watched the shooting for some time. After spending altogether upwards of an hour and a half at the ranges, the Royal party left amidst the renewed cheers of the populace and volunteers.

On the same evening another pleasurable event awaited the volunteers of England and other visitors, in having the privilege of attending gratuitously and participating in the visit of the King and Queen to the Grand Opera, the Théâtre de la Monnaie, one of the most splendid theatres in Europe. Some five or six hundred tickets were issued for the English volunteers, a similar number being reserved for the 19th, when the King and Queen again visited the same theatre. The opera selected for the occasion was "Massaniello." All the principal seats in the orchestra to the stalls of the pit, the balcony, and boxes had been appropriated to the volunteers and the French and Dutch contingents, but much disappointment was manifested at the non-arrival of His Majesty. At twenty minutes past nine, however, the hurrahs and shouts of the populace outside, and the sound of the music, told that their Majesties had arrived. In a few minutes the King and Queen, accompanied by the Lord Mayor of London, entered the Royal box. The band struck up the Belgian national air, the "Brabançonne," the whole house rising. The scene was most imposing. Her Majesty, who was in a black satin dress, with a pink sash, wore a coronet of diamonds, and was otherwise decorated with a profusion of the same description of precious gems. The King also wore the Star of the Order of Leopold and other orders and collars in diamonds. The diversity of the English volunteer uniforms, all in full dress, mingled with the dresses of the ladies, and the French and the Dutch contingents, added splendour to the scene. At the conclusion of the Belgian national air, the band played the Dutch National Hymn, and the French "Partant pour la Syrie," during which time their Majesties kept their seats; but the moment the first bars of our own National Anthem were played, the King and Queen again rose amidst the enthusiastic cheering of the English volunteers. After waiting till the third act of the opera, their Majesties retired, amidst a renewed demonstration of enthusiasm, and left the theatre. It was understood that the cause of His Majesty's late arrival was a dinner he had been giving to some of the superior officers of the English and French contingents.

Wednesday the 17th was appointed for the grand levée by the King and Queen, at which all the English and foreign officers who had sent in their names were to be presented to their Majesties in

State. The place appointed for the reception, in consequence of the King's palace in Brussels undergoing repairs and alterations, was a portion of the splendid picture gallery—the "Musée." The day was beautifully bright and warm, and long before the hour appointed for the reception some three or four hundred English, and probably some fifty or sixty officers, together with those of the Garde Civique and Éclaireurs de Bruxelles, had assembled on the lawn or courtyard of this noble pile of buildings, whilst in front was a guard of honour of the Garde Civique, with their band. Their Majesties arrived in State with a numerous escort of cavalry from Laeken, and the officers intended for presentation were ushered into the long picture gallery. From this gallery a court-room and some two or three ante-rooms, beautifully carpeted and hung with paintings, led to the throne-room. Their Majesties stood in advance in front of the throne-room, and the officers to be presented were marshalled in in single rank. The King and Queen were surrounded by the Ladies of Honour and Ministers of State, Generals, &c., of the kingdom; and so soon as Colonel Lindsay, the Lord Mayor of London, the commandant of the French contingent, and the English staff had been presented, they took their places a short distance in the rear of the King and Queen. In this manner every volunteer or other officer passed in front, making his obeisance to their Majesties, and receiving a similar compliment in return, Her Majesty gracefully curtseying to every one almost who passed. After the foreign presentations, the officers of the Garde Civique and the Éclaireurs were presented, and, the proceedings being brought to a close, their Majesties left by the Place Royale and the Parc for Laeken, amidst a renewal of the enthusiasm which greeted their arrival. At the conclusion, the officers presented proceeded to the gardens of the palace to be photographed in a group by M. Ghemar.

The Excursion to Antwerp.—One of the most pleasurable events looked forward to was the excursion and the reception at Antwerp, which took place on the 18th. Owing to some error in the arrangements, it was nearly half-past two before the first of the three trains which were required to convey nearly one thousand volunteers, had quitted the Brussels station; but it is only justice to the Belgian railway authorities to say that no time was lost on their part, as the trains were special, and therefore all other traffic was stopped on the line, and Antwerp was reached in less than an hour. Here a scene of great enthusiasm presented itself. The station was completely filled by the officers and soldiers of the Garde Civique and Éclaireurs of Antwerp and their friends. Bands outrivalled each other in their rendering of our National Anthem; as each train arrived, the cheers of the soldiery, mingled with the counter-cheers of the British volunteers, rang through the station, and were taken up by the populace outside, who had mustered in thousands, whilst the windows and even the housetops were crowded in every direction.

Col. Gregoire, Commander of the Civic Guard at Antwerp, received the riflemen at the station on arrival at Antwerp, and expressed himself as follows:—"Be welcome, gentlemen! I know not how to express all the happiness I feel at receiving you, nor how delighted we are at renewing the fact of friendship begun by our countrymen at Wimbledon. The hand we proffer you is extended in a spirit of sincere and loyal amity. We regret that we cannot give you so splendid a welcome as you have received in the capital, but be persuaded, gentlemen, that we will do all in our power to receive you as friends—as brothers."

The Commandant of the French detachment, M. De l'Herpe, replied, saying: "I thank you, gentlemen, for the sentiments you have expressed. Ideas of invasion and conquest have been attributed to the French. I repudiate the first, and as to the second idea we ought to avow it. Some one has conquered, but it is you that have made the conquest of our hearts. We are vanquished by your excellent conduct and the magnificent *éclat* of your cordial sympathy. Since we placed our feet on Belgian soil there have been ovations for us without end. The Belgians have received us as brothers. For the future we consider them as such, and we shall be the first to assist in the erection of that grand edifice of fraternity which you have founded."

Lieut.-Colonel Loyd Lindsay then replied in his turn. He said: "I thank you, gentlemen, for the gracious manner in which you have received us here. We shall always cherish in our hearts the remembrance of the fraternal reception we have received in Belgium. We anticipated a cordial reception, but we were far from imagining that such ovations would be accorded us. In the name of England I thank you."

Major Medes, in command of the Dutch Garde Civique, then said: "Although we have come here in small numbers, we are not the less friends of Belgium. All inimical feelings which formerly existed are now forgotten. The Belgian colours which we wear on our breasts sufficiently express to you our sentiments, and prove to you that in the orange colour there is no danger for you. On the contrary, if ever any danger threatens Belgium we shall be the first to prove to you that we are sincere friends and devoted brothers. I know no better way of expressing my gratitude for the reception you have given us than by proposing a hurrah for the King of the Belgians—'*Vive* Leopold the Second!'"

These three speeches produced an immense effect, and gave rise to a hearty round of bravoes and hurrahs, which continued for some time.

After some delay the order to march was given, and the volunteers were taken to the Zoological Gardens. Here upwards of an hour was spent, and the march into the city to the Grande Place in front of the Hôtel de Ville had to be accomplished; and before arriving there the shades of evening had almost set in. Thousands, however, lined the route, and greeted the volunteers with loud and

repeated cheers; the ladies waved their handkerchiefs from the windows and balconies, and appeared to be delighted. Onward, however, the march took place, the 1st Surrey band, at the head of the column, having the greatest difficulty to elbow its way through the dense masses of people which thronged the narrow street which connects the square in front of the cathedral with the Grande Place. The sound of cannon was heard, the bells of the cathedral, said to be the finest peal in Europe, and played by means of pedals, like an organ or pianoforte, to the astonishment of all the English, as well, we believe, as of the Antwerpians themselves, struck up "God save the Queen," and continued playing that and other national airs for some considerable time. The column having been called to the "halt," were subsequently drawn up in line across the Grande Place, fronting the Hôtel de Ville, and their appearance elicited loud and repeated marks of approbation from the crowds assembled. The Pompiers of the city, whose commandant with his helmet is a second "Anak" in height, being upwards of eight feet, lined the approach to the entrance to the ancient civic building, and in a few minutes officers were called to the front and ushered into the Court for the Administration of Justice, where champagne and light refreshments were served. M. Van Peut, Échevin, in the name of the Burgomaster, welcomed the French and Dutch in their respective languages, and M. Van den Berghe, Échevin, welcomed the English volunteer riflemen.

A banquet was subsequently given at the Hôtel St. Antoine to forty of the principal members of the English and French contingents by the Civic Guard of Antwerp. Several other banquets took place in various parts of the town, the one most worthy of notice being that offered by the reception committee to a certain number of English riflemen. The general body were dismissed, and used their discretion in rambling over the town. There were, however, several entertainments provided during the evening, in the shape of concerts and balls, which were magnificently fitted up for the occasion, and to which all the visitors were invited free. At one of these establishments—Société Royale d'Harmonie—an elegantly fitted room, with galleries, about half as large again as Exeter Hall, there were at least from 4000 to 5000 persons present, chiefly ladies, to meet the volunteers. A magnificent choir sang an ode in honour of the English riflemen, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. At the Great Theatre, or Opera Comique, "Le Voyage en Chine" was played for the first time at Antwerp, and after the second act a *cantata*, in four verses, was sung to the four national airs, French, English, Dutch, and Belgian. The rendering of this production had such an effect, that the whole audience rose and cheered lustily, and waved their caps, hats, shakoes, and handkerchiefs for several minutes. To such a height was the enthusiasm raised, that the last couplet, the concluding line of which is "Unissons nous par la fraternité," was re-demanded and sung three times, amidst renewed and continuous cheering. At a

ball proceeding concurrently at the Théâtre des Variétés, the ardour for the dance came to such a great height that, although special trains were placed at the disposal of the volunteers to reach Brussels up to three o'clock this morning, many hundreds were left behind at Antwerp, and their appearance indicated the excitement and fatigue they had undergone during the previous twenty-four hours.

Another excursion had been organized by the municipal authorities of Brussels to take the volunteers to inspect the fortifications of Antwerp, but in consequence of the fatigue the volunteers were known to have undergone the day previously, it was abandoned.

The proceedings of the second week terminated with a magnificent banquet given by the King, on Saturday the 20th, to his foreign visitors. The splendour of this entertainment, and the unbounded liberality which marked all the arrangements of the evening, were the theme of universal admiration. The building devoted to this magnificent feast was a portion of the Custom-house, situated on the quay at the western side of the city and western extremity of the Boulevard du Jardin Botanique, a long march from the Place du Musée, where the British volunteers assembled. The exterior of this building was profusely decorated with flags and banners, and on the arrival of the English volunteers they were honoured by a salute of twenty-one guns, fired from one of the ships in the docks. The building in which the banquet was laid was fitted up in the form of a gorgeous pavilion, and all the resources of art and taste were lavished upon its decoration. Upwards of 1400 sat down to the tables, of whom more than 800 were English volunteers.

On the immediate right of the King were seated M. de Comminges Guitaut, Minister of France at the Belgian Court; next the Lord Mayor of London, wearing his scarlet and silver uniform, as a member of the City Court of Lieutenancy, and the collar and badge of Commander of the Order of Leopold; next M. Rogier, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and next to him Lord Bury. On His Majesty's left were Colonel Loyd Lindsay; next Chef de Battalion De l'Herpe, commanding the French National Guards; Major Meider, commanding the Dutch detachment of Militia; and next the President of the Chamber of Representatives. All the Ministers were present at the table, and several colonels of the English volunteers, as well as the burgomasters of Brussels and all the leading cities of the empire. They were all in full official costume, the King himself wearing the uniform of a lieutenant-general of his army, with the band and ribbon of the order of Leopold.

It was at the dessert the King first rose, and addressed the company in French to the following effect:—

"I drink to the monarchs of other countries; to a continuance of the spirit of international union which has characterized our *fêtes*. I drink to the august sovereigns who are to-day represented amongst us."

The health of the King was proposed by Colonel Loyd Lindsay, and drunk with unbounded applause. His Majesty then proposed the health of the volunteers; and the French commandant in very complimentary terms proposed that of the Queen of the Belgians. In the speeches which were made the most cordial feelings of international friendship were expressed on all sides.

The presentation of the prizes to the English volunteers, in order to enable them to get away without breaking into another week, took place at the Tir National on Sunday the 21st, and was a very imposing spectacle. They were distributed by his Excellency the Minister of the Interior, on behalf of the King, and this might be said to be the closing ceremony, so far as the British volunteers were concerned; but there were some dinners and other entertainments given in the evening, one being a banquet given by the Burgomaster of Brussels to the Lord Mayor of London, to which Colonel Lindsay, Viscount Bury, and some of the principal officers of the French and Dutch contingents were invited.

The last official act on the part of the English volunteer commander was the issue of his final general order on the subject of the visit and general conduct of those who had placed themselves under his command. The first paragraph of this gratifying document was as follows:—

"Head-quarters, Brussels, Oct. 22.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Loyd Lindsay, in concluding his duty as commandant of the detachment of volunteers in Belgium, has to thank all ranks with whom he had the honour to act for the generous assistance they have on all occasions given him in maintaining the credit and good name of the English volunteers in this foreign land. Within a period of twelve hours 1100 men, drawn from almost every corps in the kingdom, were assembled in Brussels, and were immediately called upon to take part in parades and reviews prepared for their reception. That they were enabled to do this with credit to themselves is due to their appreciation of the necessity of discipline, and the readiness with which they attended to all orders and regulations which were issued for their guidance."

The following is the official list of the prizes, together with the names of their winners, as returned by the Belgian committee to the head-quarters of the English volunteers, placed in the rotation in which they stood for the prizes together with their scores, viz.:—

1. Colour-Sergeant Cortes, 11th Sussex (winner of the King's Prize), 35; 2. Sergeant Hooper, Queen's (Westminster) (winner of the Queen's Prize), 35; 3. Dawson, 4th Kent (Count de Flanders's Prize), 35; 4. Ensign Starkie, Queen's (Westminster) (Duke de Brabant's Prize), 35; 5. Farrer, 3rd West York, 35; 6. Kirk, 1st East York, 35; 7. Peake, 6th Lancashire, 35; 8. Gibbs, 12th Gloucester, 35; 9. Foster, Queen's (Westminster), 34; 10. Murcott, Queen's (Westminster), 33; 11. Syme, 1st Lanark, 33;

12. Ensign Black, Queen's (Westminster), 33; 13. Marsh, 1st Norfolk, 33; 14. Haigh, 1st East York, 33; 15. Lieut. Marriner, West Middlesex, 33; 16. Corporal Leete, Queen's (Westminster), 33; 17. Sergeant Gould, 37th (Bloomsbury), 33; 18. Sprott, 32; 19. Purchess, 32; 20. Whitehead, 31; 21. Captain Hopkins, 41st Middlesex, 31; 22. Cooper, 31; 23. Harrowsmith, 31; 24. Sharman, 31; 25. Montgomery, 31; 26. Harms, 31; 27. Saw, 30; 28. Cartes, 30; 29. Edmonds, 30; 30. Hodgkinson, 30; 31. Berry, 29th (North) Middlesex, 30; 32. Russell, 30. The following also scored 30 points: Macrostie, Hewett, and Greenwell.

The competition reserved for the Belgians at long distances was as follows, giving the total score at the two ranges, viz.;—

1. F. Hewit, Scharsbeck, 32 points; 2. L. Collette, Liege, 31; 3. A. André, Charleroi, 31; 4. F. Rollin, Liège, 30; 5. J. Jacques, Mons, 29; 6. Edward Sacré, Bruxelles, 28; 7. A. Condré, Charleroi, 28; 8. Paul Barest, Bruxelles, 27. These lists were signed by the secretary of the commission.

Nothing could exceed the kindness and courtesy of the Belgian railway and steamboat officials. The best carriages and the best compartments, all of the first-class, were placed at the disposal of the volunteers; even the omnibuses, which ran in connection with the railways, were free. Trips to Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Alost, and many other places were allowed with equal freedom, and no cost; and, in consequence, many English volunteers whose time was their own, although not actually in Brussels, enjoyed a visit to the various towns of Belgium without a single charge in the shape of travelling expenses. All the English visitors brought home the most pleasurable recollection of the beautiful trip they had had, and the enjoyments they experienced, and were deeply impressed with the cordiality and good feeling they met with from their generous entertainers.

13. Fatal Accident on Mont Blanc.—A shocking accident occurred on Mont Blanc, by which Captain Arkwright, Simond Michel (one of Chamounix's best guides), and Joseph and François Tournier (porters) lost their lives in their attempt to ascend the mountain. On the 13th, at 8.30, Captain Arkwright and his sister, Simond Michel (guide), and two porters left Chamounix for the Grands Mulets, at which place they arrived in the evening at six o'clock. At that time night had already fallen, and fires were lighted at the Grands Mulets, also at the Pierre Pointue, to signal their friends at Chamounix of their safe arrival, whereupon the cannon at the Hôtel Royal were fired in response. Mrs. Arkwright and younger daughter were staying at the Hôtel Royal at the time. The cook and one of the coachmen from the Hôtel Royal had hastened after the foregoing party to accompany them to the Grands Mulets, and the following morning the two parties left the Mulets at 5.30. Captain Arkwright, Simond Michel, and the two porters roped together, Silven Couttet (who keeps the hut at the Grands Mulets, also the one at the Pierre Pointue, and

who is considered one of Mont Blanc's best guides) and the coachman, roped by themselves, leaving Miss Arkwright and the cook at the Grand Mulets to await their return. The grand plateau was crossed in safety, and the party were passing what is termed the Ancient Passage, when a terrible sound was heard by all. Couttet knew whence it came, and shouted to the others to save themselves. Couttet, being a little in advance of the other party at the time, dragged the astonished coachman down a snow slope, and by so doing no doubt saved their lives; the other party scrambled in quite the opposite direction. The avalanche passed, hurrying with it in its frightful course poor Captain Arkwright and his three guides.

At an early hour on the 15th a large party, including twenty-six guides, started for the Grand Plateau, for the purpose of searching for the lost men. Their progress was watched with great interest, by means of powerful glasses, until at last they were observed to divide into parties of twos and threes, and for some time to wander to and fro, when they were observed to collect together on one spot—to the right of the Rocher Rouge, and from the many anxious glances that were given through all the available glasses in Chamounix the conclusion come to was, that they had discovered some trace of the poor fellows. This surmise turned out to be true, for at 2.30 eight guides were despatched to Chamounix with the sad news that they had recovered the bodies of the two porters (Joseph and François Tournier), and that they had left eighteen guides, with the indefatigable Silven Couttet, diligently searching for some traces of poor Captain Arkwright and his guide, Simond Michel. After toiling away until nearly dusk they had to return to the Grands Mulets unsuccessful in finding the least trace of Captain Arkwright or his guide: at midday the weather had taken a sudden change, and a very heavy snow storm began to fall, which very much increased the dangers and difficulties the guides had to encounter.

16. Great Reform Demonstration at Glasgow.—The greatest public demonstration that has occurred in Glasgow for many years took place. A large procession, estimated at 30,000 persons, was formed on the Green, and marched through the principal streets and back again, where six platform meetings were held simultaneously, and three resolutions in favour of Reform were carried unanimously at each platform. The first resolution protested against the continuance of the present imperfect system of representation, and pledged the meeting to "support the Scotch National Reform League in its efforts to obtain by all lawful means registered residential manhood suffrage as the only just basis of representation, and the protection of the ballot." 2. "That this meeting tenders its most grateful thanks to the Right Hon. Wm. Ewart Gladstone, John Bright, John Stuart Mill, and all the other true friends of Reform, who throughout the late discussions in Parliament vindicated the character of the people, and advo-

cated their cause." 3. "That this meeting also returns its thanks to Edmond Beales and the other members of the Reform League in London, for their defence of the right of public meeting and of the true principles of Reform—residential and registered manhood suffrage."

Mr. John Bright, M.P., who had accepted an invitation to address the inhabitants of Glasgow at an evening meeting, witnessed the progress of the procession from the window of the Cobden Hotel in Argyle-street. As the procession and the immense crowd which accompanied it passed by the hotel, repeated cheers were given for Mr. Bright.

16. The Queen at Aberdeen.—To-day, at noon, Her Majesty opened the Aberdeen New Waterworks; the weather was favourable and the attendance of spectators large.

Hitherto Aberdeen had been supplied with water pumped from the river Dee, at a distance of two miles from the city. For many years, however, the supply thus obtained has been far from meeting the wants of the steadily-growing population; and though various projects have at sundry times been discussed to remedy the shortcoming, it was not till Sir Alexander Anderson, the present Lord Provost, entered upon office, that any really practical steps, beyond a Bill being prepared in draft, were taken in the matter. In 1862, the Police Commisioners, headed by the Provost, set themselves in earnest to the work of obtaining a new Police and Water Act, and, succeeding in their labours, the splendid undertaking opened to-day is the result. On the 8th of April, 1864, Sir Alexander Anderson cut the first sod of the undertaking, and since that time the work was carried on uninterruptedly with great spirit. With the exception of a tunnel at Hill of Cairnton, 760 yards in length, the engineering difficulties of the scheme were not of any great magnitude. This tunnel, however, composed of solid rock, proved a formidable obstacle in the way—all the more so that its dimensions being but five feet by four, only one man could handle the boring jumper at a time. At Invercannie, about a mile from the river intake, the first and principal reservoir is built. This huge basin measures 450 feet in diameter at the top, 390 feet at the bottom, is 15 feet in depth, and will hold 15,000,000 gallons of water. Great care has been bestowed in the construction of this important part of the undertaking. From Invercannie to the second reservoir, placed within a couple of miles of the city, the water is mainly conducted through an oval-formed brick aqueduct, 3ft. 9in. by 3ft. 3in. in size. The fall throughout the 20 miles of aqueduct is 2ft. per mile, giving a velocity of 21 inches per second. The second, or lower service reservoir is capable of containing the calculated daily requirement of 6,000,000 gallons. From this point to the city the stream flows through a 27-inch iron pipe, the allowance per head, according to the present population, being about 80 gallons. The plans of the

undertaking were furnished by Mr. Simpson, the eminent London water engineer.

Graciously acceding to the wishes of the Commissioners of Police, Her Majesty intimated her pleasure to preside at the opening of the waterworks, fixing the ceremony to take place to-day, at Invercannie, twenty-two miles distant from Aberdeen, and a convenient morning drive of thirty miles from Balmoral. The Commissioners made their arrangements accordingly, issuing invitations on a liberal scale to their fellow citizens to be present at the opening and partake of luncheon afterwards.

The morning broke beautifully, and as the Deeside Railway Company ran trains to Banchory from eight o'clock onwards, and the people of the district about Invercannie turned out in considerable numbers, between 4000 and 5000 spectators were assembled round the scene of opening early in the forenoon. Among the public bodies present from the city, in addition to the Police Commissioners, were the magistrates and town-council, Shore-master Nichol and the Harbour Commissioners, Convenor Berry, and the members of the incorporated trades. Invercannie being situate in Kincardine, the Artillery and Rifle Volunteers of that county, under the command of Major Mackinroy, Captain Crombie, Lieutenant Gordon, and Ensign Burnett, formed the guard of honour, and took up their position in the immediate vicinity of the place appointed for the inauguration.

Punctual to time, the Queen arrived from Balmoral at a temporary station on the grounds of Inchmarlo, very shortly after twelve o'clock. Here Her Majesty was received by Sir James Burnett, Lord-Lieutenant of the county, Sheriff Shand, and Mr. Davidson, lord of the manor. Her Majesty was accompanied by the Princesses Christian and Louise, Prince Arthur, Prince Christian, the Duchess of Roxburghe, the Hon. Miss Cathcart, General Grey, Sir Stafford Northcote, Major Ponsonby, Dr. Robertson, Mr. Sahl, &c., from Inchmarlo. The Royal party drove to the Invercannie reservoir, a distance of about half a mile. Close beside the reservoir an elegantly-furnished tent had been erected, and in the front of this Her Majesty was received, amid the loud and repeated cheering of the spectators, by Sir Alexander Anderson, Lord Provost, the Earl of Kintore, Sheriff Thomson, and the members of the public bodies already named. The Rev. Mr. Hutchinson, minister of the parish where the proceedings took place, having offered up a suitable prayer, the Lord Provost read the following address :—

"To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The Humble Address of the Commissioners under the Aberdeen Police and Waterworks Act, 1862.

"May it please your Majesty,—We, your Majesty's dutiful subjects, the Commissioners for the introduction of the new water

supply to the city, acting on behalf of the community, gratefully approach your Majesty with the expression of the love of the people of your ancient city of Aberdeen for your Majesty's person and Government.

"We feel your Majesty's present most gracious act of condescension to be an instance of that sympathy in works of public usefulness and in all the efforts of your people to advance their social well-being, which has been so nobly characteristic of your Majesty's reign.

"We are thus encouraged to say to your Majesty that the works now constructed will convey to the city the third supply of water which has become necessary during the present century. In 1806 the daily supply was 60,000 gallons, since increased to 1,000,000; and the citizens will long delight to connect your Majesty's name with the supply of 6,000,000 gallons of pure water from the Dee, about to be opened to them by the act of your Majesty's hand, carrying increased health and comfort to all, and especially to the poorer classes.

"That heaven's choicest blessings may rest on your Majesty and your Royal Family; that your designs for the good of your subjects may be prospered, as heretofore; and that your Majesty may long reign in the love of your people, is our earnest prayer.

"Alexander Anderson, Knight, Lord Provost, and Chairman of the Commissioners of Police of the City of Aberdeen.

"Dated this 16th day of October, 1866."

The Queen then, speaking in public in her official capacity for the first time since the death of the Prince Consort, addressing Sir Alexander and his brother Commissioners, said:—

"I thank you for your dutiful address, and am very sensible of this fresh mark of the loyal attachment of my neighbours, the people of Aberdeen. I have felt that at a time when the attention of the country has been so anxiously directed to the state of the public health, it was right that I should make an exertion to testify my sense of the importance of a work so well calculated as this to promote the health and comfort of your ancient city."

Her Majesty then, advancing to an ingenious piece of machinery erected at the edge of the reservoir, gave several turns to the handle, and in an instant the water came dashing forth pure and plentiful; then rang out again the cheers of the spectators, and the Queen declared the Aberdeen Waterworks open.

Her Majesty then entered the marquee, where refreshments had been laid for the Royal party, and, after a stay of a few minutes, drove off amid renewed acclamation. Immediately on the Queen quitting Invercannie, nearly 500 of the ladies and gentlemen who had been present at the opening proceeded to a large tent placed in an adjacent field, and partook of luncheon.

Sir A. Anderson presided, with Mr. Dean-of-Guild Bothwell as principal croupier.

29. FATAL ACCIDENT IN A MINE.—A most disastrous explosion has occurred at Pelton Fell Colliery, eight miles south of Newcastle. In consequence of the presence of fire-damp in the coal, the pit is worked with care, and recently a large fan-blast had been brought from Belgium and employed to improve the ventilation. The explosion occurred in a seam ninety-four fathoms from the surface, with which it is connected by two shafts—working and ventilating. At half-past five o'clock in the morning, without warning, the pit fired. The blast rushed up the ventilating shaft, the noise of the explosion being heard a mile and a half away, and clouds of broken coal and dust were blown into the air. Twenty-four men and boys, who were working in the pit at the time, were killed, and three who were employed at the pit's mouth were sadly wounded. One of them stated that he was sitting talking to another of the survivors, when, without the slightest warning, the explosion came on them. It was a black flame. He had been sitting with his back against a brick wall, but the force of the explosion lifted him off his seat, turned him round, and dashed him against the side of the pit. The flame flew past him, and it was hardly gone before he was buried beneath a shower of stones. An inquest was held by Mr. Favell, the coroner for North Durham, and a jury, on the bodies of the 24 men and boys killed by the explosion. The inquiry was held at the colliery, and there was a large attendance of colliery viewers and pitmen. Mr. Atkinson, the Government inspector, was present on behalf of the Crown.

Mr. William Armstrong, of Wingate Grange, the head viewer of the colliery, gave an elaborate account of the mode of working the pit, and the reason for introducing a fan-blast. The Hutton seam was the first wrought, and it was ventilated by means of a furnace. But the measure of ventilation was scarcely sufficient to keep the seam clear. In consequence of the extension of the works they added another furnace for the purpose of ventilation, which gave an addition of 7000 cubic feet of air per minute to the 20,502 feet already sent into the mine. The depth of the upcast and downcast shafts was about 57 fathoms each. The sinking of the Busty seam was commenced in November 1863, and two additional shafts were sunk to it, having no connexion with the other shafts in the colliery. "For some time," Mr. Armstrong said, "we tried to ventilate the Hutton seam and the explorers in the Busty seam by means of the two furnaces of which I have spoken, and they were enabled to get into the Hutton seam a principal ventilating current of 21,450 cubic feet of air per minute, and in the Busty seam a current of 11,000 cubic feet per minute. We found, however, that we could not efficiently ventilate both the Hutton and the Busty seams without some additional ventilating power. We had seen fans in use in different parts of the kingdom, and in two colleries in this neighbourhood before we adopted it here, and I had further conferred with Mr. Atkinson as to what he considered the most efficient ventilation in this particular case.

We agreed that the fan patented by Mr. Guibal, of Belgium, was the most efficient, and an agreement was made with Mr. Guibal for the erection of this fan. One condition of the agreement was, that it should be of such power as to extract 100,000 cubic feet of air through the workings of our colliery per minute, when subjected to resistance equivalent to three inches of wall in the gauge —that is, equal to about 15·6 pressure on the square inch. The fan erected was 30 feet in diameter and 10 feet in breadth, and it was started on the 21st of October, 1865—little more than a year ago. Before Mr. Guibal was entitled to his money for it, the fan had to be tested to see whether the condition of propelling 100,000 cubic feet of air per minute through the workings was performed or not. (A detailed register of the experiments was handed in). With a water gauge of $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, we got 96,488 cubic feet per minute ventilating current; and with the water gauge at from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches, we got from 91,000 cubic feet *minimum* to 106,000 cubic feet *maximum* per minute. At the same time, and before taking the fan for the ventilation of the colliery, we tried some experiments with the old furnaces, and with a water gauge of 9-10ths of an inch—which was as much as we could extract from them—we got 31,720 feet per minute. We then adopted the fan to work both the Hutton and Busty Pits. That was in October, 1865. The fact is that from the depth and nature of the workings, the ventilating column here is so small that the fan is peculiarly applicable. In other places it may not be so, but it is here. In the Busty seam there is one down-cast shaft of $10\frac{1}{2}$ft. diameter, and one up-cast. After the fan was applied as the chief ventilating power of the colliery, we ascertained that we got 44,255 cubic feet of air per minute into the Hutton seam, and 21,700 cubic feet into the Busty. Our last measurement, on the 2nd of October last, showed 41,432 sent into the Hutton seam, and 23,290 into the Busty. As the workings were extended we altered the regulators. The south district of the Busty is within seven acres, and the north district is four acres. The fan has been constantly at work from the first day of its erection to the present moment. We stop it on Sunday mornings for a short time to determine that all the fittings are complete. We oil the machinery belonging to it three or four times every day, never stopping its motion, but only reducing its velocity. I may state that we allow no naked lights at the bottom of the pit; and in the south district, where the explosion took place, the hewers use nothing but Davy lamps. The Davy lamps are all locked by the deputies, at the bottom of the pit; and such is the tender character of the seam, that, except in two places, the south-headway and in exploring the drifts, there is no reason to fire shots. The deputies have to inspect the places before the shots are fired, and when the place is found quite clear, the shot is fired by a hot wire and touch-paper. The seam is quite a new seam in this part of the country, and is

quite unknown to Pelton. It might have been a very gassy seam, or quite a simple one as it is; but we took these precautions until the men got acquainted with it. The men have copies of the rules, and can have them renewed on application. The deputies examine the men's lamps in the morning; after they have gone through the workings they come back to their cabin and lock the lamps, and send the men to work. We have two fore deputies and two back deputies, and the pit is travelled by the back overman every morning, and the head overman at other times. I was last in this pit about five weeks ago. I examined the face of these workings in the south headway. I found them all quite clear. The men were working with locked lamps, but there were no indications of gas. There was also no gas in the north workings. From time to time when I have examined it, I have never seen any indications of gas. The exploring places occasionally give off small quantities of gas, and they are doing so at present. I examined some of the extreme portions of the south workings where the explosion occurred the day after the accident, and in only one place was there the smallest indication of gas. We examined the boards; and although the brattice was blown down, we failed to find any gas in any of them. On the morning of the explosion the wall of the fifth board was holed in the next board by the hewer, and a passage made through. There were several falls about the time of the explosion. I have examined them since, but found no gas." The ventilating current for working the south way was about 14,000 cubic feet per minute. The current for the north way was 9,140. In passing up the north-west district they found two "rise hutches," and had considerable difficulty in getting past them from the gas; and the men had once or twice to be taken out in consequence. They were past them now, and there was no difficulty. He had not had the slightest complaint of any one having attempted to unlock the lamps, or of having used pipes or matches; but two men were fined 10s. each in July for puncturing their lamps with their picks. These men did not intend to break their gauze; but one of the rules of the mine was, that no lamp should hang within two feet of the swing of the pick, and upon that rule they were fined On examining the pit the morning after the explosion, he said, they found the evidence of fire more intense in the three exploring boards of the south headway than in any other portion of the pit. The fire had divided, and one portion had passed to the west workings, and the other had gone into the shaft. His belief was that the quantity of gas which had been discharged was small, and the area of the fire had likewise been small. The seam was an exceedingly dry one, and there had been an immense quantity of small coals strewed all over it; and as soon as this explosion took place the expanded air caught up the particles and drove them all over. The dense cloud of small coals would be mixed with a

large quantity of carbonic acid gas, and that, with the after-damp, did nearly all the mischief. The men died principally from the poisonous air.

Several of the overmen were examined, and their evidence went to show that no "shots" were allowed to be fired in the pit except in their presence; that none of the lamps had been tampered with, as they all had been recovered, and that none of the gauzes were broken. They stated that the mine was clear, and that no complaints had been made to them by the miners of gas in the pit.

John Nichol, Atkinson Morgan, and David Aynsley, heavers, gave evidence. They stated that there was gas in the pit on the day preceding the explosion, and it "took" the lamp. The seam was "bleeding" in the west face. They stated that the men usually fired their "shots" themselves. Every man had a wire to his lamp for that purpose, and they made their own "touch paper." They denied that the men ever smoked or used matches in the pit.

Mr. Coxon, Mr. Thomas Robson, and Mr. Peele, viewers at adjacent collieries, also gave evidence. They had examined the pit after the explosion, and failed to discover that a shot had been fired. The gas had fired at the westernmost south headway, and had come from a fallen board. Wherever it came from, it would be swept down upon the man working in front. The only supposition that Mr. Coxon could give for the ignition of the gas, was that the man who was working there, Richardson, had turned round and found his lamp on fire, and he had taken it up so hurriedly, and passed it so rapidly through the surrounding explosive atmosphere, as to communicate the flame through the meshes of the gauze to the gas surrounding. The general weight of evidence tended to show that the operation of the fan-blast was satisfactory.

Mr. Atkinson, the Government inspector, thought the gas had come away from the "fall" when the wall or board had been "holed," or from some other fall. He did not agree with Mr. Coxon with regard to the fire having passed through the meshes of the safety-lamp.

The Coroner having briefly summed up, the jury, after a quarter of an hour's consultation, returned the following verdict:—"That Jonathan Maddison and others did die on the 29th of October, 1866, from an explosion of gas in the Busty seam of Pelton Colliery, but the cause of the explosion we have no evidence to show. We are also of opinion that negligence has been manifested by the officials down the pit in not enforcing the rules, and also on the part of the men in not carrying them out."

NOVEMBER.

10. SHIPWRECKS ON THE IRISH COAST.—The screw-steamer "Ceres" with a general cargo, from London to Dublin, went ashore at Carnsore point, fourteen miles from Wexford, about six p.m. Out of forty-two passengers twenty-nine were lost and nine of the crew. Thirty-five bodies were washed ashore in the course of the next day. The "Ceres" belonged to Messrs. Malcomson, Waterford, and plied between London and Dublin, calling at the ports along the western coast of England. She left Falmouth on her way to Dublin on the morning of the tenth, her course being to sight the Tuska light-house, on the Irish coast. About noon a gale sprang up from the south, which increased as the evening drew on, the weather being thick and hazy. The vessel had her mainsail set, and was running with steam and sail at the rate of ten knots an hour, when, at about seven o'clock in the evening, she struck. The captain ordered the helm hard a-port, but this had only the effect of bringing the vessel's broadside to the beach. As no light had been seen from the time the vessel passed the Lizard, although the captain was on the bridge, and two men were on the look-out in other parts of the vessel, no one on board knew where the vessel was. A few minutes after she struck, her after-part gave way, taking with it the helmsman and all who were on the after compartments, among whom were four women and three children. The helmsman succeeded in reaching the shore, but in a most pitiable condition, from cuts and bruises against the rocks; but the others in that part of the vessel were all lost. Fortuntely, the saloons, in which the passengers were located, were on deck, and the greater number of passengers were forward and amidships, so that, although the after-part of the vessel gave way, those in the remaining and still floating portion of the vessel escaped the death which would have inevitably been their portion had they been below. There were no rockets on board but the captain burnt a case of blue lights, in the hope of attracting attention on shore; but the effort was fruitless. He however, by this means discovered that he was on the mainland, and not a shoal of rocks. This discovery induced him to attempt the saving of the lives on board. The boats were first tried, but they were dashed to pieces in a short time. A rope was then lashed to the main-mast, and, as the tide was ebbing fast, and leaving the vessel on high, although not dry, land, the plan of getting ashore by this means seemed feasible, and so it ultimately proved. Several sailors made the attempt first, and succeeded, but the chief stewardess and a young lady named Routledge, who attempted to follow their example before the water had receded sufficiently, were unfortunately

drowned. Dr. Heard, his father, wife, and child escaped, but their nurse was lost. The place where the vessel struck, is called the Chour, near Carnsore point, on the South Wexford coast. The inhabitants, as soon as they heard of the occurrence, afforded the sufferers every assistance. Major Keane, who resides in that neighbourhood, distinguished himself by his humanity on that occasion. The vessel was a complete wreck, being broken in three parts. All the deck, luggage, and goods were strewn on the beach, but much of the cargo remained on the broken parts of the vessel.

On the same night the schooner "Argus," of Liverpool, was driven on shore at Clougher head, near Drogheda. After struggling for hours with the stormy elements the crew were saved and taken care of by the coastguard; but the vessel became a total wreck.

An inquiry was held under the authority of the Board of Trade into the circumstances which occasioned the loss of the "Ceres," and after examination of witnesses and full consideration of the facts of the case, Mr. Traill and his assessors pronounced their decision as follows:—"The Court, after an anxious consideration of all the circumstances attending the fatal disaster of the loss of the 'Ceres,' feels it to be its painful duty to pronounce Captain Pascoe, the master of that ship, guilty of a default. The 'Ceres' took her departure from abreast of the Longships, shaping her course N.N.E. to pass the Smalls. That course was expected to carry the ship to the westward clear of the Smalls and to the eastward, clear of the Tuskar. Not having sighted the Smalls, he kept that course till 5.40 p.m., when he hauled out a point to the eastward, upon which course he stood till the ship went aground at 6.20 p.m. on Carnsore point, a spot at a meridional distance of 20 miles from his supposed position at that time. To account for this deviation, it is surmised that there was an error in the bridge compass, by which the ship was steered. There is, however, no evidence of such error, and if it had existed it would in all probability have been discovered in the previous part of the voyage, when making the ports of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Falmouth, or on sighting the Longships. It is indeed, possible that the ship may have been carried westward of her course by the tide, which was ebbing from 5.30 till past midday. It is precisely to counteract the risk of accidents from defects of compasses, influence of tides or currents, or other such contingencies, that the use of the lead is so indispensable when the weather is so thick that objects cannot be seen; and therefore, from whatever cause the deviation in this case arose, it will not furnish an excuse for the neglect to take soundings. The Smalls light was not sighted, and the master ought to have known that he was much to the westward, inasmuch as at the time he passed that lighthouse the weather was sufficiently clear to see a distance of some miles. It was therefore his duty to have sounded, at all events, before running his distance as far as the Tuskar, as, in the then state of the weather, he could not have expected to sight that light at any con-

siderable distance. There is the less excuse for this neglect, as the proper channel from the Smalls to the Tuskar is marked by a well-defined line of deep soundings. A glance at the chart would have shown the master that if the soundings shoaled made 40 fathoms as he proceeded, he was running into danger. Had, therefore, a cast of the lead been taken at 5.20 p.m., when the mainsail was reefed, or afterwards, at 5.40, when the ship was hauled up a point to the eastward, or, lastly, when the engines were slowed to half speed, ten minutes or a quarter of an hour before the ship went ashore, he would have been warned of the danger in time to avoid it. The Court, therefore, is compelled to come to the conclusion that the loss of the ship must be attributed to the default of Captain Pascoe in not using his lead, which the circumstances of the case imperatively demanded. The judgment of the Court is, that the certificate of Captain Pascoe be suspended, and it is hereby suspended for the period of two years from this date. The Court would have given due weight to the high testimonials and character of Captain Pascoe, had this been a case that would have permitted them to do so."

13. The Great Meteoric Shower.—The fiery shower foretold by the science of America and Europe for the night of 13th-14th of November in this year was seen in full splendour on the morning of the 14th, between the hours of twelve and two. From about eleven o'clock occasional meteors might be seen gliding along the sky from east to west, but these were only the *avant-couriers* of the great legion that followed at a later hour. The numbers increased after twelve o'clock with great rapidity. From Paddington-green, a fairly open position, 207 meteors were counted between 12 and 12.30, and of these the greater number fell after 12.20. The next hundred was counted during the six minutes that succeeded the half-hour. Soon after this it became impossible for two people to count the whole that were visible from this station; and doubtless from positions with a purer atmosphere, and a wider horizon, the spectacle must have been one of surpassing splendour. Indeed, from a window at Highgate looking N.N.E., but with a circumscribed view, an observer counted 100 meteors in the four minutes between 12.32 and 12.36, and no less than 200 in the two minutes between 12.57 and 12.59. As the constellation Leo rose over the houses north of Paddington-green and cleared itself of haze, the divergence of the meteor-paths from a point within it became obvious, not merely in the directions of the streams that shot from or through the zenith, but in those that left their phosphorescent-seeming trails in the sky towards every point of the compass. Sometimes these rocket-like lines of light would glide out like sparks flying from an incandescent mass of iron under the blows of a Titanic hammer, but with the distinctive features—first, of those lingering lines of illuminated haze in their tract, and secondly, of their rarely appearing as if they originated in the region of the sky from which their courses

evidently diverged. Sometimes the meteor was orange and almost red in its colour, whereas the luminous trail seemed almost always (probably by contrast with the surrounding light) of a bluish hue. In one splendid instance the trail, after having nearly disappeared, together with the rocket-head that had produced it, became again lit up and visible coincidently with a sort of resuscitation of brightness in the body of the meteor. Now and then a little illuminated puff-ball would appear in the middle of the constellation Leo, generally more or less elongated or elliptic in form, as it seemed to be more or less distant, and at the same time convergent from an imaginary point that seemed about three degrees S. by E. of the star η Leonis; and one, as near as could be estimated to such a point, was simply a star that waxed, and waned, and disappeared as one looked at it. Sometimes a minute point of light, like a firefly, would dart with an angular jerking motion and zigzag course hither and thither, but still as if away from Leo. Only about three meteors were seen during an hour and a half to take a direction manifestly opposed to that of these diverging multitudes. The meteors which shot towards the western horizon seemed more brilliant and larger in their courses than those which dropped into the eastern; indeed, very few seemed even to reach the roofs of the houses from behind which Leo had arisen. This was possibly only an effect of perspective, or it may have arisen from the curtailment of the view. As regards the long lines of light that lingered in the paths of the meteors, it seemed that generally they were more dense and brightest towards the middle of the visible path of the meteor, while the meteor itself seemed brightest just before its extinction, an effect possibly due to an obscuration in the middle of its course by matter thrown off from it. The meteors seemed also to lose velocity as they went, but this might have been the result of perspective in those passing through the zenith. One singular feature in these celestial fireworks was the rapidity with which the maximum of frequency came on and went off again. About two o'clock the meteors seemed to have become as scarce as they were at twelve, though they continued in smaller numbers till the verge of daybreak. From half-past twelve or a quarter to one until about a quarter past or half-past one, the heavens seemed veritably alive with stars rushing in many parts of the sky, in groups of two or three together or in immediate succession on each other, seeming as though racing over the blue vault, except that their courses so rapidly diverged. The cloudless beauty of the night near London was a happy circumstance for the watchers of the skies.

The following account of the remarkable meteoric phenomena of the 13th was furnished by the Rev. Robert Main, the Radcliffe observer at Oxford:—

"As early as the evening of November 12th a strict watch was kept up for the appearance of the meteoric shower, but the night proved unfavourable, the whole sky being overcast, with the ex-

ception of a few minutes, when a few of the brighter stars showed themselves in a short gap in the clouds near the zenith at 3h. 30m. a.m., the wind being all the time very high, and the rain falling at intervals.

"The next night (November 13) was, generally speaking, a bright one; the afternoon was clear, but, shortly before 11h., the clouds suddenly made their appearance. It began to rain, and for a moment there seemed to be little prospect of having a good view of the expected display. But the clouds quickly drew off again; and, though they interfered occasionally with the observations, they did not prevent materially the observing of the phenomena. A few minutes after 11h. Mr. Lucas began the observations of the meteors, and was joined by Mr. Quirling at 12h., the meteors making their appearance now and then, so that it was possible for Mr. Lucas, who undertook the noting down of the observations, to take many notes as to locality and appearance; but very soon they made their appearance in such numbers that it was found impossible to do more than count their numbers, Mr. Lucas watching the portion of the north sky of the prime vertical, and Mr. Quirling that from the prime vertical to the south.

"This great display began about 13h. (or one o'clock in the morning), and reached its *maximum* at about 13h. 24m., after which time it gradually began to slacken. The watch, however, was kept up till 18h., though after 15h. there were not many meteors seen. In all, there were observed not fewer than 3,090 during the night, of which about 2000 fell between 13h. and 14h., or between one a.m. and two a.m. As to the general appearance of the meteors, it was noticed that the majority of them were of a whitish or yellowish colour. Some, however, were reddish or orange-coloured, and one meteor was noticed to be bluish. The brightest left generally a train behind them, which was to be seen for a few seconds after the meteor had disappeared.

"In one particular instance the train of a meteor was visible for some minutes; this was the train of a bright meteor which disappeared in the belt of Orion, leaving the train apparently attached to ζ Orionis, and giving to that star the appearance of a comet with a tail of nearly 3 deg., standing out at a position angle of nearly 135 deg. It then detached itself from the star, keeping up the same route as the meteor, but forming itself into a ball of faint cometic appearance of about 15′ diameter, which grew dimmer and more diffused, and disappeared altogether after a lapse of about 4m. to 5m. at a distance of nearly 1 deg. from ζ Orionis, at a position angle of about 200 deg. This meteor appeared at the time of the greatest display, at 13h. 24m. Only in two instances meteors were seen to burst, one in the east and another in the north.

"It may finally be remarked that there was at one time seen the flash of distant lightning coming from a dark cloud near the north horizon, and that some time before sunrise the zodiacal light was noticed to be unusually brilliant.

"The photographic sheets did not indicate any active electricity at the time of the display."

15. Statue to Sir John Franklin.—In the immediate vicinity of the Athenæum Club a ceremony of more than ordinary national interest was performed with an entire absence of ostentation. The statue voted by the nation, nominally to Sir John Franklin, but really to all the gallant officers and men who composed the crews of the "Erebus" and "Terror," was unveiled in the presence of scientific and naval celebrities, with the First Lord of the Admiralty at their head. A few explanatory observations were made; bystanders cheered; a group, including some ladies, looked on from the balcony of the nearest Club-house; another and most creditable addition was made to our public statues, the crowd separated; and—to the casual visitor to the metropolis—that was all. Foreign countries would have celebrated such an occurrence with pomp—at least, with banners, music, and military display. We have a quiet, English way of doing things; but the significance of the demonstration, was as great in one case as in the other. The story of the "Erebus" and the "Terror," belongs almost to a bygone generation. Men, now of middle age, heard, when they were boys, with a strange thrill, of the two ships that had started to explore the secret channels of the ocean of ice, and whose fate seemed a mystery dark and impenetrable. Hope faded year after year, till at last it seemed like a tempting of fortune to send out fresh lives in quest of warriors who must long since have passed to the land of shadows. But love persevered where expediency halted; and the reward came at last in a melancholy assurance of the fate which had befallen the crews of both vessels. The State then, with no niggard hand, rewarded the living and honoured the dead. And now the men of science, of courage, and of enterprise assembled to pay the final tribute of respect to those who had purchased by the sacrifice of their own lives the sad secret of the North-West Passage. Among those who assembled in the hall of the Athenæum Club or in the portico outside to walk in procession to the base of the statue, were the Archbishop of York, Sir John Pakington, M.P., Admirals Collinson, Ommanney, and Hull; General Sabine, Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir H. Rawlinson, Count Streletzky, General Balfour, Mr. Childers, M.P., Captain Lord John Hay, Captain S. Osborne, Mr. Ayrton, M.P., Mr. John Barrow, Mr Arrowsmith, Mr. J. Crawford, Dr. Thompson, Mr. Brooking, M. du Chaillu, Dr. Hooker, Mr. Murray, &c. Lady Franklin, with some relatives and friends, watched the proceedings from the upper windows of the Club.

16. Great Floods in Lancashire and Yorkshire.—Very serious damage was occasioned by the flooding of the streams coming from the Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Lancashire hills. For several weeks preceding, there had been a considerable rainfall, and on the 13th, 14th, and 15th, the storms were extremely heavy, the rain falling in torrents accompanied occasionally by thunder

and lightning, hail and snow. This morning the rivers Irwell, Irk, and Medlock, in their course through Manchester, were found to be rapidly rising from daybreak to after twelve o'clock. The Irwell had risen higher than it had done for thirty years, and no flood probably for the last fifteen years has reached to within ten to twelve feet of the same height. Trees torn up by the roots, floating down the stream in front of the Cathedral, were among the earlier indications of the damage done higher up the river. A cottage staircase was another and more serious intimation of disaster somewhere. The river had risen at this point to a level above the highest arch of the new bridge into Salford, and crowds were standing by the side of the flood, watching waifs and strays all the morning. Barrels of oil and parrafin on coming against the top of the arch were sucked under, but most of them were broken before reaching the other side. The oil in these cases was very perceptible on the surface, and the bursting of the barrels was accompanied by a smell which spread far and wide. Higher up the Irwell, in the passage of the river through Lower Broughton and Strangeways, great numbers of houses and warehouses were flooded, and in many instances the inhabitants were placed in great jeopardy. In Edward-street, Broughton-lane, and some adjoining streets, the inhabitants, finding the cellars flooded and the waters invading the parlours and other rooms, began early in the morning to send for waggons and lorries to move their furniture; but in many cases the rise was too rapid for them. For some hours it rose more than a foot per hour, and some parlours were submerged to the depth of five or six feet. The horses in the waggons and lorries were in some cases up to the neck in water; and some of the animals being seized with cramp, difficulty was experienced in rescuing them, as well as the inhabitants of the houses. Still higher up the Irwell, at the Salford People's Park a large portion of the grounds was under water, and the head gardener and his family were not rescued till half-past twelve at noon. Up towards Bury and Bolton great numbers of houses were flooded, as well as cotton mills and other works; the machinery was stopped in some cases by the water extinguishing the fires, and the goods sustained great damage.

At Blackburn the river Blakewater overflowed its banks, and submerged the lower part of the town (called the Wrangling), flooding houses, mills, and warehouses.

At Darwen a good deal of damage of the same kind was sustained. For some hours the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway through Darwen was impassable by trains owing to this cause, and the passengers to Manchester had to be sent round by Accrington, over the East Lancashire route. The Yorkshire trains of the same company were also stopped by a flooding of the line at the Walsden end of the Summit tunnel. The flood washed away the ballast of the line, so that an engine got fast, and afterwards the trains were sent round by Burnley, Rose Grove, and Bury to Manchester.

By 12.30 p.m., however, the line (according to telegrams from Walsden and Littleborough) was again in working order.

At Stockport damage to mill and other property, attended with stoppage of machinery, was done by the overflow of the Mersey, and similar disasters occurred at Staleybridge from the overflow of the river.

At Preston the flood was very destructive. The Ribble began to overflow its banks early on the 15th, and by breakfast-time immense tracts of land on each side of it were completely covered with water. By noon the water was so high that many hundreds of acres were swamped, and houses and farmsteads were deserted lest they should be swept away. For miles beyond the boundary of Preston, up the course of the river, all the contiguous land was flooded. At the village of Walton the streets were covered, cellars "drowned out," and furniture, pigs, &c., had to be removed. Neither the course of the Ribble nor that of its tributary, the Darwen, could be seen. There was in their place an immense sheet of water. One farm-house, between Preston and Walton, was surrounded by water several feet deep, and all the cattle and sheep were penned up in the barn, the house, &c. Lower down, goats and several sheep were hemmed in, and were standing on embankments half covered with water, and liable to be swept away at any moment. Some dead cattle were washed down the river. One cattle-dealer was engaged all the morning in dragging his sheep upon one of the railway-bridges which crosses a portion of the inundated land. He lost a large number, and many of those got out of the water had to be killed. Avenham Parks, which have been made at great cost, and which form one of the chief attractions of the town, were inundated. All the walks were covered, and only tree-tops could be seen. For about a mile opposite the park all the land was under water. Gardens, houses, &c., were flooded; some dwellings were surrounded with water four feet deep; hedgerows were out of sight, and boats were sailing about over Preston Cricket-club ground. Workmen had to be carried to and from their employ in carts. All the works on the quay were stopped. The Ribble Branch Railway was impassable.

In Yorkshire the flood was no less disastrous. The banks of the Calder, at Wakefield, rose to an almost unprecedented height. Two vessels were carried over the damstakes, and two men were drowned. It appears that early in the morning the billyboy "The Peace," of Beverley, was being lowered from the hoist in Thorneslane to Fawcett's mill, when the hauling-rope broke, and the vessel swept down the stream until it reached the damstakes, where it stuck fast. A small boat, containing two corn millers, named Hepworth and Bates, went out, aided by a rope, to the assistance of the men on the vessel, four in number; but the current was too strong for them, and they were compelled to loose their hold of the ropes; the boat upset, and Bates was carried away, but Hepworth managed to cling to a rope which was thrown to him,

and regain the shore. The vessel threatened every moment to be washed over the weir; and the mate, fearful of being drowned, tried to gain land by walking on a mooring-rope thrown across, and holding on to another, but he had hardly gone ten yards before his foot slipped; he hung a few minutes by his hands, screaming out piteously for help, and then he fell into the water and was seen no more. Shortly afterwards a jetty in the front of Dunn's warehouse gave way, and a sloop moored to it was let loose, and went swiftly down the stream. It struck first against a vessel on the left bank, gave a sudden twist round, and then flew with great velocity over the damstakes and banged against the bridge below, shaking the buttresses to their foundations. The other vessel had previously gone over. The banks of the river were lined with people. The river rose until the water above and below the dam was on a level, and until there was but a small portion of the arches of the bridge visible; and the captains were taking advantage of this to float their emptied vessels back over the weir. At a late hour in the afternoon they had not succeeded. The Manchester corn factors never reached the market at all, in consequence of a tunnel on the line being flooded.

At Leeds the Aire overflowed its banks like the other Yorkshire streams. A corn-mill chimney, the foundations of which were injured by the water, near School Close-bridge, fell in a body from the foundation, and stretched across a branch of the Aire, and in its fall broke the roof of a house on the opposite side of the stream. A man, woman, and child in the house suffered some injuries, but they were not very serious.

At Brighouse the flood was greater than in living memory. The waterside factories were stopped, and were many feet under water. The roads were flooded, and the access to Huddersfield on the south, and Lightcliffe on the north, was alone open. The valley of the Calder from Elland to Cooper-bridge (four miles) became one sheet of water. Much damage was done. The railway to Manchester became impassable.

In consequence of these disastrous inundations, a meeting was held in Manchester for the purpose of taking steps to procure subscriptions for the relief of sufferers. The Mayor stated that the returns obtained from the chief constable were as follows:—Number of houses inundated in Salford, 1414; Broughton, 1253; Pendleton, 18—total, 2685. Cellar dwellings inundated in Salford, 100. Shops, &c., inundated in Salford, 225; Broughton, 53; Pendleton, 3—total, 281. Persons occupying inundated houses in Salford, 7070; Broughton, 6265; Pendleton, 90; making a total of 13,425, besides 3000 occupants of houses not yet visited. Occupying inundated cellars in Salford, 500 persons. Manufactories stopped from working in consequence of the inundation, 34 in Salford, and 3 in Broughton—total, 37. Persons out of employ in Salford, 2629; Pendleton, 495—total, 3124. Manufactories inundated but not stopped, 7 in Salford, and 3 in Pendleton—total, 10.

Houses unsafe, 54 in Salford, and 9 in Broughton—total, 63. Other buildings unsafe, 3 in Salford, and 9 in Broughton—total, 12. Subscriptions were being received by the bankers at Manchester and Salford. He had no doubt that Manchester as well as Salford would come forward liberally to assist in a cause so deserving.

Resolutions were agreed to for raising a relief fund, and the sum of nearly 1000*l.* was subscribed in the room.

17. Reform Demonstration at Edinburgh.—To-day a great Reform demonstration took place in Edinburgh. In a procession, which marched from Bruntsfield Links to the Queen's-park, a distance of three miles, it was estimated there were about 18,000 persons. The streets along the route were crowded with spectators, and great enthusiasm prevailed. There was a fine display of banners and devices, and among the mottoes were several hits at Lord Elcho and Mr. Lowe, who in one instance were termed "The Rinderpests of Reform." There were numerous mottoes complimentary of Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, and Earl Russell. In Queen's-park there were 40,000 or 50,000 people. Four platforms were erected, from which motions were proposed, to the effect that the meeting protested against the present system of representation, as being opposed to justice and the spirit of the Constitution of this country; that no Reform Bill could be accepted as a settlement of the question unless it provided for registered residential manhood suffrage, protected by the ballot; and that a petition to that effect be sent to Parliament.

Thanks were given to Earl Russell, Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, and others.

In the evening a large meeting was held in the Corn Exchange. Addresses were delivered by Mr. M'Laren, M.P., and others.

22. Championship of the Thames.—A contest for this honour, much coveted by watermen, took place between Robert Chambers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the ex-champion, and Joseph Sadler of Putney. The race was from Putney to Mortlake, and was for 200*l.* a side. Chambers was declared the winner, the decision of the referee being in his favour on the point of a foul that occurred about a mile and three-quarters from the start.

26. Retirement of Sir William Erle, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.—A very interesting scene took place in Westminster Hall on the retirement from office of Sir William Erle, a Judge whose professional and private character had won for him in a remarkable degree the esteem and regard of the members of his profession, and a numerous body of friends. At the conclusion of the business of the Court on this, the last day of Michaelmas Term, the avenues of the Court had become completely blocked up by the members of the Bar, and the galleries were filled with ladies, the relatives of the Judges and their friends. The Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Queen's Advocate, and Sir Roundell Palmer, after a great struggle, took their places

within the Bar, while every available place around the table where the attorneys usually sit was filled by Queen's counsel.

At one o'clock the Chief Justice and the other learned Judges who had retired, with Mr. Justice Smith, re-entered the Court and took their seats.

His Lordship having formally asked if there were any more motions before the Court, and there being none,

The Attorney-General and the whole Bar rose, and

The Attorney-General, addressing Lord Chief Justice Erle, all the members of the Bar remaining standing, said:—"I rise, my Lord Chief Justice, in the name and behalf of the Bar, to offer you our tribute of respect and veneration on this, the last occasion, as we are given to understand, on which your Lordship will be upon that Bench. My Lord, if that tribute were due from considerations arising exclusively in this Court, my experience here would not, perhaps, have been enough to justify me in coming forward to give it expression; but, my Lord, it rests on broader considerations—on considerations known to and appreciated by us all; and I could not, therefore, as Attorney-General and leader of the Bar, deny myself the privilege of representing them on this occasion. My Lord, we all feel and desire to acknowledge that, under your presidency in this Court, the great judicial duty of reconciling, as far as may be, positive law with moral justice has been satisfied. 'The letter of the law that kills' and the mere discretion of the Judge, which has been well said to be the law of the tyrant, have been alike kept in proper and due respect. Learning, great experience of affairs, wise administration, have been so combined that, with the assistance of the eminent Judges associated with you on that Bench, the laws of England have been exhibited in their true aspect as the exponent of the rights and duties of our citizens and the guardian of their liberties. The Court of Common Pleas, under your presidency, my Lord, has attained the highest confidence of the suitor, the public, and the profession. But, my Lord, I shall not be forgiven by my colleagues if I stop there. I shall not be forgiven if I fail to express our admiration for the simplicity and elevation of character that have adorned that administration, our affectionate regard for the private and social qualities, the kindness and the courtesy that have been displayed on the Bench, and in the intercourse of private life. Our homage is due and is paid to the worth of the man and the dignity of the Judge. My Lord, it is no idle ceremony that induces us thus to intrude upon you. We know that your Lordship would, had it been possible, have retired from the Bench to-day without public observation. But it was not possible. There are occasions on which the impulses of the heart must be obeyed; and this was one when the universal feeling and esteem of the profession ought to be publicly expressed. My Lord, it may be right, and since it is your will we endeavour to think it so, that in the full possession of the greatest judicial qualities—in the maturity of your faculties, your Lordship

should retire from us and leave the active duties of ordinary judicial life. They have, no doubt, been incessant and severe—excessively so; but, my Lord, we may be pardoned if we bear in mind that your Lordship is still a member of one of our highest judicial appellate tribunals; and that the law of the country may still for long years to come, so far as may be consistent with your Lordship's ease in retirement, derive the benefit of your great wisdom and experience. My Lord, that in these future years your Lordship may enjoy every consolation and happiness that can surround the maturity and close of a valuable life, is the earnest, the ardent prayer of every one of us. My Lord, with this feeble and imperfect expression of our sentiments, I now, addressing you as my Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and, happily, addressing you in that character only, respectfully say to you in the name and behalf of the Bar—Farewell."

The Lord Chief Justice, who spoke with evident emotion, said,—"Mr. Attorney, my words in reply must be few. I return my earnest thanks to you and to all whom you represent on this occasion. I have laboured to do justly according to law; and to obey humbly the Power that gave me a sense of right. If any duty on my own part has been well performed, the honour is mainly due to those who in their respective departments have had to co-operate with me in the noble work of administering justice. It is eminently due to the Bar. I have seen a long succession of advocates, and among them men of the highest worth, espousing and maintaining important interests by their eloquence—always speaking with inflexible integrity, and making the way of duty plain for the Judge—men whom I delight to think of with confirmed respect and regard. I have happiness in knowing that the estimation of the Bar is well maintained. I shall ever retain the deepest interest in its honour for the sake of its members and of the public. Above all, I desire that the due share of honour should be given to my brethren of this Court, with whom I have been taking counsel and interchanging mind for years past, to my unspeakable benefit. I may not in their presence say all that I feel towards them; but I cannot refrain from adding that their affectionate help has been sunshine on my path down to the last of my judicial life. I now take my leave. Though sensible of manifold defects, I still venture to believe that I have devoted the best of my abilities to the duties of my office unceasingly to the present time, when I find need for some abatement of work; and your approval seems to sanction the hope that I may not have laboured altogether in vain. The words of approval pronounced by the Attorney-General in this assembly to-day are to me a strong support and reward. I am heartily thankful to you for them. They are intensely endeared to me by the genial kindness of your farewell."

The Chief Justice, accompanied by the other Judges, then left the Bench.

30. VISIT OF HER MAJESTY TO WOLVERHAMPTON.—The Queen received an enthusiastic welcome from her loyal subjects in this industrious and densely-peopled district, on the occasion of her coming to inaugurate a statue erected to the late Prince Consort at Wolverhampton. Her Majesty, attended by the Earl of Derby, Princess Helena, Prince Christian, the Princess Louisa, and their suite, left Windsor at ten a.m., and travelled by the Great Western Railway *viâ* Oxford, Banbury, and Birmingham through "the Black Country" to Wolverhampton. The day was kept as a general holiday in the district, and vast numbers of the working population in their holiday attire turned out to catch a transient glimpse of the Royal train in its rapid course through their borders.

Within the time fixed for the arrival at Wolverhampton, ten minutes past one o'clock, the Royal train drew up at the low-level station there, the Queen's arrival being made known to the crowds outside by the firing of a Royal salute and the music of the National Anthem. Fortunately, the platform afforded unusual space for the accommodation of visitors, some 800 of whom were admitted by tickets. Great pains had been taken in decorating the station, which, grimy enough at other times, now looked as gay as flags and plants, artificial flowers and evergreens could make it. The Royal party on arriving were received by Lord Lichfield, Lord-Lieutenant of Staffordshire, and the Countess of Lichfield, the Bishop of Lichfield, Major-General Garvock, commander of the Midland District, the borough members (Mr. Charles Villiers and Mr. Weguelin), the Mayor of Wolverhampton (Mr. Morris), the Recorder (Mr. J. J. Powell, Q.C.), the Town Clerk (Mr. E. J. Hayes), and some other gentlemen. The Mayor was here presented, and Her Majesty having accepted from the Mayoress (Mrs. Morris) a handsome bouquet, no time was lost in forming a procession. First came a troop of Yeomanry under the command of Major Thorneycroft; then followed carriages containing the members of the Town Council, the Recorder, the Mayor, the borough members, and the Lord-Lieutenant. Three open landaus drawn by four horses conveyed the Royal party. In the first were Lord Crofton, Major-General Sir Thomas Biddulph, K.C.B., and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Equerry to Prince Christian; the second contained the Countess of Caledon, Lady in Waiting to Her Majesty; Lady Susan Melville, Lady in Waiting to the Princess Christian; the Hon. — Macdonald, Maid of Honour; and the Earl of Derby. In the third carriage was the Queen, the Prince and Princess Christian, and Princess Louisa. Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk Marshal, and Lieutenant-General Gray, Equerry in Waiting, rode on each side of Her Majesty's carriage, where the streets were wide enough to admit of this; and a detachment of the 8th Hussars served as escort.

Between 2000 and 3000 people were admitted by tickets into the station-yard and the approaches. At the entrance was erected

an arch of coal, firmly joined by mortar, with abutments of pig-iron. Picks, spades, and other implements of the collier's trade were so placed as to give relief to the material of the arch, which, though not a sightly object, was one very characteristic of the local industry. Just beyond this was a coal trophy, some 30 ft. high, formed of immense blocks of coal from Lord Dudley's pits, some of these blocks weighing nearly three tons. These two structures were built under the superintendence of Mr. Baker, the inspector of coal mines for the district, and as about 100 tons of coal were used in forming them, it may be imagined that the labour was not slight. It is not far from the station to the market-place, where the statue has been erected, but the procession took a circuitous route of nearly three miles. This was necessary in order to obtain a sufficient area for the spectators. But it was also Her Majesty's express desire that her route should be so arranged as to give the people, poor as well as rich, ample opportunities for showing their loyalty. And certainly nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and devotion displayed by the whole population, town and country, assembled in the streets. The colliers, the puddlers, and the forgemen from the iron districts, the workers in metal, japan, papier-maché, and the hollow ware which have of late years been added to the staple trades of Wolverhampton, lined the barriers, and raised a mighty shout when the Royal carriages appeared in sight, renewing it again and again with a heartiness which could not be mistaken. Some of the streets are so narrow that there were fears of accident from the pressure of the crowd either before or after the passage of the procession. But those who thought that the population of the Black Country, though well disposed and thoroughly loyal, might prove unruly in such a crowd, were agreeably disappointed. Barriers were very properly erected along the whole line of procession; but there was no attempt to break through them, and the orderly behaviour of the people, often under trying circumstances, showed that all were on their best behaviour. The arrangements made by the chief constable, Captain Segrave, and the military officers were well calculated to ensure good order. Some 1500 Volunteers were stationed at regular intervals along the route. There were also available a body of 800 police, including 200 of the Metropolitan force, under Mr. Superintendent Walker; and the Yeomanry assisted in clearing the thoroughfares. The spirit of the people, however, was so admirable that these precautions were but little needed. The procession, after leaving the railway station, went through King-street, Queen-street, Dudley-street, Snow-hill, Cleveland-street, Salop-street, and Darlington-street to the market-place. Festoons of evergreens were hung on each side of the way along the whole route, and each house had made the most of its windows, or had thrown out balconies or erected stands and booths, the testing of which, in the interests of public safety, must have been a work of some labour to the town surveyor (Mr. Morgan)

and his assistants. The show of banners and the varieties of mottoes and inscriptions were infinite. Some of the last gave a welcome to the Queen and Princesses, many alluded to the late Prince Consort, and Mr. Tennyson's line, "The silent father of our Kings to be," was frequently repeated. On one immense banner "the working men" gave hearty welcome to their "beloved Queen." Owing to the fineness of the weather, which allowed Her Majesty to appear in an open carriage, and owing also to the length of the route and the narrowness of most of the streets, every man, woman, and child must have had "a good look" at their Sovereign; and the consideration shown by the Queen in affording them this opportunity was evidently appreciated most thoroughly.

The market-place, or "High Green," was the centre of attraction. The open slope of ground available here was not large, but it was probably made the most of. The treacherous weather of an English November made it, of course, indispensable that the ceremony of unveiling the statue should be performed under cover, and should be witnessed under cover. A sort of amphitheatre was therefore constructed at the expense of the corporation, covered with canvas, and capable of seating over 2000 people. Enclosed in this was the statue of the Prince Consort; and fronting this again, and also fronting the visitors in the amphitheatre, was a small pavilion, draped with crimson cloth, and tastefully decorated, to which the Queen and the Royal party were conducted. Upon Her Majesty's entrance all present rose and uncovered, a detachment of the 39th Regiment giving the salute, and a band playing the National Anthem. The Queen wore a black dress trimmed with crape and edged with dark fur; her bonnet was black, and beneath it she wore a white Marie Stuart cap. The Princesses wore ordinary morning costume. Prince Christian wore a Colonel's uniform, and over it the Order of the Garter. Her Majesty bowed repeatedly in answer to the cheering, and seemed profoundly impressed with the warmth of her reception. Just as the cheers were subsiding, and the business of the day was beginning, a voice called out, "God bless the Queen!" and thereupon the popular enthusiasm broke forth afresh, and seemed irrepressible. Prince and Princess Christian were also heartily welcomed; and Lord Derby received a special round of applause. When all had taken their places and order was restored, the Bishop of Lichfield offered up the following prayer:—

"Almighty God, who hast taught us in Thy Holy Word that the memory of the just is blessed, grant, we beseech Thee, that the memorial of Thy departed servant now set up in this place may be a remembrance of him for the good of us and of those who shall come after us.

"We pray Thee that, as he lived according to Thy holy will, not giving himself up to idleness or self-indulgence, but employing his great abilities and the opportunities of his high station in promoting the true welfare of all classes of people in this the land of

his adoption, so the example of his unblemished and noble character, and the virtues of an active and beneficent life, may stir up many to seek Thy glory and the good of their fellow-creatures in the several stations to which Thy providence has called them.

"We heartily thank Thee for the bright promise of life which through that honoured Prince Thou hast been pleased to bestow upon this nation. We bow humbly before the inscrutable wisdom by which it was ordained that his sun should go down while it was yet day with him, and we earnestly pray that both by Thy mercies and Thy judgment we may be turned nearer to Thee, and may be led to walk more and more in Thy faith and fear.

"We beseech Thee, O Lord, to pour upon our most gracious Queen and upon all her family the continual dew of Thy blessing. Give her that peace and those consolations which Thou alone canst give, and make her strong in Thy strength and happy in Thy favour. Endue her councillors with faithfulness and wisdom. Preserve her long to rule over a grateful people, and grant that there may be never wanting in her house one to sit upon the throne of this kingdom to rule after her example.

"All which we beg in the name and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord.

"Our Father," &c.

The Recorder then read the following address:—

"To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

"May it please your Majesty,—Your Majesty's faithful subjects, the Mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Wolverhampton, crave permission to offer to your Majesty their humble thanks for your Majesty's gracious condescension in thus honouring this borough with your Royal presence.

"The inhabitants of the surrounding districts, of every class and degree—unequal in their fortunes, but equal in their loyalty—also assemble here to-day to present their homage to your Majesty, our beloved and gracious Sovereign.

"Inspired by feelings of profound devotion to your Majesty's person, family, and throne, we presume to approach your Majesty, and each and all of us most heartily bid your Majesty welcome.

"We ask your Majesty's permission to welcome also their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Christian and her Royal Highness the Princess Louisa, whose affectionate and dutiful attendance on your Majesty has obtained for us the distinguished honour of the presence of their Royal Highnesses.

"We pray that your Majesty will deign to honour with your gracious approval our earnest, though inadequate, attempt to testify our devotion to the memory of our late revered Prince, your Majesty's beloved and lamented consort. We desire to-day, and in this place, to acknowledge and commemorate the debt of gratitude we owe to His Royal Highness. Dwelling in a district

of your Majesty's dominions where the resources of science are constantly required to develope the productions of nature and adapt them for the use and benefit of man—where art is ever striving to add grace and beauty to material form, and where the necessities of a vast industrial population demand incessant efforts to ameliorate their physical condition, to educate their minds, and to teach them moral and religious truth—we have felt it to be our duty, as it has been our delight, to erect this statue of His Royal Highness, and thereby transmit to posterity a faithful representation of that illustrious Prince who, promoting science by his judicious patronage, and art by his enlightened precepts, also incited all men to all works of Christian duty by the force of his beneficent example.

"We now humbly pray your Majesty to unveil the statue, that henceforth your Majesty's loving subjects in this place may have ever present among them the image of the good Prince Consort, who, although prematurely taken away from us, still lives, and will ever live, in the imperishable remembrance of his virtues.

"May God preserve your Majesty, and send your Majesty health, peace, and consolation.

"Given under the corporate seal of Wolverhampton, this 30th day of November, 1866."

The Mayor having presented a copy of the address, which Her Majesty was graciously pleased to accept, Lord Derby handed to the Queen a sword with which the "accolade" was bestowed on the kneeling Mayor, and he thereupon rose up Sir John Morris. The knighthood thus publicly conferred called forth fresh enthusiasm for the new honour paid to the town in the person of its chief Magistrate. The following gentlemen were then presented to Her Majesty:—Mr. Charles Villiers, M.P., Mr. Weguelin, M.P., the Recorder, the Town Clerk, the Clerk of the Peace (Mr. H. Underhill), the mover and seconder of the address (Aldermen Ironmonger and Fowler), and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Statue Subscription Committee (Aldermen G. L. Underhill and Hawksford). Her Majesty then commanded that the statue should be unveiled; and the coverings being withdrawn disclosed a very effective equestrian statue, in bronze, of the late Prince Consort. It is enough to say that as a work of art the statue is very creditable to the sculptor, Mr. Thorneycroft, and that the likeness is undoubted. An inscription on the pedestal simply records the name and style, with the date of the Prince's birth and death. Her Majesty and the Princesses, attended by Mr. Thorneycroft, walked round the statue, and the Queen expressed her satisfaction with the entire work.

Before leaving the pavilion, Her Majesty also desired the Mayor to tell her subjects in Wolverhampton that she was greatly pleased with her reception and with the loyal feeling which had been manifested. The procession then returned to the railway station

in the same order, but by another route, passing through Skinner-street, School-street, Waterloo-road, Stafford-street, Little Berry-street, Prince's-street, and Queen-street. This route led through "the Irish quarter" of the town, in which there is a large Irish population. There had been some whispers of a possible Fenian demonstration here; but the loyalty of the poor people was as loud and apparently quite as sincere as in the other parts of the town, and their little display of evergreens and artificial flowers was in its way touching, for they evidently gave what they could afford, and gave it with right good will.

Among the company assembled in the amphitheatre to witness the principal ceremony of the day, were Lord Lichfield, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Bradford, Sir Robert Peel, the Bishop of Lichfield, the Hon. Arthur Wrottesley, Mr. Staveley Hill (Recorder of Banbury), Mr. Hartley, Mr. Hill, and Major Thorneycroft. All those who could make their way to the railway station did so, in order to witness the Queen's departure. Several rooms in the station were fitted up as refreshment and retiring rooms for the Royal party, and the resources of the Great Western Railway Company were aided by Mr. S. Cartwright, Mr. Hartley, and other gentlemen, who lent pictures and furniture. The plants in the station, of which there were many hundreds, were furnished by Mr. Lowe, nurseryman, who also provided the Queen's bouquet. At the station the Queen and their Royal Highnesses had luncheon; and when they came upon the platform to return to town, Lady Morris, in the name of the ladies of Wolverhampton, presented to the Princess Christian, in commemoration of the Royal visit, a very elegant bracelet, with the word "Souvenir" in large diamond letters. The Princess accepted the gift, and in a few words expressed her acknowledgment.

The return journey began at a quarter to four o'clock, and the Royal train, stopping at Banbury as before, arrived at Windsor in exactly three hours. At four o'clock a luncheon was given in the Corn Exchange, Sir John Morris presiding. The Earl and Countess of Lichfield, the Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Dartmouth, Mr. Villiers, M.P., Mr. Weguelin, M.P., Major-General Sir John Garvock, and Major Anson were among the guests. Several congratulatory toasts were given, and the Mayor's health was proposed by Lord Lichfield. At night there was a general illumination. It was estimated that a quarter of a million people witnessed the Royal visit, but other accounts placed the number much higher. All must admit that Wolverhampton acquitted herself worthily in the reception given to the Queen.

A few days afterwards, at a meeting of the Wolverhampton Council, the Mayor read a letter, which, though marked "private," he had obtained, through Sir C. Grey (the writer), the permission of the Queen to read at that meeting. The letter was dated Windsor Castle, December 1, and, after stating that an official

answer to the address of the Corporation would be sent from the Home Office, said:—

"But Her Majesty is anxious that you should hear less formally, and, as it were, more directly from herself, how much she was gratified by the heartiness and cordiality of the reception she met with from every individual of the vast assemblage that yesterday filled your streets, and how deeply—how very deeply—she was touched by the proof which the day's proceedings afforded of the respect and affection entertained at Wolverhampton for the memory of her beloved husband. The arrangements for the preservation of order and to prevent confusion, were beyond all praise; but even these would hardly have been sufficient had you not been seconded by the excellent disposition of the people themselves. I have also been requested by Princess Christian to say how much she has been gratified by the kindness shown yesterday to herself and Prince Christian, and that she will have much pleasure in wearing the beautiful bracelet presented to her at the station as a remembrance of a most interesting and gratifying day.—Believe me yours very faithfully, "C. GREY."

Sir John Morris then read a letter he had received from Sir Thomas Biddulph, in which the Queen desired that her condolence might be conveyed to the wounded volunteer, and also the expression of Her Majesty's intention to settle upon him an annuity of 20*l.*, payable quarterly. The announcement was received with great enthusiasm by the council.

DECEMBER.

3. GREAT REFORM MEETING OF THE WORKING CLASSES OF LONDON.—A great demonstration of the Trades' Societies in favour of Parliamentary Reform was held in the grounds of Beaufort House, Kensington, by permission of the proprietor, Lord Ranelagh. Some apprehension had been felt when the intention to hold the meeting was announced, lest the assembling of so large a body of men, with the addition of a great multitude of spectators, as well as the vagabonds and pickpockets who are always ready to congregate whenever an opportunity for mischief is afforded, might cause a disturbance of the peace of the metropolis, and perhaps endanger life and property. These anxieties happily proved groundless. It was the original desire of those who organized the meeting that it should be held in Hyde-park, and an application was made to the Government for that purpose; but to this proposal the authorities opposed a firm refusal, at the same time intimating that there was no desire on the part of the Executive or of the Police

to interfere with the holding of a meeting in any suitable place. Primrose-hill was suggested for this purpose, but eventually, through the courtesy of Lord Ranelagh, the grounds of Beaufort House were offered for the occasion and accepted. It was decided that the mustering-ground of the procession should be the part of St. James's-park which includes the Mall, Birdcage-walk, and the esplanades before Buckingham Palace and the Horse Guards. It had been announced that the various societies would assemble in St. James's-park at half-past nine, and by ten o'clock many of the standard-bearers of societies had taken up their places, and the marshals, grand marshals, &c., were on the ground, many of them on horseback galloping up and down, arranging for the arrival of the members of the procession. During the morning very few policemen were visible. At half-past eleven the word was given to "fall in," and one long column, formed six abreast, stretched from Marlborough-gate past the Horse Guards to Storey's-gate, and on the other side of this were drawn up shorter columns, which stretched from nearly the head of that first named far down the Mall. These columns were composed of members of about fifty different societies, and were organized in four divisions, each under the direction of a mounted superintendent. Each society or trade had one or more handsome silk banners. Even yet, however, the sound of distant music showed that thousands more were coming to complete the procession; and punctually at twelve o'clock—the hour fixed for the start—orders were given to march forward. The grand procession then started on its way, and for one hour and twenty-five minutes moved steadily forward through the gate leading into Pall-mall by Marlborough House. Amongst the trades which appeared in the largest numbers, and maintained the most imposing appearance, were the stonemasons, bricklayers, brickmakers, joiners, carpenters, cabinet-makers, tailors, and shoemakers, the two latter of which notably contradicted the old saying that tailors were always ill-shaped and shoemakers ill-shod. Some of the trades carried emblems of their particular pursuits. The gasmeter-makers displayed portions of their gas apparatus; the shoemakers carried an elegant spring-sided boot on a pole, bearing an inscription "It's the wearer that feels where the shoe pinches." The bakers bore aloft a loaf, inscribed "The staff of life," and other trades exhibited equally appropriate emblems. A body of sailors exhibited a white flag with a mourning border, inscribed "The Merchant Shipping Act." Several branches of the Reform League also carried banners, some of them inscribed "Manhood Suffrage" and "The Ballot." Outside the exit from Marlborough-gate a countless crowd had assembled in Pall-mall; and some cabs and carriages having to pass through the throng, there was some delay. There were, however, plenty of volunteers to remove all difficulties, and an opening space was speedily made. The mounted farriers, who had been told off to act as pioneers, now got into something like order, and their steeds, though they

neither pranced nor stepped high, were safe under all provocation. After them came a brass band, playing "Cheer, boys, cheer." A number of working men, six abreast, came next. Then followed carriages, containing Mr. Beales, Colonel Dickson, members of the Reform League, and delegates from provincial towns. Some demonstrations were made on passing the clubs. At one window only of the Carlton Club were members seen. The spectators at the windows of the Reform Club were more numerous. The shops in Pall-mall were generally closed, but the roofs and windows were fully occupied. The streets were kept in admirable order by 10,000 voluntary keepers of the peace, distinguished by tickets in their hats or ribbons in their button-holes. The police kept in the background. Along by Hyde-park the crowd thickened, and at Knightsbridge and Brompton the streets were thronged. Banners and mottoes were strung across the roads and out of the windows, and ladies waved their handkerchiefs. Just before two o'clock a sharp shower was followed by a steady drizzle, which did not abate till after dark, and imperceptibly the procession became divided. Unfortunately the entrance to the Beaufort House grounds was too narrow to admit of the rapid ingress of the thousands as they arrived. Thus it happened that scarcely more than one-third of the procession got into the grounds. The rain was falling heavily at the time; and after waiting patiently for nearly two hours the rear of the procession marched away again without getting into the place of meeting. Inside the grounds the resolutions which had been drawn up were put from seven platforms to seven groups of people, and were carried unanimously. By six o'clock the grounds were perfectly clear, and the streets were scarcely more crowded than usual. Various estimates were made as to the number of men in the procession. Some of those who attempted a computation put the number at from 22,000 to 25,000; others estimated it considerably higher. Mr. G. Potter was to have presided on one of the platforms at three o'clock, but not having made his appearance at twenty minutes past that hour, Mr. Beales addressed the meeting, congratulating them on the success of the demonstration, and pointing out how much more fit Hyde-park would be for such a demonstration.

Mr. Lucroft proposed that all who were of opinion that their next meeting should be in Hyde-park should hold up their hands. All hands were held up in response.

Mr. Greeves of Manchester, Colonel Dickson, and Mr. Leicester, glass-worker, then addressed the meeting.

At this stage of the proceedings Mr. George Potter arrived, and said he had been unable to get there before, owing to the immense masses of people that were still coming. He then addressed the meeting, and put the first resolution:—"That this meeting enters its solemn protest against, and its denial of, the charges of venality, ignorance, drunkenness, and indifference to Reform, brought against the working classes during the last session of Parliament;

and hereby declares that no Reform Bill falling short of the principles of registered residential manhood suffrage and the ballot will be satisfactory to the people, or accepted as a final settlement of the Reform question."

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Bristow, mason, moved the second resolution:—"That this meeting desires to acknowledge the services of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Mr. John Bright, Mr. John Stuart Mill, and all those who have supported the people's claim, and vindicated their character in Parliament; and further expresses its confidence in Mr. John Bright as the champion of the national cause in the House of Commons."

Mr. Holmes (bricklayer) moved the third resolution:—"That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman for his conduct in the chair, and to Lord Ranelagh for granting the use of these grounds for the service of the working classes on the present occasion." He urged upon the operative bricklayers still to stick to the banner of Mr. Potter. The speaker made some further remarks, but the pressure of the crowd, which now became excessive, together with the rain and fast-approaching darkness, rendered it impossible to take notes.

Mr. Holyoake seconded the motion in a short speech.

The resolution was put and carried, and the immense numbers congregated round the platform gradually dispersed.

Similar resolutions were passed on the six other platforms.

The next evening a great in-door meeting in connexion with the Trades' Demonstration was held in St. James's Hall; Mr. G. Potter in the chair. Admission to the hall was obtained by tickets, issued at five shillings, three shillings, and one shilling; and the hall was densely crowded. On the platform were several members of Parliament and delegates from Reform Associations in Great Britain and Ireland. Amongst the earliest attendants on the platform was Dr. Mary Walker. Mr. G. Potter, the chairman, having opened the proceedings,

Mr. Henriette (tailor) moved, and Mr. Geo. Leicester (glass-maker) seconded a resolution, to the same effect as that of the preceding day, in favour of Reform.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Bright, on which that gentleman delivered an eloquent and stirring address, in which he exhorted his hearers to strain every nerve to obtain that voice in the representation to which they were fully entitled.

The other resolutions of the preceding day were unanimously adopted.

Mr. Ayrton, M.P., having made some remarks which were unfavourably received by the meeting, upon the Queen's infrequent appearance on public occasions,

Mr. Bright said:—"I am not accustomed to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns; but I could not sit here and

hear that observation without a sensation of wonder and of pain. I think there has been by many persons a great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate and widowed position. And I venture to say this, that a woman,—be she the Queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men,—who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection, is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you" [loud and prolonged cheers, amidst which the body of people in the hall rose and sang a verse of "God save the Queen"].

Thanks to the chairman were then voted.

Mr. Ayrton assured the meeting that his observations had been misunderstood.

The meeting then separated.

10. THE SMITHFIELD CLUB CATTLE SHOW.—This annual exhibition was held on the 10th and three following days, at the Agricultural Hall, Islington. Making due allowance for the effect of the rinderpest, the meeting may be considered to have been a successful one. Upwards of 150,000 persons visited the Hall. The show of beasts, although in point of numbers not equal to many of its predecessors, left little to be desired with regard to the quality of the stock exhibited. It was admitted on all hands by those best capable of forming a judgment upon such matters, that, taken as a whole, the cattle were quite upon an equality with, if not in many respects superior to, any specimens which had gone before them. The sheep were considered quite up to the standard of former years, but in the pig classes there was not that quality to be found which former shows have produced.

The great prize of the Show, the gold medal and 40*l.* silver cup, was awarded to Mr. R. H. Haire's cross-bred short-horn and Scotch polled beast. This decision gave at first some shock to the champions of the pure blood; but in the end it was generally acknowledged that the judges could not have come safely to any other conclusion. In the cow classes the first prize and gold medal fell to Mr. R. Stratton's beautiful strawberry-roan-coloured short-horn. In the sheep classes, Lord Walsingham and Earl Berners were the victors, the former for Leicesters, and the latter for Southdowns, completely throwing into the shade the celebrated stock of the Duke of Richmond, and his once formidable competitor and rival, Mr. Rigden, of Hove. In the cattle classes, although not attaining the most prominent places in their respective classes, yet the Royal stock, entered in the name of Major-General the Hon. A. N. Hood, cut no mean figure, and one or two first, and several second and third class prizes fell to their lot.

The exhibition of agricultural and domestic implements and machines, which always forms an attractive feature of these exhibitions, was viewed with much interest. The washing, drying, knife-cleaning, sewing, sausage, and other machines in full operation had all their sources of attraction; whilst in the galleries

were the atmospheric churn, making large quantities of milk into butter in ten minutes, and the other novel inventions, not forgetting the improvements in those admirably-constructed steam machines introduced by the Messrs. Howard and Co., of Bedford, and other eminent firms. But there was nothing more pleasing than the inspection of the beautifully-arranged stalls of the seedsmen and exhibitors of agricultural produce, giving diversity as well as interest to the general show.

The annual dinner of the Club took place on the 11th, at the Salisbury Hotel, under the presidency of the Duke of Richmond, and was served by Mr. Lewis, the manager. The Duke of Richmond, who presided, referred to the origin of the club, and the advantages it conferred upon the public. When established in 1798, there were but 50 members, and the amount of takings for visitors to the three days' show was 40*l.*, and now they had over 300 members of the club, and something approaching 2000*l.* was taken sometimes in a day for visitors. After showing how stock was improved by its operations, and referring to its success and to the excellence of the present show, the noble president concluded by proposing "The Smithfield Club," which was enthusiastically received. The "Healths of the Vice-Presidents," coupled with the name of "Earl Berners, Lord Walsingham, and the Successful Competitors," "The Judges," and other toasts closed an interesting evening.

12. Dreadful Colliery Explosion at Barnsley.—An explosion attended with a loss of life unprecedented in the history of such disasters occurred at the Oaks Colliery, about a mile and a half from Barnsley, near a small village known as Hoyle Mill. The people living there—almost all of them either colliers or related to colliers—were, shortly after one o'clock in the afternoon, startled by the sound of an explosion which shook the ground like an earthquake. Those who chanced to be near the Oaks Colliery saw a dense volume of smoke issuing from one of the shafts, and were so made aware of the seat of the calamity. Within a few minutes a large crowd, mainly composed of women and children, collected on the pit bank. Most of these were half wild with grief, and, in their frantic movements from one part of the bank to another, implored information about relatives whom they knew to be below. It was known that nearly 400 men and boys were in the pit. Preparations were commenced with great promptitude to rescue the poor fellows. It was determined to descend the second shaft, as it was found that the explosion had destroyed the wire rope in the other, and as the thick volume of smoke which still ascended made a descent there impossible. The police-officers of the district now arrived, and found considerable difficulty in keeping a clear space about the pit's mouth, for they had to deal with an excited crowd of not less than 3000 people. At length they succeeded, and a party of men descended the shaft. In a short time they returned, bringing with them several dead bodies,

all of them badly burned. A difficulty here occurred which, on becoming known to the crowd which flocked around, greatly intensified the excitement. The colliery is one of the largest in the district, and the works extend about two miles from the bottom of the shaft. The men who brought up the first batch of dead pitmen reported that the passage of air had been stopped, rendering it for a time impossible to go beyond the immediate vicinity of the foot of the shaft. There could be little or no hope, they said, of reaching the bulk of the miners who were below until the works could be opened and a free circulation of air obtained. Continual descents were made in the shaft which remained open; and up to about five o'clock more than thirty bodies of men and lads had been landed at the bank. Several of these were dead, and most of the others were so badly burned that there seemed little hope of their lives being saved. Among those first sent up were several lads of from twelve to fourteen years of age. The bodies, which were carried from the mouth of the shaft to the cabin, were so disfigured that their relatives, in many cases, found it difficult to identify them. There were anxious mothers and sisters who, unable to make out the features of the charred and blackened faces, turned to the clogs on the feet and the buttons on the clothes for means of identification. In a few cases the men who were got out of the pit alive appeared to be in the greatest agony; but most of them seemed to have been so benumbed, possibly by the foul gases evolved by the explosion, as to have lost all sense of feeling.

So soon as intelligence of the appalling catastrophe reached the neighbouring pits, the stewards and viewers, with praiseworthy humanity, left for the purpose of rendering what assistance they could at the Oaks. After a short consultation it was determined to have an immediate examination of the workings.

The Oaks Colliery is the property of Mr. R. Micklethwaite, of Ardsley, and is leased to Messrs. Frith, Barber, and Co. There are persons in the district who remember that about twenty years ago there occurred in the same pit a catastrophe similar to that which has just happened. Then seventy-three lives were lost. The pit is about 270 yards deep; and although it has been worked for a great number of years, all the recent improvements as to ventilation and so forth have been adopted.

The next day another frightful explosion took place in the colliery at about ten minutes to nine in the morning, while the persons in charge were in the act of drawing out the dead bodies of those who perished in the previous explosion.

A body of sixteen out of thirty-seven searchers then in the pit, having advanced about 700 yards from the shaft, "felt the air sucking," and made the best of their way back. The signal being given, they were hauled up in safety; but on reaching the upper air they were reproached with cowardice by some of their fellows, and a fresh batch of seven got into the cage and were lowered down to continue the search. They had not reached the bottom

many minutes before a fearful crash was heard, shaking all the works and neighbouring houses, and followed by the ejection of a shower of rubbish from the mouth of the shaft. It now became evident to all that no reasonable hope remained of bringing up any one else alive, yet a man named Dawson volunteered to go down once more on this desperate errand. Fortunately, a third explosion put an end to any further sacrifice of life; and all persons were promptly warned off the ground. The total number of men and boys who lost their lives in consequence of the first explosion was not far short of 400, besides twenty or thirty volunteers who perished in the search for their missing comrades, on the second day. Among the valuable lives thus lost were those of Mr. Parkin Jeffcock, mining engineer, Sheffield; Mr. Smith, engineer; David Tewart, steward; W. Sugden, deputy; C. Siddons, under-deputy; Thomas Naylor and W. Stevenson, foremen. There is no recorded instance, we believe, of so fatal a catastrophe in a coal mine. The most terrible accidents of the same kind within the last few years, if not within living memory, were those at the Lundhill and Hartley Collieries. In the former, which happened in 1857, the number of victims was 189; in the latter, which happened in January, 1862, the number was 209. The greatest sympathy was felt in all parts of the kingdom for the sufferers by this frightful calamity. Subscriptions were immediately set on foot, both in the district and in the metropolis, for the relief of the numerous widows and orphans who had been bereaved of their natural protectors. A telegram was sent from Her Majesty to Barnsley to the following effect:—

"The Queen learns with deep regret the extent of the frightful calamity, and desires, if a subscription is set on foot, to put down her name for 200*l.* for the relief of the families of the unfortunate sufferers."

A meeting was held in Barnsley, Earl Fitzwilliam presiding. A subscription list was opened, at the head of which is Her Majesty's 200*l.* The proprietors of Lundhill Colliery give 500*l.*, half thereof to be devoted to the relief of the widow and orphans of Mr. John Smith, one of the volunteer explorers. Earl Fitzwilliam gives 500*l.*; Mr. R. Clarke, 200*l.*; Mrs. Clarke, 20*l.*; Major Wombwell, 150*l.*; Mr. Vernon Wentworth, 100*l.*; Mr. J. F. Woodhouse, 100*l.*; Messrs. J. Taylor and Sons, 100*l.*; Mr. Foljambe, 100*l.*; and various other sums made the subscription more than 2000*l.*

On Sunday the 16th, the burial of the dead was proceeded with. Each coffin was followed by a train of mourners; and the number of little children amongst them was the most remarkable feature in the moving scene. The moans of the widows were most heart-rending. There were three explosions on the 17th, and what was now sought was to drive the explosions to the other end, so as to dam up the sources of ventilation, and thereby to extinguish the internal fire. On the 18th the engineers gave directions for

filling up the pit, and the next day the furnace shaft was practically closed, though the workmen had not ceased throwing down truck-loads of earth.

The first explosion took place at one p.m., on Wednesday, the 12th. The winding engine was in motion at the time, and the cage in No. 2 shaft was blown a short way up, when the coupling chains snapped. No. 1 pit cage was broken, but not disconnected from the rope. Black smoke from the downcasts continued about five minutes, and then suddenly ceased, and the fresh air began driving down freely. As soon as this was the case the No. 2 pit rope was taken off the drum, and the No. 1 pit rope was wound up to the top, examined, and found injured about twenty yards from the cappel. The broken cage was taken off and a new one put on, and about two o'clock Mr. Dymond, the managing partner; Mr. David Tewart, the underground steward; and Christopher Siddons, one of the deputies, immediately descended the mine and found many men lying about the bottom, all much burnt. They were drawn to bank as quickly as possible. A new rope was put on, and great exertions made in the exploration of the mine and recovery of the men. The explorers found terrible effects of the explosion in the workings, and the undoubted evidence of the existence of fires. The searches were vigorously prosecuted the whole of Wednesday afternoon and night by Mr. Dymond, Mr. Potter, Mr. Brown, Mr. Parkin Jeffcock, Mr. Smith, Mr. Platts, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Maddison, and other viewers and deputies, aided by seventy or eighty men, who succeeded in bringing to bank about eighty, eighteen of whom were living. At nine o'clock on Thursday morning there was a second violent explosion at all the pits. At 9.50 a.m. there was a third violent explosion at the downcasts. The No. 1 cage was blown into the headgear and broken, and two vertical columns of black smoke and dust were visible for two or three minutes. Mr. Parkin Jeffcock, Mr. Smith (Ludhill), Mr. D. Tewart, and about twenty-five men were down in the pit at the time of these two explosions. No change was noticed in the pits until about 7.30 p.m. on Thursday, when dense white smoke issued from No. 2 pit, succeeded by an exceedingly strong current of wind, &c., then smoke, accompanied by volumes of sparks. At this time the furnace-shaft became a downcast. The pumping engine was now stopped, and all fires and lights extinguished near the top of the pits. About one p.m. on Friday morning, the sparks nearly disappeared, but the current of air continued. About a quarter to five on the same morning, Mr. Mammatt, who was in attendance with others at the pit bank, heard the signal-bell ring. He immediately got some men together, and they decided upon descending; and for that purpose they removed the gin-rope from the furnace pit, and rigged it up at No. 1, using the saw-mill engine. He and Mr. Embleton, junior, then descended, and near the bottom of the pit found Samuel Brown alive, and brought him to bank. They shouted and looked about the pit, but could not hear or find any

one. They, however, saw a large fire still burning; there were many corves of coal there, all on fire.

A meeting of the most eminent and experienced colliery viewers in England, attended by Mr. Morton, the Government inspector, was held at the King's Head, Barnsley, on the 14th, when, after hearing the explanations of those viewers and deputies who had descended and explored the mine, the meeting was unanimously of opinion as to the probable existence of standing fires in the mine, and that any descent or attempt to examine it at present would be attended with certain risk of life.

An inquest on the bodies of the deceased was held at the Barnsley Court House. Mr. John Edward Mammatt, surveyor and inspector of the pit, under instructions from Mr. Woodhouse, gave evidence, which was mostly technical in its character, and which required constant reference to plans and charts. He also deposed that Mr. Parkin Jeffcock, though Mr. Woodhouse's partner, had nothing to do with the actual management, nor did Mr. Dymond, the principal owner of the pit, issue practical instructions for the underground working. The whole responsibility rested on Mr. Woodhouse. The firing of the shot in the stone drift in course of formation, for the purposes of ventilation and easy transit, was entrusted to one Robson, in whose absence the operation would be entrusted to one of the deputies. Three men were constantly employed, day and night, in attending to the ventilating furnace. The pit was worked in a single shift, except in one or two places, where there was a double shift. The figures given by this witness showed that a body of fresh air was worked every minute into the mine. The naked lights in the mine had been considerably reduced. Some time ago they extended for a distance of 800 yards through the workings from the bottom of the shaft, but owing to certain representations, Mr. Woodhouse had them limited to 400 yards. About a fortnight before the explosion, when witness was absent, a deputation of men complained of foul air in the South Level workings. Witness was under the impression that the defect had been remedied, but he had not looked to this himself.

Mr. Mammatt further deposed that only one deputy of the workings (Cadman) had survived, the others having been killed in the explosion, including David Tewart, the underground manager, in whose book the number of the workpeople distributed throughout the mine was recorded. Witness did not know that any one could make out that book, as Tewart was dead. In the working of the coal, powder was not used, and the blasting was confined to the stone drift at the bottom of the downcast pit. That stone drift was made because Mr. Dymond wished to give his men a more direct road to their work, and also because witness wished to improve the ventilation down the travelling road on the dip side. The drift was in the stone bind, not near the coal. Open gas-burners were used at a much greater distance from the shaft. Witness said he had heard the appearance of the workings of this pit described as

like an underground railway station at night, the open space being unusually extensive.—(David Tewart's diary was put in and read. One entry was, "August 29, 1866. A large outburst of gas in the second bank, south side, low end of the engine place. Nine a.m."—"Nov. 30. The colliers laid the pit idle. Said the south level banks and straight places were full of gas. When the banks were examined there was none to be found.") As to the offer of a premium for blasting in the drift, the witness said no formal premium was offered, but the men were offered consideration-money for working long shifts.—John Sugden, contractor for the drift, was called. He deposed to the perfect state of ventilation, and to the safety of using powder in that part of the mine. The only lamps used were Davy's and Stephenson's lamps, which were always kept locked. He never saw a naked light in the drift. Tewart had once cautioned him to take notice if he observed any gas there.—Mr. W. Maddison, a viewer of Wooley Colliery, said he examined the drift after the explosion, and was of opinion that it was a thoroughly safe place to fire a shot.—The inquest was adjourned to the 7th January, and was afterwards continued by successive adjournments for some time. Finally the jury agreed upon the following verdict:—"That Richard Hunt and others were killed by an explosion of gas or fire-damp in the Oaks Colliery on the 12th of December, 1866, but there is no evidence to prove when or how it was ignited. The jury add that they think it unnecessary to make any special recommendations as to the working of mines, seeing that the Government are collecting information, no doubt with a view to the better protection of life, but they think a more strict inspection is desirable."

13. The Staffordshire Colliery Explosion.—On the day following that of the disaster at the Oaks Colliery, the inhabitants of the Potteries were startled by a colliery explosion which, although not quite so disastrous in its results as that at Barnsley, was yet more appalling than any which had previously happened in the North Staffordshire coal district. About a year and a half previously the North Staffordshire Coal and Iron Company (Limited) commenced working a new pit at Talk-o'-the-Hill, about four miles from Tunstall and one mile from the Harecastle station. The shafts had been sunk the depth of about 300 yards, and latterly the workers had reached the Banbury seam, a noted gas coal, the getting of which is attended with such extreme danger that extraordinary care has at all times to be manifested by the managers and men to avoid the certain loss of life which would be consequent upon an explosion. Up to Thursday the 13th the care taken had been successful; but on that day a calamity peculiarly fatal in its results occurred. From 150 to 200 men were employed in the pit. Almost all of them went down at about five o'clock on Thursday morning, and were engaged at different parts of the workings, which extend for about 500 yards in all directions from the bottom of the shafts. Every thing went on as usual until

nearly noon. Then the people on the bank and those living within half a mile of the pit felt the earth disturbed as if by an earthquake, and heard a smothered report, the meaning of which was too well understood. Shortly after, flames rushed furiously up one of the shafts of the new pit, and the roofs of the cottages, the hedgerows, and the roads were covered with a black coating of soot. Large masses of coal and scorched and blackened timber were also hurled up the shaft, and scattered about at various distances. The sound of the explosion and the shaking of the earth caused great numbers of men to rush from the other collieries and ironworks in the neighbourhood for the purpose of giving what assistance they could to those whose lives were in danger, and women and children ran from their homes to obtain as early information as possible respecting the relatives for whom they had reason to dread a most terrible end. They thronged about the pit bank so as to impede those who were active in making preparations for descending. With the prompt assistance of the men who had arrived from other works, the manager, Mr. G. Johnson, succeeded in clearing a space about the entrance to the shafts, and the cages descended. The people outside had not to wait long before about fifty men and lads were sent to the surface, and were eagerly welcomed as they stepped from the cages. There was again a tumult, as wives and mothers and children rushed forward to greet their escaped relatives, and to ascertain the extent to which they had suffered from fire or from the terrible after-damp. The above escapes had been made by means of the No. 2 shaft. The efforts at relief by the cages at No. 1 shaft were not so successful, and many of the men who were sent up there were dreadfully burned. A number of surgeons resident in the neighbourhood had hastened to the spot to give their aid, and the incumbent of the parish was active in his efforts to assist the sufferers.

The search for the men below continued throughout the afternoon, and as it was found necessary, owing to the suffocating nature of the atmosphere in the pit, to work by frequent relays of men, a great number of volunteers for the hazardous service was needed. There was no difficulty in obtaining them. Even those who had escaped from the pit, and whose injuries were only slight, went down again and again, and hazarded the lives which had only just been saved in order to give succour to those less fortunate than themselves. The explorers groped about the workings, and as they found man or boy, took him to the bottom of No. 1 shaft, from whence he was sent to the surface. So dangerous was the work of searching that frequently the men engaged in it were sent up the shaft either partially or wholly unconscious, and the medical men had to use restoratives. Some who rapidly recovered insisted upon continuing the dangerous labour. One of them, a collier who had been sent up in a fainting state, could not lie down until he had told how and where he had seen four men lying dead in a

heap. Others, who had also suffered whilst at work below, and whom the doctors had told to lie quiet on the bank for a while, begged that they might descend again, even whilst the noxious gases which they had inhaled continued to make them reel like drunken men. In the pit the explorers saw some horrible sights. Frequently they found portions of bodies lying apart, and they were at times obliged to send up the trunk of a man whose head they could not discover. At a late hour on Thursday night they had sent up forty-three dead bodies, and thirteen men and boys who had suffered injuries more or less severe. The sight at the bank was even more affecting than that below. As the bodies were taken from the cages the doctors examined them, and pronounced whether life was extinct or not. The women and children were kept so far back from the pit's mouth that they could not tell whose body it was that had been last looked at by the doctors, and were unavoidably kept in a state of suspense which became at times unbearable. Fires, which had been lit about the bank to facilitate identification, threw a peculiar glare upon the scorched and blackened bodies, and upon the men whose work it was to lift them from the cage and lay them before the doctors. Even with this assistance it was not possible to name all who came out. The bodies were placed in a cart in pairs, and taken to the Swan Inn. As the carts rumbled along, women would start out from the rows of watchers and ask anxiously about their husbands or sons. Very frequently no reply could be made to their questions. During the night of Friday the 15th, the recovery of the bodies was resumed, and twenty-five more were brought to the surface, making a total of deaths of eighty-five; a second man among those rescued alive having died since the accident. Fourteen horses were found dead in the pit.

In the course of the explorations the cause of the explosion was ascertained. The explorers found the body of the mining blacksmith, and by his side they saw his lamp with the top off. He had been sent down to shoe some of the horses, and must have strolled into the workings. There is no doubt that he took off the top of his lamp, and the light attracting the foul gas which was about, caused the explosion. His head was blown to pieces.

Mr. S. Child, chairman of the committee for the relief of the persons bereaved by this colliery explosion, received a letter signed "Thos. M. Biddulph," and dated "17th Dec., Buckingham Palace," desiring Her Majesty's name to be entered in the subscription list for 100*l.*, and signifying the Queen's sympathy for those who had been bereaved by this terrible accident.

The North Staffordshire Coal Masters' Association resolved to devote 83*l.*, interest accrued on the Staffordshire portion of the Hartley fund surplus, to the relief fund; and they requested Mr. Wynne, Government inspector, to use his influence to obtain the Shropshire and Cheshire interest on behalf of Lord Granville as

coal master. 100*l.* was subscribed, and 100*l.* each from Mr. R. Heath and Mr. Yewdell (the latter on account of the Silverdale and Apedale Company), and 250*l.* in smaller sums.

A meeting was held, the Earl of Lichfield, Lord-Lieutenant of Staffordshire, presiding, in the Corn Exchange, Wolverhampton, to receive subscriptions for the sufferers. The subscription commenced in the room amounted to more than 1000*l.* An inquest was held on the bodies of the deceased persons, and after a very protracted inquiry, the jury agreed to the following verdict:—"We find that the deceased met their deaths by an explosion of gas in the North Staffordshire Coal and Iron Company's Banbury mine on the 13th of December last. No positive evidence has been brought before us to show how the explosion occurred, but we are of opinion that an accumulation of gas had taken place in some of the lower workings in consequence of the upsetting of a train of coals in a doorway, and the gas coming in contact with a naked light unlawfully exposed by one of the miners, exploded. We find that if the rules and regulations made by the managers of the pit had been carried out as they ought to have been by the subordinates, the explosion might not have taken place. We regret to see a culpable negligence shown by James Bassons and Charles Lawton in violating rules made for protection of life and property in the pit. We should also suggest that means be adopted by Mr. Nicholls, underground bailiff of the mine, for carrying out more strictly the rules of the pit with regard to men firing their own shots, brushing out the gas themselves, smoking pipes, and relighting their lamps in the return airway. We cannot too strictly urge upon Government the necessity of appointing additional inspectors of mines."

19. Fatal Accident on the Metropolitan Railway.—An accident took place which perhaps cannot be properly described as a "railway accident" though it proved fatal to the lives of three passengers, one lady and two gentlemen, on the Metropolitan (underground) line. The exact scene of the accident was that portion of the railway just outside the Aldersgate-street station, where the works of the new dead-meat market were in progress. These works were being carried on under the superintendence of a joint committee composed of members of the corporation of London and of directors of the Great Western and Metropolitan railways. Mr. Kelk has the general contract for the construction of the market, which was designed to rest upon a network of wrought-iron girders thrown over the large space recently excavated in Smithfield. Several of the main girders had been already placed in position, and the cross girders were in process of being laid across them by the Thames Ironworks Company, who had taken a sub-contract under Mr. Kelk. The engineers had taken the precaution to give the contractors notice not to proceed with this operation at any time when trains were passing. Unhappily, this regulation was not strictly adhered to, and at the moment the down-train to Kensington leaving the Moor-

gate-street station at 12.40 p.m., approached the now open area beneath Smithfield, the workmen of the Thames Ironworks Company, under the orders of Mr. Maldon, one of their foremen, were swinging into position, by means of the "shearlegs," a cross girder, about 40ft. long and 20in. deep, and weighing nearly four tons. The train, consisting of four carriages, each about sixteen yards long, had almost passed the point of danger when the suspending tackle became displaced in some unexplained manner, and the girder fell obliquely, one end burying itself in the ground a few feet from the rails, the other end falling with destructive force upon the roof of the last carriage in the train, a second-class one, containing six compartments. The first compartment escaped, and the enormous weight of the girder, falling upon the second, broke through, and utterly destroyed the furthest back compartments, in which, by a fortunate chance, there happened to be only three passengers—two gentlemen and one lady, and Squires, the guard of the train. The poor woman was instantaneously killed, her skull having been frightfully fractured and her neck broken. The girder completely destroyed the last four compartments of the carriage, which was dragged on some forty or fifty yards before the engine-driver could check the impetus of the train. The girder carried away the upper part of the carriage, and with it the male passengers and the guard, who were found crushed upon the ground. The body of the woman remained on the floor of the broken carriage.

The noise made by the fall of the girder speedily attracted a number of workmen in addition to those employed in placing it, and the huge mass of iron was removed as quickly as possible from the mutilated bodies of the sufferers. Information was at once conveyed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and Mr. Cuddeford, the house surgeon, sent two of his colleagues, Messrs. Moore and Humphrey, to afford all the succour in their power. Under the careful superintendence of these gentlemen the injured passengers and guard were carried to the hospital. One of the gentlemen died almost immediately upon entering it—indeed, before he could be removed to a ward. He was only able to take a little stimulant, and he then sank at once. Both legs and thighs were frightfully mutilated, and the abdomen was much torn. The other passenger was in a state of extreme collapse upon admission, having fracture of the thigh and dislocation of the fibula, besides minor injuries. He never rallied, and died at 5.30 p.m. The guard was suffering from severe fractures of both legs, besides various other injuries. The poor woman, although dead when taken from the carriage, was also received at the hospital, where the medical men ascertained that her skull and neck were fractured, and her jaw broken.

An inquest was held on the bodies of the deceased persons by Mr. Payne at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. One of the principal witnesses, Mr. H. Carman, of Hampstead-road, builder, said he

was in the second-class carriage, when he felt it struck heavily overhead, and his compartment was partially broken. Some persons outside extricated him. On getting out he saw Mrs. Sarah Johnson lying on the floor of the carriage, under the girder, which was lying diagonally on the new rail from Aldersgate station, going towards Farringdon-street. He saw the shear-legs above the girders, but he did not remember their absolute positions. A thick hauser was hanging about six or seven feet above the girders, but he did not see from what it was hanging. He saw no tackling either on the ground or hanging to the shear-legs. Witness did not investigate further, as a medical man advised him to go to bed, as he was very much shaken.—Charles Ritchie, a fitter and hoister, working at the New Meat Market, said the model (produced) was correct. When the girder fell witness was standing on the last of the cross girders. The girder slipped on the one that witness was standing upon. It was first placed diagonally above and on the cross girders. "We were about to place it by the side of the others. It had been dragged by the engine across the other girders by a line through a leading block, going to the monkey-engine, which was some distance away. It worked a crab, to which the rope led. A foreman was standing on the other side of the girder, and some men—Smith, Jones, and Simms—were at the end, whose duty would be to put a check-line on before the engine was started for the last time. It would have been difficult to fix it, as there was no hole at that end of the girder. There was no particular place to fasten the other end of the check-rope, but there was an iron stake in the ground which might have been used for that purpose. This was the first girder brought across in the way described. It was done so, being thought a quicker way. A boy was posted to pass signals from the foreman to the engine-driver. The boy was on the ground with a white flag to start the engine, and a red flag to stop it. I don't know of any one being placed to look out for coming trains. The engine when started would gradually tighten the rope, and then suddenly the girder would start; and if you wanted it to slip a foot, it was apt to go three, with a sort of jerk. The ganger over all the men at work there was Chaney, who waved the white flag; the boy repeated the signal, and the engine started." Witness told Chaney it would not be safe to go much further. He said, "I think it will go another foot." Witness said it would not be safe to drag it another foot, as by trying to move it one foot it would slip three. Chaney then showed the white flag. The engine started, and drew the rope exceedingly tight, and the girder took a sudden run, and fell over on to the carriage. In answer to Captain Tyler, the witness said there were no orders about not working the line while the trains were running.—Charles Pinchin, driver of the donkey-engine, also deposed to the circumstances under which the calamity occurred, and said that Mr. Wilmott directed him to use the donkey-engine on the occasion.—William Sprignall,

the signal boy, also deposed to the circumstances under which the girder fell.—After some further evidence, John Wilmott, foreman of the works at the New Meat Market, was examined: he said he was in the service of the Thames Ironworks Company. He received no instructions from the railway company. The witness described the instructions given by him to Chaney, and said he ordered him to take the balancing point of the girder about midway between the two last cross girders, and then let witness know, and he would come and superintend the getting of the girder into its place. Witness then went away, leaving Chaney in charge. Witness was not recalled by Chaney, and his first knowledge of the calamity was from the crash of the carriage.—Richard Chaney, hoister and fitter, deposed to the instructions given to him by Mr. Wilmott, and also to facts already stated by the witness Ritchie. He also said: "I am not aware that Ritchie said it was not safe to drag it another foot, or I should not have had it done. I kept my eye always on the mark, and did not look at the men at all. I thought it might go another foot, and some one said, 'Dick, go another foot.' I was then at rest, the engine being stopped. I believe I then reversed the white flag to move it the other foot. I won't say whether I did or not. Just at that time the train came through. I was enveloped in steam, and the girder fell without my seeing it. I had the red flag in my hand at the time, and reversed it. I did not see the lad, because I did not take my eyes off the mark. Ritchie never said, after the accident, 'Whatever made you start the engine on again? I told you the girder must go down.' Nor did I say, 'It's no use saying so now.' I do not recollect any such words. I have been for twenty years engaged in these works."—The coroner then summed up, and said it was for the jury to say whether Wilmott, by any act of omission, or Chaney by any act of commission, had made themselves criminally responsible.—The jury, after a short consultation, returned a verdict of Manslaughter against Wilmott and Chaney, and they were bound each in 100*l.* and two sureties in 100*l.* to appear at the next sessions of the Central Criminal Court and take their trial.

26. GREAT AMERICAN YACHT RACE.—The Ocean Race across the Atlantic, from New York to Cowes, between the American yachts "Henrietta," 203; "Fleetwing," 204; and "Vesta," 201 tons, terminated in favour of the first-mentioned vessel. The yachts left New York on December 12, and the winner arrived at Cowes on the afternoon of the 26th, the other two early on the following morning.

The winning yacht, with Mr. Bennett, jun., the owner, on board, was commanded by Captain Samuels, formerly of the clipper ship "Dreadnought." The "Henrietta" made one of the quickest passages on record. She had no accident, and did not lose a rope, and made the entire passage from New York to Cowes on one tack. Her greatest run in one day was 280 miles; her least,

113, and that was on the 19th inst., when she lay in a heavy storm.

The "Henrietta" parted company with the other yachts twenty-four hours after starting, and saw nothing of them afterwards till their arrival at Cowes. The same with the "Vesta" and "Fleetwing." The "Fleetwing," when eight days out, encountered a heavy southerly gale. The sea boarded her at 9 p.m., and carried away her jibboom and washed six men overboard, including two quartermasters, all of whom were lost. This caused a deficiency of hands on board; and to that and her loss of canvas is attributed her losing the race. The "Fleetwing" was commanded by Captain Thomas, of the packet ship "New York." She is a beautiful specimen of marine architecture.

The "Vesta" was boarded by Pilot Webb at 8.50 p.m. on the 25th, ten miles west-south-west of the Needles, as he supposed, but owing to the misty weather he mistook the St. Katherine light for the Needles, and thereby caused the "Vesta" to be last, instead of second, in the race, as she would otherwise have made the Needles at 9.50 p.m., instead of 12.40 a.m. the next day. The "Vesta" met with no accident, and did not lose a rope. The "Vesta's" greatest run in one day was 277, and her least 165 miles.

The three vessels lay off the Royal Yacht Squadron Club-house, by the members of which club the yachtsmen were most cordially received, especially those belonging to the "Henrietta." Hundreds of boats with visitors were seen sailing round the yachts.

The Royal Yacht Club fired a salute of eleven guns in honour of the yachts. The "Henrietta" manned yards and dipped her colours in man-of-war style. Captain Bennett visited Her Majesty's ship "Hector," and returned thanks for the offers of facilities at Portsmouth dockyard for repairs. The "Henrietta" needed none. Captain Brown, secretary of the Royal Yacht Club, tendered to the American yachtsmen the hospitalities of the Club-house immediately on their arrival, which they gratefully accepted.

On the 31st a banquet was given to the officers of the yachts by the members of the Royal Yacht Club. Sir John Simeon, M.P., presided; and cordial compliments and expressions of good-will were interchanged between the entertainers and their guests.

30. Fire at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham.—A fire which caused a disastrous injury to this beautiful and popular structure broke out on the afternoon of this day (Sunday), and before it could be arrested the tropical department, with almost the whole of its costly and beautiful contents, was reduced to ruins. It was not until daylight on the next morning that the havoc done was completely disclosed. The whole of the northern end of the building was destroyed, except a part of the low narrow wing extending towards the east into the grounds, at a right angle with

the fabric, and used chiefly as an orangery. The space between the water tower and the screen which separated the tropical department from the rest of the nave, about a couple of acres in extent, was strewn with blackened masses of the fallen roof and other materials, presenting a deplorable spectacle. All that remained of the northern transept were a few broken outlines of the arches; and, towering from among the general wreck, were still to be seen the two colossal Egyptian figures copied from the temple of Rameses the Great at Aboo Simbel, in Nubia, but now sadly defaced by the action of the fire. They were sixty-five feet high, and reached to the roof of the transept. Of the Alhambra Court, on the west side of the tropical part of the nave, and also of the Byzantine and Romanesque Court, facing it on the opposite side, little was left but the bare walls; the Queen's apartments and the library and reading-room perished, as also the extensive collection of Indian curiosities and products, the Gallery of Naval Architecture, the Aviary, and the whole of the tropical plants. The remains of the stupendous tree brought from the Sierra Nevada, in California, and which, when growing, is said to have been 400 feet high, shared the same fate. The fire appeared to have originated in the north-eastern wing, from which it spread rapidly towards the main body of the building, along the flooring and other woodwork, which in the tropical end had become exceedingly inflammable. It afterwards extended to the great water tower, the floors of which, at different stories, and the gallery, were for several hours burning at the same time. It was first discovered by a police-constable on duty, and he gave an alarm to a fireman in the company's service within the building, and the only one who happened to be there. Ordinarily there are three of the company's firemen on duty in the Palace, but only one on Sundays. On receiving the alarm the fireman screwed on a hose to one of the numerous hydrants in the building, which are always kept charged at high pressure, and tried for some time, but in vain, to cope with the fire. Being Sunday, there was some difficulty in collecting the workmen belonging to the Palace to render assistance in the emergency.

The remains of the young hippopotamus were found among the ruins, but were scarcely distinguishable. During the fire, and when it was not certain what turn it might take, the flooring along part of the nave on the south side of the screen was ripped up in places to prevent it spreading in that direction. That precaution having, fortunately, become unnecessary, the flooring was reinstated in the course of the following night; and the next day the Palace was open to the public as usual, when upwards of 8000 visitors were present.

The fire is supposed to have originated in a place used as a paint and store room in the north-east corner of the building, and near the water tower.

The directors, with Mr. Bowley, the manager, and Mr. Grove,

the secretary, held a meeting at the Palace on the 31st. They expressed themselves in grateful terms to Captain Shaw, the head of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, for the energy and discretion shown by him in the emergency. On arriving at the scene of the fire, the whole of the northern transept had fallen in, and he directed all the means and appliances at his disposal to prevent it spreading beyond the screen separating the rest of the nave from the tropical department, in which he was happily successful, and by that means, probably, the building was saved from entire destruction. While he was so engaged he was much urged by strangers and others to detach some of the men of the brigade and engines to operate on the water tower, which was on fire in several places; but he resisted all such importunity, knowing that the tower was then completely isolated, and not likely to be the means of communicating fire to any other part of the Palace, and he employed all his energies and those of the brigade to confine the fire to the tropical end. That achieved, he applied himself to extinguish the fire in the water tower, in which he also succeeded.

The official report of Captain Shaw was as follows:—

"North end of building, about 300ft. square, containing the Tropical Department, the whole of the Natural History Collection; the Assyrian, Alhambra, and Byzantine Courts; the Queen's apartments; the Library and Printing-offices; the Indian, Architectural, Model, and Marine Galleries and carpenter's workshop—a portion of the above, about 230ft. in length, all but destroyed. North Tower, and rest of building and contents, and north end of Centre Transept, damaged by fire, water, and removal."

Great and general regret was felt at the injury thus occasioned to this beautiful and favourite place of amusement. The following statement was afterwards issued by the directors:—

"The directors sincerely regret to have to make a statement to the proprietors in reference to the recent disaster by which a portion of the Crystal Palace was destroyed by fire on Sunday, December 30. The portion destroyed lay entirely north of the screen dividing the Tropical Department from the main building, and consisted of the north end and north transept of the Palace—containing the Queen's apartments, the Nineveh Court, the tropical plants, the library, the collection of naval and engineering models, and Indian objects. South of the north transept, also, a large part of the Alhambra and Byzantine Courts was, unfortunately, much injured. The remaining eight of the Fine Art Courts, with the whole of that part of the Palace occupied by the exhibitors, and that in which the concerts and amusements take place, are entirely uninjured, and remain in their former state of safety and efficiency.

"The directors have had frequent meetings since the fire, and they now beg to acquaint the proprietors that, acting under the advice of Mr. Edwin Clark, the eminent engineer, the most care-

ful additional precautions have been taken to ensure the safety of the entire building. In order to fortify and protect the northern end of the nave against the wind and weather, the existing canvas curtain has been strengthened by struts and cross-braces, and a solid timber screen is being rapidly erected a few feet north of it, which, when completed, will form an effectual protection to the building, pending the reconstruction of the portion destroyed.

"The Alhambra and Byzantine Courts will be immediately closed in and protected from the effects of the winter till the time arrives for their repair. The whole of the damaged portion is undergoing careful investigation by Mr. Clark, and all parts which can be preserved will be made good out of the *débris*, which will be carefully collected and tested for that purpose. It will take some weeks to effect this, and to remove the useless fragments of the building, so as to leave the ground clear for the work of reconstruction.

"It must be highly gratifying to the proprietors to notice the deep and wide-spread feeling of sympathy with the Palace which the recent misfortune has called forth from all classes of the community, from Her Majesty downwards; a sympathy which has not confined itself to words, but has already brought many offers of objects to replace those destroyed, offers which, it is unnecessary to say, are gratefully received. The Board fully concur in the public desire to re-erect the fabric, leaving the mode of filling the interior for later consideration. It is probable that the re-erection will cost from 50,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* The mode of providing for this outlay, and for that which may hereafter be considered advisable in respect of the restitution of the interior, is occupying the anxious attention of the directors.

"The building and its contents are insured for a sum of 96,000*l.*, the company's claim on which, in respect of the destroyed portion, amounts to over 38,000*l.*

"The proprietors will be pleased to know that the building has passed through the recent severe gales and fall of snow (the heaviest which it has yet experienced) in a most satisfactory manner, and without suffering any damage whatever.

"By order of the Board,

"G. GROVE, Secretary.

"Crystal Palace, Jan. 10, 1867."

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1866.

QUEEN MARIE AMELIE.

THE Consort of His late Majesty King Louis Philippe of France ended, on the 24th of March, in tranquil dignity, a life of many and great vicissitudes.

Marie Amélie de Bourbon, the daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, Third of Sicily, and First of the United Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was born on April 26, 1782. Her mother was Marie Caroline, Archduchess of Austria, the imperious daughter of Maria Theresa, and sister of Marie Antoinette and of the Emperors Joseph and Leopold. If Ferdinand was the nominal ruler of his kingdom, Marie Caroline was the real Sovereign. How, in spite of her husband and his Cabinet, she served Nelson in his hour of need at the instigation of Lady Hamilton, will be remembered by all Englishmen. Marie Amélie, the future Queen of the French, was one of five sisters, who were most carefully educated under the care of Madame d'Ambrosio. She early displayed the germs of those amiable qualities which distinguished her in after life. "We three sisters," said, on one occasion, the widow of Charles Felix, King of Sardinia, to M. Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux, "we three sisters in our childhood were called respectively *la bella, la dotta,* and *la santa. La santa* was Marie Amélie." The political storms amid which this Princess passed her early years, make the beginning of her life resemble to some extent the youth of her future husband. She was scarcely ten years of age when, in 1792, the French fleet, commanded by Admiral de la Touche Treville, appeared in the Bay of Naples; and from that time onwards, during the period of the first victories of Napoleon, the Royal Family of Naples were kept in a state of perpetual anxiety and alarm. At length, on the conquest of Naples by the French troops under General Championnet, in 1798, Ferdinand and his Queen fled into Sicily with their children. The Princess Marie Amélie remained at Palermo with her mother during the first Neapolitan revolution, and even for some time after the victories of Suwarrow in Northern Italy had compelled the French troops to depart from Naples. In the month of June, 1800, the Queen and her daughters went to Vienna, where they remained for two years, returning to Naples in 1802. Renewed political outbreaks compelled the Royal family again to retire into Sicily; and it was during this second period of residence there that the Princess Marie Amélie for the first time met the Duke of Orleans, like herself, an exile from his country.

In 1808, on his return from the burial in Malta of his brother the Comte de Beaujolais, Louis Philippe received a cordial invitation from Ferdinand to pay a visit to Palermo. He did so, and soon gained the affections of the second of the King's daughters. There appears to be a doubt as to the motives of Queen Caroline in eventually sanctioning their union. It was not to be expected that the sister of Marie Antoinette and the wife of a Bourbon King could look with much favour on the son of one who took a chief part in the persecution of her sister, and in the execution of his King. On the other hand, it has been said that the shrewd Queen early saw the strong points in the character of the Duke of Orleans, and thought that, amid the perils which at the moment surrounded her family, it would be well to attach to their interests a man of his tact and experience. Whatever may have been her motives, there is

no doubt as to the motives of the young people themselves. Their marriage was one purely of affection. Amid all the political misfortunes which afterwards overtook them, their domestic happiness was never for a moment disturbed, and their household virtues became proverbial in Europe. The marriage took place in Palermo, on the 25th of November, 1809; and the Duke and Duchess continued to reside there until 1814, in the enjoyment of a greater amount of tranquillity than had hitherto fallen to the lot of either. In 1814, the restoration of the House of Bourbon summoned the head of the younger branch of the family from this state of comparative seclusion, and established him in his due position in France. In the month of September of this year the Duchess of Orleans arrived in her adopted country; but it was not long before the events of the Hundred Days compelled her to take refuge with her children in England, whence she did not return to Paris till the commencement of the year 1817. From this time down to the Revolution of July her residence was in France; where she attracted the esteem and love even of the enemies of the House of Orleans by the simple beauty of her life, her gentle piety, and her unwearied charity. It has been asserted that in 1830 her Legitimist tendencies led her to view the Revolution with sorrow, though it tended to her own elevation. She is even said to have expressed a strong repugnance to share a throne to which, according to her ideas of right, she had no claim. Whatever truth there may be in these assertions, the unalterable devotion which Marie Amélie bore to her husband, whether in prosperity or in adversity, overcame all her scruples, and she determined on the path of conduct she was for the future to adopt. She took no part in political affairs, but devoted herself to the education of her children and to works of charity.

It was the Queen's unhappy fate, ere she had been many years on the throne, to have her tenderest feelings wounded by more than one domestic affliction. In 1839 the beautiful and accomplished Princess Marie died, and in 1842 a strange and melancholy accident led to the death, in the Queen's arms, of her eldest son, and to the destruction, with him, of the best security for the House of Orleans. Bitter as was this sudden blow, it served only to bring out in stronger colours the beauty of the Queen's nature. She felt that there was one on whom the blow had fallen with even more stunning severity, and she devoted herself to soothe and comfort her afflicted daughter-in-law. A few years more, and she had to display courage of a different sort—a courage and dignity which seemed to belong to her race, and which offered a strong contrast to the irresolution of the King. Lamartine, in glowing terms, describes the scene at the Tuileries, when the Queen, her grey locks contrasting with the fire of her eyes and the animated flush of her cheek, said to the King, in language worthy of the granddaughter of Maria Theresa and the niece of Marie Antoinette, "Go and show yourself to the disheartened troops and to the irresolute National Guard. I will place myself in the balcony with my grandchildren and my daughters, and will see you die in a manner worthy of yourself, of your throne, and of our common misfortunes." When the King declared his intention of abdicating, she rebuked him with passionate earnestness. She cared not, she said, what was said in or out of the Tuileries; but, in her estimation, revolution was ever a crime, and abdication a cowardice. "Sire," she concluded energetically, "a King should never lose his crown without making an effort to defend it." According to Lord Normanby's report, her words were:—"Sire! n'abdiquez pas; montez à cheval, mettez-vous à la tête de vos troupes, et je prierai Dieu pour vous." When, however, resistance was too late, the Queen subsided again into the wife, and prepared to accompany her husband in his melancholy flight. Worn out by contending emotions and anxieties, she fell senseless to the ground in the attempt to step into the carriage. Soon recovering, she accompanied the King to Evreux, where she separated from him for safety. She rejoined him afterwards at Honfleur, and shared the difficulties of his passage to England. In the quiet seclusion of Claremont she devoted herself to the task of soothing the regrets and cheering the heart of the King. In 1850 she received his last breath.

The only public matter in which the Queen took an interest during her residence in England, was the proposed coalition and fusion of the two branches of the House of Bourbon. The Legitimist partialities of the Queen induced her to advocate, on certain conditions, a fusion which, it is well known, was successfully opposed by the Duchess of Orleans. This difference of opinion did not in the slightest diminish the feeling of reverential love which the Duchess ever entertained towards the Queen; and her daughter-in-law's lamented death, as well as that of the Queen of the Belgians, that of the Duchess of Nemours, and, lastly, that of the King of the Belgians, were

the bitterest afflictions suffered by the Queen in her later days. She was, however, consoled in her old age by the affectionate solicitude of the numerous family still surviving, and by seeing her children's children's children spring up about her. Not only did she enjoy the affection of her children, but also—what was very precious to her—she won the hearts of all the poor people among whom she lived. She was one of the most benevolent of women; and though she was a Catholic of the strictest Neapolitan type, she regarded no distinction of faith in her charities. To all who needed her aid she was ready with help, and every where about Esher the name of the good French Queen was pronounced with affection and veneration.

As in little more than one month she would have completed her eighty-fourth year, it can scarcely be said that the death of the Queen was unexpected; and yet she died in comparative health. Two days before her decease, she had her carriage drive. The day before, she was up as usual, with this only difference, that, feeling rather exhausted, she went to bed in the evening earlier than was her wont. She passed a restless night. On Saturday morning she said, "Je suis mieux"—her last words—and fell asleep. In that sleep she died, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. She was spared the pain of consciously encountering death; also the pain, which to her motherly nature would have been very grievous, of parting with her children. She thus ended, without pain, a life of much suffering.

The late Queen had five sons and three daughters. Her brother succeeded to the throne of Naples, and was the father of the famous Bomba. Her four sisters were married respectively to the Emperor of Austria, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Charles Felix, King of Sardinia, and Ferdinand VII., King of Spain.

The funeral of the late Queen took place on the 3rd of April, her remains being interred in the mausoleum at Weybridge, side by side with those of her husband, Louis Philippe. In accordance with her own wish, she was buried in the dress she wore on leaving France in February, 1848, for her long exile, and in her widow's cap, in order to show "how unalterably faithful she remained to the two guiding feelings of her life—her devotion to her royal spouse, and her love for her adopted country." Besides all the surviving members of the family of the late Queen, there were present at the funeral the King of the Belgians, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cambridge; the Queen of England being represented by General Seymour and Lord Camoys. Among the French gentlemen present were M. Prévost Paradol, M. Thiers, and M. Guizot. Mass was performed by Bishop Grant of Southwark.

THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

The Right Rev. George Edward Lynch Cotton, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India and Ceylon, was accidentally drowned on the 6th of October at Kooshtea, on the Gorai river, while disembarking from a steam-boat, to the deep regret of his friends, and the great loss of the Church in India over which he presided. The Bishop was a connexion of the family of Lord Combermere, and was born at Chester on Oct. 29th, 1813. He was the son of Captain Thos. Cotton, of the 7th Fusiliers, who was killed only a month after the birth of the future Bishop, at the head of his brigade, in storming the fortress of Nivelle in the Peninsula. The boy was sent at an early age to Westminster School, from whence he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1832, taking with him a fairly high character for scholarship, though he himself always spoke most modestly of his own attainments. At Cambridge he read hard, though he made it a rule never to work after twelve o'clock at night. Among his especial friends were Dr. Vaughan of Harrow, Dr. Howson of Liverpool, the late Mr. Conybeare, and Mr. Simpkinson. He was always in the first class in the college examinations; he also obtained the declamation prize, and the prize for reading in the college chapel. Whilst at Cambridge, he appears to have been especially drawn, "by the attraction of a kindred spirit," towards Dr. Arnold, who was then rising rapidly to the zenith of his fame at Rugby, and to whom he was introduced by Dr. Vaughan. Having taken his B.A. degree in 1836 as a senior optime, and eighth in the classical tripos, he was appointed by Dr. Arnold to a mastership in Rugby School, where he had the charge of a boarding-house, and also of a form of some fifty boys. Shortly afterwards he was elected to a fellowship at Trinity College; but he did not allow the attractions of University life to tear him away from his work at Rugby. About 1840 or 1841 he succeeded to the mastership of the fifth form, the highest form except the sixth, and including about forty boys. At Rugby, to judge from the evidence of one who was under him, Mr. Cotton had up-hill work; but he threw himself heartily into the spirit of Dr. Arnold's system, and made himself the

personal friend as well as the master of his boys. His boarding-house accordingly became one of the most popular in Rugby. Mr. Cotton was also an effective tutor "out of school," and one of whom it may well be said that he thoroughly realized the words of Juvenal—

"Di præceptorem sancti voluere parentis
Esse loco."

Close acquaintances and friendships were thus formed during the half-year with his pupils, and they were maintained during the holidays, and, after school-life had ended, by letters and mutual visits, and occasionally by tours on the Continent, when he threw off all the position and character of a "don," visiting in their company France, Germany, and Switzerland.

In 1852 Mr. Cotton was elected Head Master of Marlborough College, which was then at a very low ebb, financially and otherwise, but which, under his hands, rapidly achieved a high position among our leading public schools. He was fortunate in the selection of his assistant masters, and in the possession of a large fund of Rugby experience, and of the rare faculty of "organization." His patience, honour, justice, self-devotion, industry, and cheerfulness bore their proper fruit in time. After his six years' mastership the school wore an altered appearance, which was evinced not only in the increase of its numbers, but in the general amelioration of manners and morals.

He preached the consecration sermon of the present Bishop of London at Whitehall in 1856, and in 1858 was nominated, on the death of Dr. Daniel Wilson, formerly of Islington, to the metropolitan see of Calcutta, where his high personal character and powers, his industry, his strength of mind, and large and tolerant religious views rendered him widely and extensively beloved. He died deeply and sincerely regretted, not only at Rugby and Marlborough, but on the shores of the Ganges; and his death was not only sudden, but untimely—he was taken from India just when India needed him most.

Dr. Cotton was the 6th Bishop who has held the see of Calcutta since its foundation, in 1814. The first was Dr. Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, who died in 1822; the second was Reginald Heber, who died in 1827; next came Dr. James, who held it scarcely two years; then Dr. Turner, whose tenure of it was scarcely longer. To him succeeded Dr. Wilson, in 1832; on whose death the see was offered to, and accepted by, Dr. Cotton.

The late Bishop married, 26th of June, 1845, Sophia Anne, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Henry Tomkinson, of Reaseheath, near Chester, by whom he has left issue one son and a daughter. The Governor-General of India, in a formal minute, recorded his sense of the loss which the Church and the whole population of India had sustained through the Bishop's sudden death.

CAPTAIN FOWKE, R.E.

Francis Fowke was born in 1823. Having received his first commission in 1842, he was appointed to Bermuda and stationed there for several years, during which he so greatly distinguished himself as a military architect as to be employed, on returning home, to erect the Raglan Barrack at Devonport, an edifice which is remarkable on account of the excellent accommodation it affords to the inmates, the application of constructive ingenuity to sanitary purposes, and, taking into account the number of men accommodated in it, the cheapest construction of its class in this country. In this work many comforts and facilities were included which were novelties in barracks, and were afterwards adopted, with modifications, by the Sanitary Commission which reported on the general subject. The Raglan Barrack is, in fact, the model of its class now in use. In 1853, Captain Fowke was made inspector of the Science and Art Department, and, at a later date, architect and engineer to the same. In the course of duty attached to these offices, he produced some of the most convenient of our recent public buildings. In 1854, he undertook the charge of the machinery sent by the English to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855, and was, at a somewhat later period, appointed secretary to the English Commission attached to that great gathering; at this time he wrote two Reports: the one on "Civil Construction," as then represented, a work of considerable value to practical builders; the other, on "Naval Construction," which was highly appreciated by those to whom it was addressed.

Captain Fowke was appointed, in 1858, a member of the International Technical Commission, the attention of which was directed to the improvement of the navigation of the Danube; he made, independently, a Report on a scheme, the essential part of which consisted of a canal direct from the sea to a point in the stream, above that section of its course where the process of deposition begins. This plan was adopted by the Commission, but, owing to extraneous influences, it was not carried into effect.

He was employed in making additions

or improvements to the iron building erected at South Kensington. About the same time the new galleries for the Vernon and Turner gifts of pictures were supplied by the additions, to the permanent building at South Kensington; these works were designed and finished by Captain Fowke in ten weeks of winter. The gallery which contains the Sheepshanks gift was built in 1857. The donor had stipulated that within twelve months from the date of the offer a suitable apartment should be provided to hold his magnificent present, and this condition was complied with.

In 1859-60 Captain Fowke designed the Industrial Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. In 1860 the plans and designs for the new buildings for the South Kensington Museum were produced; these, as modified and improved by him, were adopted and in course of construction at the time of his death. The design for the Dublin National Gallery followed the last. Here the architect was compelled to make all external arrangements, and repeat the design which had been already executed for another part of the same range of structures; the internal dispositions—those true tests of an architect's constructive genius—are by Captain Fowke, and eminently successful. The International Exhibition building can hardly be called his work in an architectural sense; the original design suffered so much by alterations, which, however unavoidable they might have been, were unfortunate, that it is not fair to attribute to him the result as a whole. The system of arrangements, the many devices for convenient use of a great building under diverse and complicated circumstances, were certainly his. The picture galleries and beautifully designed annexes were by the same designer. The conservatory, south arcade, and some other portions of the structure in the Horticultural Society's Garden at South Kensington were also by him. Captain Fowke's designs for the edifices proposed to occupy the site of the International Exhibition building were submitted in competition with those of other architects, and unanimously preferred by the committee of selection.

Among minor works produced by Captain Fowke were several which attested his military knowledge and professional habits, no less than they displayed his remarkable ability in construction; these included a fire-engine, to be limbered up like a gun—now adopted in the military service; also a collapsible pontoon of great value, and several other very ingenious designs.

Captain Fowke died suddenly at South Kensington on the 4th of December, 1865, at the early age of forty-four.

JOHN GIBSON, R.A.

This very eminent sculptor, whose works reflect so much honour upon the country of his birth, died at Rome, where a great part of his life had been passed, on the 27th of January, aged 75. Mr. Gibson, whose ancestors were of Scottish extraction, was the son of a market gardener at Conway, in North Wales, where he was born in 1790. The father removed to Liverpool when his son was about nine years old, with a view of emigrating to America, but was led by circumstances to change his intention and to settle in Liverpool. As a child, John Gibson had shown an instinctive fancy for drawing, and at an early age was in the habit of sketching pictures of such domestic animals as he saw around him. A new world opened upon him at Liverpool, and he tried his youthful hand with success in reproducing upon paper the pictures that he saw in the shop windows. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker, and subsequently to a carver in wood. About two years later he was relieved from this irksome business by Mr. Samuel Francis, who, detecting his artistic talents, purchased the remainder of his time, and gave the youthful sculptor every encouragement. He also introduced the young artist to the late William Roscoe, who frequently invited him to his country seat, and allowed him to copy some of the choice specimens of ancient Art in his gallery. The friends of Mr. Roscoe, remarking the great promise of future excellence which young Gibson displayed, subscribed a sum of money for the purpose of defraying the expense of his journey to Rome, and of a residence of two years in that metropolis of Art. Gibson left England for Rome in 1817, and carried with him an introduction from Flaxman to Canova, then in the height of his fame, who received him with the greatest cordiality. Gibson entered his studio, and soon earned the reputation of being one of his most able and industrious pupils. Setting up on his own account in 1821, he produced his first important work, a group of "Mars and Cupid," which was much praised by Canova, and was reproduced in marble by the order of the Duke of Devonshire. This group now occupies a prominent position in the collection at Chatsworth. His next production was "Psyche and the Zephyrs," for the late Sir G. Beaumont; copies of this group were executed for Prince Torlonia and the Grand Duke of

Russia. After the death of Canova, Gibson did not disdain again to become a learner, and accordingly was, for a time, a pupil under Thorwaldsen. Thus, trained under the two master-minds of modern sculpture, he entered on his career with a hand and a mind more thoroughly disciplined than perhaps any other English sculptor, yet without losing any thing of his originality or individual character. Mr. Gibson was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1833, and became R.A. in 1836. He was, however, but a fitful contributor to the annual exhibitions of the Academy of which he was so distinguished a member. With the exception of short visits made at intervals to this country, Mr. Gibson resided almost entirely at Rome since his first visit to that city in 1817. No one was more ready than himself to extend the hand of friendly assistance to young students on their first arrival in that great metropolis of Art. It would be impossible, in our limited space, to give a perfect list of Mr. Gibson's works of a classic and ideal character. His principal efforts in portrait statues were one of Her Majesty for Buckingham Palace, and another for H.R.H. the late Prince Consort's Chamber in the palace of Westminster; the colossal statues of the late Right Hon. William Huskisson, M.P., executed for Lloyd's Rooms, London, and for the Cemetery, Liverpool—the latter reproduced in bronze, for the front of the Custom-house in that town; Mrs. Murray, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1846; and George Stephenson, in 1851. He also executed several monumental tablets and bassi-relievi; some of the latter, although very beautiful, are perhaps inferior to his bas-reliefs of classical subjects. It has been objected that, as a monumental sculptor, he insists on draping his figures in ancient and classical costume. Within the last few years Mr. Gibson lent the weight of his high reputation and example to an innovation which caused considerable discussion in various quarters—namely, that of applying colour to marble in sculpture. This he did in his statue of Her Majesty, and in some of his other works—particularly in his exquisite Venus which attracted so much attention at the International Exhibition of 1862—but, as may be supposed, very cautiously, and with the best taste; in the drapery and accessories of his great seated statue of the Queen, the same principle is carried out more freely. It is only necessary to add, that England is tolerably rich in the works of Gibson, some one or more of which have found a place in every good collection. Liverpool is particularly well supplied with specimens of his chisel; and the inhabitants of that city have not been backward in showing their appreciation of his merits, and in regarding him with pride as a fellow-townsman. There is a fine collection of about twenty casts from Gibson's best grouped statues at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham.

Mr. Gibson's studio at Rome was visited by every stranger; and no one who had the privilege of an introduction to him will ever forget the simple and lucid manner in which he used to narrate his favourite Greek legends, illustrative of the immortal figures he created. When the Prince of Wales visited Rome in 1857, Gibson was a frequent and honoured guest at His Royal Highness's table, and Her Majesty, whose high appreciation of all that is great in Art is well known, gave Gibson many commissions, and conferred on him many marks of her confidence and admiration. It is a fact equally honourable to the Queen and her distinguished subject, that a telegram despatched by Her Majesty's orders arrived at Rome the morning of the day before his death, inquiring after the health of the great artist. He was then still sensible, and his friends, thinking it would give him satisfaction, placed it in his hands. On attempting to withdraw it, he held it so fast that they were compelled to leave it; and with this mark of Royal favour and kindness in his hands he died. Other sovereigns and other countries delighted in doing honour to Gibson. He was decorated by the present Emperor of the French with the order of the Legion of Honour; his statue now stands in Munich by direction of King Ludwig, together with those of Tenerani, Schwanthaler, and Routh, selected by His Majesty as men who have dignified sculptural art. A Royal Academician and member of the Society of St. Luke's in Rome, he was associated with many other artistic societies in various countries. The qualities of the man ought not to be lost sight of in the merits of the artist. His modesty and unpresuming bearing won the confidence and affection of all men, while they led to the concealment of numerous acts of charity unknown to the world. There are many in Rome who bear grateful testimony to the kindness which he ever showed in counselling and forming their taste, and who lament his loss as that of a father.

The deceased was interred in the English Protestant burial-ground, in the neighbourhood of Rome, on the 29th of January, his funeral being attended by the members of the Art Academies of Rome, the various embassies, and a large number of the English residents and visitors, besides many foreigners.

LORD GLENELG.

A politician of considerable note in his day, and much esteemed by contemporary statesmen, but who, at the advanced age of 87, when his death took place, had somewhat passed out of the recollection of the public,—the Right Hon. Charles Grant, first and last Baron Glenelg, of Glenelg, in Inverness-shire, the last of the "Canningites," and a Privy Councillor of Great Britain and of Ireland,—died at Cannes on the 23rd of April. Lord Glenelg was eldest of the three sons of Mr. Charles Grant, many years M.P. for Inverness-shire, by Jane, daughter of Mr. Thomas Fraser, of the Frasers of Balnain, and his next brother was the late Right Hon. Sir Robert Grant, G.C.H., many years Governor of Bombay, who died in 1838 while Governor. Charles was born in India, October 26, 1780, was educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and graduated B.A. in 1801 as fourth wrangler and senior Chancellor's medallist for classics—a very distinguished degree indeed. He entered Parliament as member for Montrose in 1807, and sat till 1818, and sat for Inverness-shire from 1818 to 1835. From 1819 to 1822 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland; from 1823 to 1827 Vice-President, and from 1827 to 1828 President of the Board of Trade; from 1830 to 1834—now as a Whig—President of the Board of Control; and from 1834 to 1839 Secretary to the Colonies. But the Canadian rebellion of 1838 was fatal to his reputation, and resulted in his resignation of his office. Lord Glenelg approved of the famous "Ordinance" of Lord Durham, the gist of which was that those of the rebels who had acknowledged their guilt and submitted to the Queen's pleasure were to be sent off to Bermuda, but under constraint, and punished with death if they returned. The ordinance was disallowed, Lord Durham was recalled, and Lord Glenelg, as having approved of his conduct, resigned. After this he never held any office, except that of a commissioner of land tax, and accepted the pension of 2000*l*.

In his political character Lord Glenelg was eminently respectable, and personally much beloved. Though not a brilliant statesman, he was an active politician to the last behind the scenes. He was never married, and his title becomes extinct.

SIR HARRY JONES.

Sir Harry David Jones, G.C.B., Royal Engineers, and Governor of the Royal Military College, died on the 2nd of August at Sandhurst. This distinguished veteran officer, who was born at Landguard Fort on the 14th of March, 1792, obtained his commission as Second Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers in September, 1808, and in the following year served in the expedition to Walcheren. He also served in the campaigns from 1810 to 1814 in the Peninsula. In February, 1815, he joined the army under General Lambert in Dauphin Island, and, by the return of an American flag of truce, was sent to New Orleans on special duty. On his return to Europe he proceeded to join the army in the Netherlands, and landed at Ostend on the 18th of June, 1815. He was appointed commanding Engineer in charge of the fortifications on Montmartre after the entrance of the British troops into Paris in 1815, and was appointed a Commissioner to the Prussian Army of Occupation in 1816. At the commencement of the war against Russia in 1854 he was appointed a Brigadier-General for particular service in the Baltic, and commanded the British forces at the siege operations against Bomarsund in the Aland Isles. For his services in the Baltic he was promoted to major-general. He was appointed in February, 1855, to command the Royal Engineers in the Eastern campaign, which he retained until the fall of Sebastopol. He was wounded in the forehead by a spent grape-shot on the 18th of June. He was made a Knight Companion of the Order of the Bath, and was created a Grand Cross of that Order in 1861. He also received the following distinctions and decorations: 1st Class Military Order of Savoy; 2nd Class Mejiddie; Baltic Medal; Medal and Clasp, Siege of Sebastopol; Sardinian Medal; Turkish Medal for services in the East. His commissions bore date as follows:—Second Lieut., September 17, 1808; First Lieut., June 24, 1809; Second Captain, November 12, 1813; Capt., July 29, 1825; Brevet-Major, January 10, 1837; Lieut.-Col., September 7, 1840; Brevet-Col., November 11, 1851; Col., July 7, 1853; Brigadier-Gen., July 10, 1854; Major-Gen., December 12, 1854; and Lieut.-Gen., July 6, 1860. He was appointed Col.-Commandant of the Royal Engineers on August 2, 1860. In 1856 he succeeded Gen. Sir G. Scovell, K.C.B., as Governor of the Royal Military College, and of the Staff College at Sandhurst. He was employed also in the discharge of various other duties, one of the most important of which was that of President of the Defence Commission, from which emanated the extensive works for the defence of our harbours and dock-yards. During the 48 years spent in the

service of his country the deceased General earned and maintained the character of a thoroughly efficient, able, and gallant soldier, unsparing of himself and devoted to the duties of his profession.

THE REV. JOHN KEBLE.

Eminent as a theologian, but much more admirable as a poet, and the author of a volume which is esteemed among the most cherished treasures in thousands of English households, and has exerted a very powerful influence on the religious thought and feeling of the nation, the Rev. John Keble, Vicar of Hursley, Hants, died at Bournemouth on the 29th of March, at the age of 73.

The deceased (who came maternally of a Scottish Jacobite family) was a son of the Rev. John Keble, some time Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for fifty-two years vicar of Coln St. Aldwyn's, Gloucestershire, by Sarah, daughter of the Rev. John Maule, vicar of Ringwood, Hants. He was born at Fairford, Gloucestershire, on the 25th April, 1792; and, having received his early education under his parental roof, proceeded to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where, before he had completed his fifteenth year, he was a successful candidate for a Scholarship, and where he graduated B.A., in first-class honours, both in Classics and Mathematics, in Easter Term, 1810 (being at that time only just 18). He was soon afterwards elected to a fellowship at Oriel College, where he was the contemporary and friend of Dr. Arnold, as he had been at his former college; and where he took his degree of M.A., May 20, 1813.

In the Oxford University Calendar for 1814, he is entered as Fellow of Oriel College, and M.A. Among his colleagues were Copleston (afterwards Provost of the College and Bishop of Llandaff), senior Fellow; the Rev. John Davison (author of works on "Prophecy," "Baptismal Regeneration," &c.), Bursar and Tutor; the Rev. James Endell Tyler, M.A., afterwards Rector of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields; the Rev. Richard Whately, M.A., afterwards Archbishop of Dublin; and Edward Hawkins, B.A., the present Provost. Among the commoners of the College at the time were R. D. Hampden (now Bishop of Hereford), Thomas Parry (now Bishop of Barbados), and Samuel Rickards, the late rector of Stowlangtoft, Suffolk.

Mr. Keble, in 1813, gained the Chancellor's prizes for an English essay on "Translations from the Dead Languages," and for a Latin essay on "A Comparison of Xenophon and Julius Cæsar." He was ordained Deacon by Dr. William Jackson, Bishop of Oxford, on Trinity Sunday, 1815, and Priest in the following year. He had already become one of the tutors of Oriel College, and he acted as Public Examiner in the University in 1814-16; and again 1821-3. About this latter date he ceased to reside, and retired to his father's living at Fairford, where he had a few pupils, and whence he made frequent visits to Oxford. He also filled successively the curacies of East Leach and Burthorpe, and afterwards of Southrop. These parishes are extremely small and contiguous to each other, near also to Fairford, whence he might count on the assistance of his father. He was pretty regularly during the vacations residing at Fairford, and during term time he rode from Oxford, on alternate Saturdays, for the duty of the Sunday.

"The period of his life which he passed in Oxford in the discharge of these University and college duties," says Sir J. T. Coleridge, in an interesting memoir of the deceased, "was a very happy one: it was also one of great intellectual activity. He lived on the best of terms with many of the ablest of the Oxford residents, and he was fond of the Oxford society. As Tutor he contracted friendships with several of his pupils. Very frequently three or four of them would follow him to Fairford during the vacations to read with him; and it must not be passed over, even in this short narrative, that he thus formed his life-long friendship with Sir William Heathcote, and ultimately became the incumbent of the living of Hursley, which will for all time to come be associated with his name."

In the Autumn of 1825, Mr. Keble accepted the curacy of Hursley, which, however, he held but for a short time; for, owing to the alarming illness, and subsequent death, of his younger sister, he withdrew from Hampshire, and resumed his residence with his father and only surviving sister at Fairford, where he remained until 1835.

In 1827 was commenced the publication of "The Christian Year," "than which," says a competent critic, "no book of modern times has come nearer to what we may call a Divine work." The greater part had already existed for some time in albums, written under great variety of circumstances. Some of the poems were the work of a day—a few hours. It was only when half, or more than half, the year had been written, that Keble would listen to those who wanted the whole year, and in print.

The work appeared anonymously, and

has probably exercised more influence on English religious thought than any volume of poems for very many generations. Its motto was, "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength;" and its object was to promote "a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion," and to show "the soothing tendency of the Prayer-book." The wonderful popularity of "The Christian Year" enabled the venerable author to rebuild the parish church of Hursley at a very great cost. The work not only gained a very wide circulation in this country, but its popularity in America is unbounded.

Concurrently with the preparation of "The Christian Year" for publication, and for some long time after, Keble was engaged in his edition of Hooker. "This," says Sir J. T. Coleridge, "was a most important work, which he embarked in with great interest, and executed with conscientious industry. It is now the standard edition. His preface is an elaborate work, and throws clear light on the serious question of the authenticity of the sixth and eighth books. Hooker had been a great favourite with Keble from his youth, as a man and a writer."

In 1828, a year after the publication of "The Christian Year," Dr. Copleston became Bishop of Llandaff, and the Provostship was vacant. Mr. Keble was the senior of those who had any pretensions, and he did not conceal his wish to succeed. Dr. Hawkins (the present Provost) was, however, the choice of the majority.

After the passing of the Reform Bill, in 1832, Mr. Keble formed one of the four[1] eminent members of the University of Oxford who met together to devise a remedy for the evils which they regarded as sapping the very foundations of the Church. The object of these friends was to enunciate in simple language the true views of Church government, the apostolical commission of the clergy, the value of ordinances, and the testimony of antiquity to Church principles. The first of the now famous "Tracts for the Times" appeared in 1833. Although these Tracts, many of which created a prodigious sensation, were published anonymously, there is no great secret as to Mr. Keble's authorship of Tracts 4, 13, 40, 52, and 89; and it may be said that the movement which they originated for more than thirty years leavened the whole English Church.

From 1831 (when he succeeded Dean Milman without any opposition) to 1842, Mr. Keble was Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and his lectures attracted crowds of students.

On Sunday, July 14, 1833, Mr. Keble preached an assize sermon at St. Mary's, on the national apostasy, which he declared then to have set in, and which he invited the Church to follow him in treating as Samuel had done Saul and the children of Israel.

That sermon may be said to have been the great epoch, if not the turning-point, of Keble's life. It explains not only why he joined the Oxford movement, and became one of the mighty men in its foremost rank; but also, and still more, the special part he took in it. His line ever since was one continued protest against secular indifference and civil assumptions; though it is only fair to add, that this protest was rather of a passive than an active character.

The year 1835 was an eventful one in the life of Mr. Keble. At the commencement of it—namely, on the 24th of January—his venerable father, who for some weeks had been confined to his bed, retaining the full use of his faculties, was taken to his rest; and before the conclusion of the year he became the husband of Miss Clarke, the second daughter of his father's old college friend and brother fellow of Corpus, the rector of Meysey Hampton, a neighbouring parish of Fairford. In this year, also, he was presented by Sir William Heathcote, Bart., to the vicarage of Hursley, with Otterbourne (an annexed rectory), and Ampfield (an outlying hamlet), near Winchester. The living was worth nominally 400*l.* a year; but in Mr. Keble's incumbency Otterbourne church was rebuilt, and a new church erected at Ampfield. A chapel was also provided for Pitt, another distant hamlet of the parish.

Amongst the other writings of Mr. Keble we may enumerate "De Poeticâ Vi Medicâ, Prælectiones Academicæ Oxonii habitæ," 2 vols., published in 1844; a pamphlet "On the Admission of Dissenters to Oxford" (1854); and one against "Profane Dealing with Holy Matrimony," published in 1847. Mr. Keble was also the author of the "Lyra Innocentium," 1846, and (with Newman, Froude, and some others) of the "Lyra Apostolica"—his poems in this latter work being distinguished by the Greek letter γ. His greatest work was undoubtedly "The Christian Year." "No one, I believe," writes his friend Sir John Coleridge, "who was any way concerned in it, and certainly not he himself, had realized at the time its importance: we all thought it would probably succeed, sooner or later;

[1] The others were the Rev. J. H. Newman, the Rev. E. B. Pusey, and the Rev. R. H. Froude.

and we felt sure that in proportion to its circulation it would do good, and be a delight and comfort to those who should read and study it. It is not much to the discredit of our sagacity that we did not contemplate what followed. I do not speak of editions—nearly, if not quite, ninety in less than forty years—with a circulation still in full vigour. Circumstances for some years made me a sort of steward of it, and I know that the editions were unusually large, 3000 copies being a very usual number. I do not speak of this, but of the manner of its reception and use; it has not been a book for the library—read through once, restored to its shelf, and occasionally referred to for a quotation—but a book for each individual, found in every room, companion in travel, comfort in sickness, again and again read, taken into the mind and heart, soothing, sustaining, teaching, purifying, exalting." The last edition of "The Christian Year" is the 92nd; and no less than *six* were issued within the last six months of the author's life.

The venerable divine and poet was buried in Hursley churchyard on the 6th of April, in the presence of large numbers of distinguished members of the University of Oxford and others, who had made a journey to Hursley to do honour to his memory.

SIR J. L. KNIGHT-BRUCE, D.C.L.

The Right Hon. Sir James Lewis Knight-Bruce, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., was the youngest son of the late John Knight, Esq., of Fairlinch, Devon, by Margaret, only child and eventually heiress of William Bruce, Esq., of Duffryn, co. Glamorgan, a surgeon in the R.N., afterwards a banker in London, and formerly High Sheriff of the former county, and a descendant of the family of Bruce of Clackmannan. He was the youngest of three brothers, of whom the eldest, Mr. John Bruce-Pryce, of Duffryn, Glamorganshire, is the sole survivor. The second brother, the Rev. William Bruce Knight, was Dean of Llandaff, and died in 1845. He was born at Barnstaple on the 15th of February, 1791; at an early age he was sent to the King Edward's Grammar School at Bath, in which city his parents were resident. He remained there about two years; and upon his father's death in 1799, was removed to the King's School, Sherborne. On leaving Sherborne, he studied under Mr. Roy, of Burlington-street, London, an eminent mathematical tutor, until he began to prepare for the Bar. He was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn, in 1812, and in 1817 called to the Bar. After attending the Welsh circuit for a short time, he exchanged the Common Law for the Equity Bar, where his great talents and industry soon secured a large practice. In 1829 he was appointed a King's Counsel, and in 1831 was returned to Parliament for Bishop's Castle—a borough which was disfranchised at the passing of the Reform Bill, in 1832. In 1834 he received the degree of D.C.L., *honoris causâ*, from the University of Oxford. He was a magistrate for the counties of Surrey and Middlesex.

A Conservative in politics, he was one of the counsel heard at the Bar of the House of Lords, in 1835, against the Corporation Reform Act, Sir Charles Wetherell being his leader. In 1837, the year in which he assumed the additional surname of Bruce by Royal licence, he closed his parliamentary career by an unsuccessful struggle for the representation of the borough of Cambridge.

On the 15th of January, 1842, Sir James Knight-Bruce, who had just been made a Vice-Chancellor, was sworn of the Privy Council by command of Her Majesty, and he thus became, in virtue of the Acts constituting his office, a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and of the Final Court of Appeal from the courts of India and of the Colonies, and from the ecclesiastical and admiralty jurisdictions of this country. Nine years later, in 1851, on the creation of the Court of Appeal, Lord Cranworth and Sir J. Knight-Bruce were selected as the first Lords Justices, and on the elevation of Lord Cranworth to the Woolsack in the following year, Sir George Turner was appointed Lord Justice, and Sir J. Knight-Bruce became the senior justice, a position which he held till within a fortnight of his death. That event took place on November 7, at Roehampton Priory, Surrey.

Sir James Knight-Bruce was one of the most assiduous and influential members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in which he sat many hundreds of days; and no man contributed more than he did to the high authority it enjoys in all the dependencies of the empire. If the judicial office which he filled in the Court of Chancery called for the daily exercise of the science of equity pleading and equity jurisprudence, in which he was by common consent a consummate master, the wider range of the appellate jurisdiction of the Privy Council opened a varied field of inquiry before him, which no man was more eager or more able to explore.

The predominant characteristics of Sir

James Knight-Bruce as a judge were his fastidious analysis of language, which he loved to carry to the minutest dissection of etymological origin, and his sturdy desire to shake off the trammels of technical procedure if they interfered with what he conceived to be the right and justice of the case before him. He took a broader and a loftier view of the functions of an appellate judge, acting as the adviser of the Crown in the exercise of its highest judicial duty, than to allow it to be bound down by tradition to perpetuate injustice or error; and, under the influence of a strong conviction, his judicial opinions sometimes went to the verge of temerity. Vehement in his own opinions, he was not intolerant of the convictions of others; and although he was naturally gifted with an exuberance of wit and a rare keenness of sarcasm, he seldom or ever used it as a weapon in debate, or cared to inflict a wound when he could not persuade an opponent.

By the legal profession among whom his life was passed, and especially by the senior members, who have conducted or argued cases before him for the last quarter of a century, the death of Sir J. Knight-Bruce is regarded not only as the loss of an upright and conscientious judge, but as the removal of one who, uniting an intimate acquaintance with the present to a long experience of the former system of equity jurisprudence, was as profound a lawyer as ever adorned the Bench. His language was lucid and terse; his style strictly classical; his manner courteous and dignified; his virtues, public and private, numerous; and his foibles few. Of his indefatigable energy and capacity for work, no better instance can be given than his having, just before the long vacation in 1850—the most pressing period of the legal year—performed the work of three Courts during the illness of the two other Vice-Chancellors, with so much discrimination, ability, and good temper (to use Mr. Foss's words), that a public expression of respectful admiration was elicited from the whole Bar in an address from the Attorney-General. The following estimate of the judicial character of the deceased judge from the pen of a very distinguished member of the Bar, was addressed to one of the weekly papers shortly after his decease:—"Though his great penetration and quickness, and his wonderful aptitude and talent for business, made him, in his best days, an admirable judge, so far as concerned the interests of the suitors, yet his habit, which very much increased on him of late years, of deciding the case on hand with a few short words, without examining and stating at length the reasons for his judgment and the law which bore on it, has prevented him, perhaps, from taking that great and distinguished position as judge of which he was so eminently capable. Of the numerous judgments delivered by him, those which will hereafter be referred to as settling or elucidating the law are few and far between; and their number is by no means such as we should have anticipated from his great general reputation and undoubted learning and capacity. Yet there are some few judgments of his which will be remembered, not only for their sparkling cleverness and power, but as examples of legal reasoning, and as settlements of vexed and intricate legal questions. Sometimes, too, there was a certain irrepressible humour about even his gravest judgments, which was eminently characteristic of his general mode of getting through the otherwise dull and prosaic transactions of the Court in which he sat. Thus, in the 'Burgess's Anchovy Case,' in which two brothers Burgess, sons of the original inventor of the sauce, were the litigants, and in which the brother who succeeded to the business and 'the sauce' complained that the brother who had not inherited it was nevertheless vending 'Burgess's' Sauce, the Lord Justice, deciding against the complainant, commenced as follows:—'All the Queen's subjects are entitled to manufacture pickles and sauces, and not the less so that their fathers have done it before them. All the Queen's subjects are entitled to use their own names, and not the less so that their fathers have done it before them.' The conclusion followed, of course. The late Lord Justice, too, though not what would now be called a High Churchman, upheld, more strictly than any one on the Bench, the principle that a judge cannot recognize judicially as that Christianity which is legally and *ipso facto* part and parcel of the Constitution, any other form of the Christian religion than that established by law. In one case, some years ago, he went so far as to order a cause to stand over that proof might be given that certain flagrant departures from right, proved in the cause, and urged as the grounds for the removal of a Dissenting minister, were inconsistent with the principles of the sect in question. And in the well-known case of the Agapemone his Lordship, then Vice-Chancellor, laid it down—not, perhaps, without reason—that it would be as proper for the Court to entrust its ward to a camp of gipsies, as to the so-called 'religious body' with which he was then dealing."

Sir J. Knight-Bruce married, in 1812, Eliza, daughter of Thomas Newte, Esq., of Duvale, Devon, by whom he had several children.

DR. LINDLEY.

John Lindley, Esq., F.R.S., Ph.D., and late Professor of Botany at University College, was born on the 5th of February, 1799, at Catton, near Norwich, where his father was proprietor of a large nursery garden. After leaving the Grammar School of Norwich, he devoted his attention to botanical science. In 1819 he published a translation of "Richard's Analyse du Fruit," and in 1820 a work entitled "Monographia Rosarum," in which he described several new species of roses. About the same period he contributed to the "Transactions of the Linnæan Society" various papers on botanical subjects. Some time afterwards he proceeded to London, where he became Assistant Secretary to the Horticultural Society, and was engaged by Mr. Loudon to write the descriptive portion of his "Encyclopædia of Plants," the merit of which, as a botanical work, was entirely due to him, as was stated in the preface. The "Encyclopædia" was completed in 1829. In the same year he was appointed Professor of Botany at the London University. At this period the Linnæan system was almost universally followed by English botanists. It is one of the chief merits of Dr. Lindley, that he early saw the necessity of superseding the artificial by the natural classification of plants. In an essay on this subject published in his "Introduction to the Natural System of Botany," published in 1830, he showed very clearly what the advantages of this system were, and thus paved the way for its general adoption in England. Two years later he published the "Introduction to Systematic and Physiological Botany, and a Synopsis of the British Flora," in which our indigenous plants were arranged and described for the first time according to the natural system. In a "Natural System of Botany," published in 1836, Dr. Lindley took new views of botanical classification, and proposed a new nomenclature for families of plants. Ten years later, his great work, "The Vegetable Kingdom," was published. This work, the most elaborate that had appeared on systematic botany, gave a description of all the families of plants, and more especially of those useful to man. It gave very extended lists of the genera, and was generally recognized as one of the most important contributions which had at that time appeared on systematic botany. While engaged in writing these works, Dr. Lindley was most diligently employed as a practical botanist, in describing new species, on which he wrote a large number of papers contributed to botanical publications. In 1841 he became editor of the "Gardener's Chronicle," a weekly publication, which he conducted with great ability. In 1860 he was appointed examiner in the University of London. He was a Ph.D. of Munich, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, of which, in 1858, he received the medal as a reward for his services to botanical science.

Dr. Lindley died on the 1st of November, aged 66.

LORD MONTEAGLE.

The Right Hon. Thomas Spring-Rice, Lord Monteagle, of Brandon, co. Kerry, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, F.R.S., F.G.S, &c., who held, during his long political career, some of the most considerable offices in the State, was the only son of Stephen Edward Rice, Esq., of Mount Trenchard, by Catherine, daughter of Thomas Spring, Esq., of Ballycrispin, co. Kerry, and was born at Limerick on the 8th of February, 1790. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1833, and for some time studied for the Bar, but relinquished that profession on the occasion of his first marriage. He entered Parliament in 1820, as one of the members for his native city, which he continued to represent in the Whig interest down to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, when he was chosen for Cambridge, and sat for that borough until his elevation to the Peerage in 1839, during the whole of which time he had lent his support to every liberal measure that was proposed by his party, including the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the Roman Catholic Relief and Reform Acts.

He was Under-Secretary for the Home Department for a short time in 1827, and held the Secretaryship of the Treasury from November, 1830, to June, 1834, in which latter year he was also for a short time Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1834, he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. On the return of Lord Melbourne's administration to office, in April, 1835, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, but resigned that office in September, 1839, succeeding the late Sir J. Newport as Comptroller-General of that department, and being at the same time raised to the peerage. His Lordship frequently acted as a member of Royal Commissions on matters of taste and art, and bestowed considerable pains on the work of examining and reporting upon the decimal coinage question. He took a

prominent part in the discussion of monetary and commercial subjects in the Upper House,—such as the Limited Liability Bill, &c.,—and also in those relating more particularly to Irish affairs. In 1861, he opposed unsuccessfully the abolition of the Paper Duty. His Lordship was a Commissioner of the State Paper Office, a Trustee of the National Gallery, a member of the Senate of the London University, and of the Queen's University in Ireland.

He died on the 7th of February, at his seat, Mount Trenchard, near Limerick, aged 75.

LORD NORTHBROOK.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Thornhill Baring, Baron Northbrook, of Stratton, in the county of Southampton, and a Baronet, whose death occurred on the 6th of September, at his seat, Stratton Park, near Winchester, was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Baring, the second Baronet, by his wife, Mary Ursula, eldest daughter of Charles Sealy, Esq., of Calcutta, barrister-at-law, and was nephew of the Right Hon. Alexander Baring, first Lord Ashburton. He was born April 10, 1796, and was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, where he greatly distinguished himself, having obtained a double first-class in 1817, and graduated M.A. in 1821. He was called to the Bar by the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, in 1823. In 1826 he was first returned to Parliament for the borough of Portsmouth, in the Liberal interest, and he continued to represent that borough nearly forty years, up to the last dissolution of Parliament. He was a thorough Whig, and was always a stanch and earnest supporter of the measures of his party. In 1830 he was appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury, which office he held up to June, 1834, when he became one of the Joint Secretaries of the Treasury, and so continued with the exception of a short interval up to 1839. He then accepted the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and held it up to September, 1841. From 1849 he was for three years First Lord of the Admiralty, after which period he retired from official life. He succeeded his father as third Baronet, April 3, 1848, and was raised to the Peerage as Baron Northbrook, of Stratton, in the county of Southampton, January 4, 1866. Lord Northbrook married, first, April 7, 1825, Jane, youngest daughter of Sir George Grey, Bart., G.C.B., and niece of Charles, second Earl Grey, by whom, who died April 23, 1838, he had issue a son, Thomas George, his successor, and three daughters. Lord Northbrook married, secondly, March 31, 1841, Lady Arabella Howard, second daughter of Kenneth Alexander, first Earl of Effingham, and by her had a son, the Hon. Francis Henry Baring. Lord Northbrook was a man of unblemished integrity, and respected on both sides of the House of Commons as a straightforward politician. He was a good landlord, and gave constant and personal attention to the interests of the labourers on his estates. A man of refined and educated tastes, to the last he was fond of the classical studies for which he was distinguished in early life.

DR. WHEWELL.

The Rev. William Whewell, D.D., V.P.R.S., M.R.I.A., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge,—one of the most celebrated scientific and philosophical writers of his day, whose lamented death, from the effects of a fall from his horse, occurred on the 6th of March,—was born at Lancaster in 1795. He was of humble parentage; and it is said that his father intended to devote him to his own handicraft, but he was sent to the Free Grammar School of Lancaster, and proceeded in due course to Trinity College. His position in the Mathematical Tripos as Second Wrangler, followed by the acquisition of the Second Smith's Prize, proved the possession of the intellectual powers which he cultivated up to the day when he suffered the accident which proved fatal. That a Second Wrangler should be in due time Fellow and Tutor of his College, is a matter of course; but Mr. Whewell possessed an intellectual vigour which was not satisfied with the mere work of a College Tutor. In 1828 he was elected Professor of Mineralogy, succeeding to the chair which had been founded for Dr. Clarke; and when the British Association was formed, he was requested to draw up a report on the condition of that science. It was in connexion with the British Association (of which he was President in 1841) that he drew up the "Reports on the Tides, and on the Mathematical Theories of Heat, Magnetism, and Electricity," which rank among the first of his mathematical productions. Before this he had been chosen to write the "Bridgewater Treatise on Astronomy," and it is, perhaps, this circumstance which first suggested to him the "History of the Inductive Sciences," published in 1837, followed, in 1840, by the "Philosophy of

the Inductive Sciences," which are undoubtedly the works by which he will be best known in after years. In 1832 he resigned the Professorship of Mineralogy, but in 1838 accepted the Professorship of Moral Philosophy, which he held till 1855. In 1841, during the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, he was nominated to the Mastership of Trinity, on the resignation of Dr. Wordsworth; and in this position he took an active part in introducing into Cambridge the new studies which have since been recognized by the institution of the Natural and Moral Sciences Triposes. As Professor of Moral Philosophy, he founded prizes for the encouragement of that study, which he himself always pursued with avidity. He edited Sir James Mackintosh's "Introduction to the Study of Ethical Philosophy," published two volumes of his on "Morality," and among his latest productions were some translations of the "Ethical Dialogues of Plato." If we add to this list in which we have taken no notice of mere University text-books, "Lectures on Political Economy," delivered at the desire of the late Prince Consort before the Prince of Wales and other students; an edition of the works of Richard Jones on "Political Economy," "Architectural Notes on Churches in France and Germany," and "Some Specimens of English Hexameters," published in a book containing similar efforts by Sir John Herschel, the late Archdeacon Hare, and Mr. Lockhart, we may give some idea of his extraordinary versatility and industry.

Cambridge men all over the world associated Dr. Whewell with their recollections of the University. The Master of Trinity was the head of the residents at Cambridge no less by the vigour of his intellect and the range of his acquirements than by his position as the head of its greatest College; and the place he held in academic society was due more to himself than to his office. His towering figure was one of those soonest known by the undergraduate, who had heard of his renown long before he came into residence; and when he quitted the University at the end of his career, the Master of Trinity was the man above all others whom he remembered as the representative of Cambridge learning and Cambridge dignity.

Men of such wide and varied attainments as Dr. Whewell possessed are always open to the suspicion of being but superficially acquainted with some of the branches of knowledge on which they write; and the Master of Trinity was sometimes disparaged as Leibnitz was in his day. The saying that "Science was his forte and Omniscience his foible" is well known, though it had, in truth, less real ground than even epigrams usually have. Dr. Whewell was doubtless not uniformly great, but he reached a high degree of excellence in every thing he attempted. It is probable that defects in his manners encouraged those who were ready to disparage what they were unable to measure. Dr. Whewell was at times disposed to overbear opponents, and for some years his influence in the University was marred by resentment against this defect. At the same time he often exhibited an urbanity which, coupled with his universal knowledge, made him a delightful companion. The failing referred to was in part probably attributable to the high estimation in which he held the College of which he was the head, and which was wholly free from any alloy of personal vanity. He was prouder of Trinity College than of any of his works, and would have sacrificed every thing to magnify it. And it must be added that he endowed it with almost Royal munificence.

Some seven or eight years since, he built, at his own expense, a hostel for the reception of some of the overflowing students of Trinity, who had been compelled to live in lodgings for want of rooms in College; and at the time of his death he had commenced still larger works by way of addition to the former building, which he had unwillingly deferred in consequence of difficulties in obtaining the necessary site, but the completion of which he took care to provide should be independent of the accident of his death.

Dr. Whewell was twice married, and twice a widower. His first wife was Miss Marshall, a sister of Lady Monteagle, and he caused a mortuary chapel in the Cemetery at Cambridge to be built after his own designs as a memorial of his affection. She died in 1854, and he married, secondly, in 1858, the widow of Sir Gilbert Affleck, a sister of the late Mr. Leslie Ellis, himself a Fellow of Trinity.

The funeral of the deceased took place, in the Chapel of Trinity College, on the 10th of March, and was attended by the Duke of Devonshire, Chancellor of the University, the Bishops of Worcester and Ely, the representatives of the University, the Right Hon. S. H. Walpole and Mr. Selwyn, Sir J. F. W. Herschel, Bart., General Sabine, the Astronomer Royal, General Malcolm, the Provost of Oriel, the Hon. G. Denman, M.P., the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses, the whole College, several former Fellows, and a large number of other members of Senate.

REMARKABLE TRIALS.

I.

THE CASE OF THE *SOI-DISANT* PRINCESS OLIVE.

RYVES AND RYVES *v.* THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

THIS case, which came on for trial under the Legitimacy Declaration Act before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, Lord Chief Baron Pollock, the Judge Ordinary Sir James Wilde, and a special jury, is one of the most curious in the recent experience of Courts of Justice. The tale on which it was founded exhibited a singular compound of self-delusion and fraud; and though, when closely examined, it was found to be replete with contradictions and absurdities, it had in it a tinge of romantic interest, and was woven into apparent consistency by means of an elaborate apparatus of documents and pseudo-historical records, which gave to the case a superficial aspect of verisimilitude. The Petitioners instituting the suit were Lavinia Jannetta Horton Ryves, of Maitland-park, in the parish of St. Pancras, and her son William Henry Ryves. The petition alleged that the petitioners were natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, and that the first-named petitioner is the legitimate daughter of John Thomas Serres and Olive his wife, the said Olive being, while living, a natural-born British subject, and that the petitioners are legally domiciled in England; that the first-named petitioner's mother, Olive, was the legitimate daughter of Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, and Olive Wilmot his wife, respectively deceased, and that the said Olive was born on the 3rd of April, 1772; that the first-named petitioner's grandparents, the said Duke of Cumberland and Olive Wilmot, were, on the 4th of March, 1767, lawfully married in England at the house of Thomas Lord Archer, in Grosvenor-square, London, and that the said marriage was solemnized by the Rev. James Wilmot, D.D., who was the father of the said Olive Wilmot; that the first-named petitioner was lawfully married on the 22nd of November, 1822, to Anthony Thomas Ryves, from whom she was, on the 16th of February, 1841, divorced *a mensâ et thoro* by the Arches Court of Canterbury, and that there was issue of the marriage William Henry Ryves, the second petitioner, and other children; that the Petitioner William Henry Ryves is the legitimate son of the first-named petitioner, and was born at Durham-cottage, Vauxhall, in the parish

of St. Mary, Lambeth, on the 3rd of March, 1833, and was baptized at the Church of St. Mary, Lambeth, on the 30th of June, 1840. The petition prayed the Court to pronounce that Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, and Olive his wife, were, on the 4th of March, 1767, lawfully married, and that the mother of the first-named petitioner, the said Olive, afterwards Olive Serres, was their legitimate child, and that she was born on the 3rd of April, 1772, and that the first-named petitioner was lawfully married to Anthony Thomas Ryves, and that the second petitioner is their legitimate son and heir, and a natural-born subject of Her Majesty. The Attorney-General had been cited in pursuance of the Act, and had filed an answer denying that the first-named petitioner's mother was the legitimate daughter of Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, and Olive Wilmot, and that the said petitioner's alleged mother was born as set forth in the petition, and that Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, was lawfully married to Olive Wilmot, as set forth in the petition, and that the other allegations in the petition were true. The answer concluded with a prayer for the rejection of the petition. Issue was joined upon this answer.

Mr. J. Walter Smith and Mr. D. M. Thomas appeared for the petitioners; the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Queen's Advocate, Mr. Hannen, and Mr. R. Bourke, for the Attorney-General.

Before the case was opened a long discussion took place upon the preliminary question whether the petitioners had any *locus standi* to ask for the decree for which they now prayed. In 1859 Mrs. Ryves had filed a petition praying that the marriage between her mother and Mr. Serres might be declared valid, and that she might be declared the legitimate issue of that marriage. The petition was heard in January, 1861, and Mrs. Ryves, who then conducted her case in person, having produced evidence in support of the allegations in her petition, the Court pronounced the decree for which she prayed. It was now suggested by the Court that if the petitioner succeeded in proving the allegation in her present petition—namely, that Olive Wilmot was lawfully married to the Duke of Cumberland,—it would follow that the marriage of their daughter with Mr. Serres was invalid under the Royal Marriage Act, 12th George III., cap. 11—not having been sanctioned by the reigning Sovereign in the manner prescribed by that Act, and that thus there might be two decrees of the Court inconsistent with each other, the one affirming that Mrs. Serres was a legitimate daughter of the Duke of Cumberland, and therefore within the Royal Marriage Act, being a "descendant of the body of His late Majesty King George II.," and the other affirming that her marriage with Mr. Serres was valid, although she was not competent to contract it under that Act.

The result of the discussion was, that the consideration of the question as to the effect of the decree in the former suit was postponed until evidence should be tendered of the first allegation in the petition—namely, that Mrs. Ryves was the legitimate daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Serres, and the Court intimated that this was the first step in the cause.

Mr. J. W. Smith then proceeded to open the case to the jury. Having explained to them the provisions of the Legitimacy Declaration Act, he said that the main question for them to try was whether the Duke of Cumberland, the youngest brother of George III., was lawfully married to Olive Wilmot, and whether Mrs. Serres, the mother of Mrs. Ryves, was the lawful issue of that marriage. They were also asked to find that William Henry Ryves was the lawful son of Mr. and Mrs. Ryves; but there would be no difficulty as to that

part of the case, and it would be proved that on the 22nd of November, 1822, the elder petitioner, then Miss de Serres, married Anthony Thomas Ryves; that the younger petitioner, her son, was born on the 3rd of March, 1833, and that she was separated from Mr. Ryves on account of his misconduct in 1841. Mr. Smith then gave a history of the family of Olive Wilmot. She was the daughter of Dr. James Wilmot, who was a descendant of the family of Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, of Charles II.'s time; he was born in 1726, he went to Oxford at the age of sixteen, and took his M.A. degree in 1748, and his D.D. degree in 1766. At Oxford he made the acquaintance of Count Poniatowski, who afterwards became King of Poland, and through him made the acquaintance of the Princess Poniatowski, his sister, whom he subsequently married. Olive, the daughter of Dr. Wilmot and the Princess Poniatowski, was born on the 17th of June, 1750. Dr. Wilmot was the auditor to Lord Archer, and in 1767 Olive Wilmot met the Duke of Cumberland, the younger brother of George III., at the house of Lord Archer, in Grosvenor-square. After a short courtship the Duke married her, the marriage being celebrated on the 4th of March, 1767, at nine o'clock in the evening, at Lord Archer's house, by Dr. Wilmot, who had been hurriedly summoned for the purpose. A formal certificate of the marriage was drawn up and signed by Dr. Wilmot and by Lord Brooke (afterwards Lord Warwick) and J. Addez, who were present at it, and this certificate was verified by the signatures of Mr. Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton) and of Lord Chatham. It was as follows:—

"The marriage of the underwritten parties was duly solemnized, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, at Thomas Lord Archer's house, London, March the 4th, 1767, by myself. "J. Wilmot.

"Henry Frederick.
"Olive Wilmot.

"Present at the marriage of these parties,
"Brooke.
"J. Addez.

"Attested before
"J. Dunning.
"Chatham."

Another certificate to the same effect was drawn up and signed by the same persons:—

"I solemnly certify that I married Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland to Olive Wilmot, March the fourth, 1767, and that such marriage was lawfully solemnized at Thomas Lord Archer's house (at nine in the evening), in Grosvenor-square, London. "J. Wilmot.

"Witness to this marriage,
"Brooke.
"J. Addez.

"Attested before
"Chatham.
"J. Dunning."

The Duke of Cumberland and his wife lived together for four years, and in October, 1771, she being then pregnant, he deserted her, and committed bigamy by going through a ceremony of marriage with Lady Anne Horton, sister of the well-known Colonel Luttrell. The King was aware of the Duke's marriage with

Olive Wilmot, although it was not known to the public; and when he heard of his second marriage he was very angry and would not allow him and his second wife to come to Court. It was in consequence of this marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and of the secret marriage of the Duke of Gloucester, which came to his knowledge about the same time, that His Majesty determined on having the Royal Marriage Act passed; and by unconstitutional pressure he obtained the consent of Parliament to that Act. The learned counsel proposed to read extracts from the "Annual Register," from Lord Mahon's "History," and from other works for the purpose of showing what was thought of the Duke of Cumberland's marriage with Lady Anne Horton, but he was not allowed to do so. He went on to state that Olive, Princess of Cumberland, was born on the 3rd of April, 1772, and was privately baptized on the same day by Dr. Wilmot, at the house of his mother, in the parish of St. Mary, Warwick, and he read three certificates, purporting to be signed by Dr. Wilmot, and by his brother Robert Wilmot, to that effect. The King was anxious to save his brother from the consequences of the bigamy which he had committed, and for that purpose he gave directions to Lord Chatham, Lord Warwick, and Dr. Wilmot, that the child should be re-baptized as the daughter of Robert Wilmot, Dr. Wilmot's brother, whose wife had just been confined. The order was in writing as follows:—

"G. R. "April four, 1772.

"Whereas it is our Royal will that Olive our Niece be baptized Olive Wilmot, to operate during our Royal pleasure.

"To Lord Chatham."

A declaration to the same effect was signed by Lord Warwick. Dr. Wilmot consented to re-baptize the child, and to conceal the secret of her birth, in obedience to the King's command; but he required all the proceedings to be solemnly certified by the King and other persons as witnesses, in order that at a future time the child should be replaced in her proper position. He was able to insist upon this, for he was already in possession of a secret of the King. In 1762 the King was publicly married to Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, but he had previously, in 1759, been privately married by this very Dr. Wilmot to a lady named Hannah Lightfoot. It would be necessary to prove this fact in order to make the declarations of Hannah Lightfoot evidence (as the declarations of the wife of the head of the family) of the legitimacy of Mrs. Serres.

The Lord Chief Baron.—We are bound to take notice that George III. was publicly married to Queen Charlotte, and that they were publicly crowned. If there was a prior marriage, and the first wife was living at the time of the second marriage, George IV. may have had no right to the throne.

The Attorney-General.—Nor her present Majesty. I do not disguise from myself that this is nothing less than a claim to the throne.

The Lord Chief Baron.—In my opinion it is indecent to go on with an inquiry into such matters unless it is absolutely necessary for the purposes of justice.

The Attorney-General.—Of course, if this could be seriously called an inquiry, it would be a very important one. In my view, the more my learned friend states, the easier it will be to arrive at a conclusion as to the truth or falsehood of his case. I am bound to tell your Lordships that I shall treat it as a case of fraud, fabrication, and imposture from beginning to end. It is comfortable to

believe that the guilt of the fraud may be excused or palliated by the insanity of one of the persons principally concerned.

The Judge-Ordinary.—The inquiry will not begin until the evidence is produced.

Mr. W. Smith then continued his statement, and referred to three sets of certificates which Dr. Wilmot required to be drawn up upon re-baptizing the child and which were deposited respectively with him, with Lord Warwick, and with Lord Chatham. These certificates were intended to prove the marriage of Dr. Wilmot and the Princess of Poland, the birth of their daughter, and her marriage to the Duke of Cumberland. At the back of the two certificates of the marriage between the Duke and Olive Wilmot (above printed), the following certificates were endorsed:—

"This is to solemnly certify, that I married George Prince of Wales to Princess Hannah, his first consort, April 17th, 1759, and that two princes and a princess were the issue of such marriage.

"London, April 2nd, 176—. "J. Wilmot."

"This is to certify to all it may concern, that I lawfully married George Prince of Wales to Hannah Lightfoot, April 17th, 1759, and that two sons and a daughter are their issue by such marriage. "J Wilmot.

"Chatham.

"J. Dunning."

The Lord Chief Justice.—You say that the King as well as his brother committed bigamy.

Mr. W. Smith said that was so; and no one could look at the numerous documents that would be produced to prove these facts without being convinced of their genuineness. They were verified by the signatures of well-known persons, the authenticity of which would be proved. The child was brought up in the family of Robert Wilmot until 1782, an allowance of 500*l.* a year being paid for her maintenance by Lord Chatham in accordance with the terms of the following document:—

"This is to declare that Lord Chatham binds himself to pay to Olive, the Duke of Cumberland's infant daughter, the yearly sum of 500*l.* during the said Olive's life, until a more suitable provision is made for her. Acting by command of His Majesty, in witness and confirmation of the same, his Lordship places his signature, the first day of May, 1773. "J. Wilmot.

"Chatham.

"Witness—Robt. Wilmot.

"George R."

Soon afterwards His Majesty created her Duchess of Lancaster by this instrument:—

"George R.

"We hereby are pleased to create Olive of Cumberland Duchess of Lancaster, and to grant our Royal authority for Olive, our said niece, to bear and use the title and arms of Lancaster, should she be in existence at the period of our Royal demise.

"Given at our palace of St. James's, May 17th, 1773.

"Chatham.

"J. Dunning."

The Court pointed out that such grants were always conferred by a patent under the Great Seal, and that it would be a strong argument against the authenticity of a document which was not good in law, that it bore the signature of J. Dunning.

Mr. W. Smith submitted that the King could make the grant to one of his own blood by word of mouth. He then referred to a testamentary instrument bearing the Royal sign manual, the body of which was in Lord Warwick's handwriting, as follows:—

"St. James's.

"George R.

"In case of our Royal demise, we give and bequeath to Olive, our brother of Cumberland's daughter, the sum of 15,000*l.*, commanding our heir and successor to pay the same privately to our said niece, for her use, as a recompense for the misfortunes she may have known through her father.—June 2, 1774.

"Chatham.

"Witness—J. Dunning." "Warwick.

After the King's death probate of this document was sought in the Prerogative Court, but it was held that the Court had no power to grant probate of the will of the Sovereign. An unsuccessful attempt was subsequently made in the Court of Chancery to enforce the claim for 15,000*l.* against the Duke of Wellington as George IV.'s executor. The two following certificates were then read in support of the statement as to the marriage between George III. and Hannah Lightfoot:—

"April 17, 1759.

"The marriage of these parties was this day duly solemnized at Kew Chapel, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, by myself.

"J. Wilmot.

"George P.
"Hannah.

"Witness to this marriage,

"W. Pitt.
"Anne Tayler."

"May 27, 1759.

"This is to certify that the marriage of these parties (George, Prince of Wales, to Hannah Lightfoot) was duly solemnized this day, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, at their residence at Peckham, by myself.

"J. Wilmot.

"George Guelph.
"Hannah Lightfoot.

"Witness to the marriage of these parties,—

"William Pitt.
"Anne Tayler."

He further referred to a will in favour of Olive Wilmot, dated the 7th of July, 1762, and signed "Hannah Regina," and witnessed by "J. Dunning and W. Pitt."

The Lord Chief Justice.—That was after the King's marriage to Queen Charlotte, and yet it is signed "Hannah Regina," and attested by "W. Pitt."

Mr. W. Smith said that in 1782 Dr. Wilmot was presented to the living of

Barton-on-the-Heath, in Warwickshire, and his granddaughter Olive went to live with him, passing as his niece, and was educated by him. At the age of seventeen or eighteen she came to London, and there met Mr. De Serres, an artist, and a member of the Royal Academy, whom she married in 1791. After the marriage they lived for some time in Liverpool, and Mrs. Ryves, the petitioner, was born there in 1797. In 1803 unhappy differences arose between Mr. and Mrs. Serres, and they separated. Mrs. Serres and her daughter afterwards lived together, and she became eminent as a painter, and wrote some books. They were visited by noble and distinguished persons, and in 1805 they were taken to Brighton and introduced to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. Dr. Wilmot died in 1807, and the papers in his possession relating to the marriage, as well as those which had been deposited with Lord Chatham, who died in 1778, passed into the hands of Lord Warwick. Mrs. Serres was ignorant of the history of her birth until 1815, when Lord Warwick, being seriously ill, thought it right to communicate the secret to her and also to the Duke of Kent, and to place the papers in her hands. The learned counsel was going on to read some documents purporting to be signed by the Duke of Kent as declarations of the petitioner's legitimacy, but it was pointed out by the Court that he was not entitled to do so, as, according to his case, the Duke of Kent was not a legitimate member of the Royal Family. He said that Mrs. Serres up to the time of her death, in 1834, and the petitioner ever since that date, had made every effort to have the documents on which they founded their claim examined by some competent tribunal. In addition to the documents above referred to, he read a great number of others, and he said that about seventy of them would be produced, containing forty-three signatures of Dr. Wilmot, sixteen of Lord Chatham, twelve of Mr. Dunning. twelve of George III., thirty-two of Lord Warwick, and eighteen of the Duke of Kent. Although these documents had been repeatedly brought to the notice of the successive Ministers of the Crown, it had never been suggested until to-day that they were forgeries.

The Lord Chief Baron.—You cannot be ignorant that there was a debate in the House of Commons several years ago, in which they were denounced as forgeries, and the late Sir R. Peel directed attention to the fact that some of the documents were signed "Warwick," although they bore a date when Lord Warwick was Lord Brooke, and before he took the title of "Warwick."

Mr. W. Smith said Sir R. Peel had talked great nonsense in that speech. The dates on the documents referred to were not the dates on which they were attested, but the dates on which the events happened which they certified. They were not attested until subsequently, as appeared by a letter of Lord Warwick. In conclusion he said that, in addition to the evidence he should produce as to the authenticity of the handwriting of the documents, he should put in evidence portraits showing the extraordinary likeness of Olive Wilmot to the Royal Family; and he urged the improbability of any forger being foolish enough to multiply so many unnecessary forgeries, and needlessly increase the risk of detection and punishment.

The first witnesses called for the petitioners were Mr. H. N. Capel, the solicitor of the petitioners, and one of his clerks, who produced a number of certificates of births, deaths, and marriages, and extracts from registers, of which the following were the most material:—Extracts from registers of the diocese of Oxford and of the University of Oxford, and from parochial registers, showing that Dr. James Wilmot was baptized on the 1st of April, 1726; that he was ordained a priest on

the 21st of December, 1752; that he was a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; that he took his D.D. degree in July, 1760; and that he died at the rectory of Barton-on-the-Heath in 1807. Certificates of the baptism of his brother, Robert Wilmot, and of Robert Wilmot's marriage at St. James's, Westminster, on the 12th of April, 1764, and of his burial at Gateshead on the 11th of August, 1812. He was described in the certificates as a house painter. Certificates of the baptism of a sister of Dr. Wilmot, named Olive, on the 29th of April, 1728, and of her marriage to William Payne on the 14th of July, 1754, and of the baptism of her daughter, Olivia Payne, on the 11th of May, 1759. An extract from an entry in the parish register of St. Nicholas, Warwick, was also produced, of the baptism of Olive, daughter of Robert and Anna Maria Wilmot, on the 15th of April, 1772. This referred, as the petitioners alleged, to the re-baptism of Mrs. Serres, which was commanded by George III. in order to conceal the secret of her birth. The burial of Mrs. Serres, at St. James's, Westminster, on the 3rd of December, 1834, was also proved, her description being Olive Cumberland, late of Trinity-square. Formal proof was also given of the death of the first Earl of Chatham on the 11th of May, 1778, and of the late Duke of Kent on the 23rd of January, 1820; of the creation of the earldom of Brooke in 1746, and of Warwick in 1759; of the death of the eighth Lord Brooke and the first Earl Brooke and Earl Warwick in July, 1773, and of the second Earl Warwick in May, 1816; of the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Ryves in 1822, and of the baptism of their son in 1840; and of the burial of Mr. Serres at Paddington in January, 1826.

An article in the *Biographie Universelle* was tendered by Mr. W. Smith, for the purpose of proving the biography of Domenic Serres, the father of the husband of Mrs. Serres, but their Lordships declined to receive it, and the Attorney-General said he had no objection to admit that Domenic Serres was a person who attained some celebrity, and was one of the original members of the Royal Academy.

The Rev. Mr. Haddan, the present rector of Barton-on-the Heath, and formerly a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, produced registers of births, marriages, and burials between 1755 and 1810, which contained a number of entries in the undoubted handwriting of Dr. Wilmot. One of them was an entry of a marriage on the 1st of September, 1791, between John Thomas Serres, of St. Marylebone, bachelor, and Olivia Wilmot, of Barton-on-the-Heath, spinster, the witnesses being Margaret Davies and Thomas Wilmot. In answer to the Attorney-General, the Rev. Mr. Haddan said that Barton was a college living, and Dr. Wilmot was presented to it in 1781, and continued rector until his death in 1807. He produced the statutes of the college, which contained a prohibition against the marriage of the Fellows, and some questions were put to him as to the practice of the college and of the University, for the purpose of showing the improbability of the marriage of Dr. Wilmot while he held a fellowship; but they were objected to and not pressed, and the Lord Chief Justice remarked that some matters were so notorious as hardly to require proof. An officer from the Record-office then produced a number of Treasury warrants signed by George III. from October, 1794, to April, 1795; but he said the series was incomplete, and that before they were delivered to the Record-office they were kept in the vaults of Somerset-house. The various documents referred to by Mr. W. Smith in his opening speech were then produced by Mr. Bourdillon, a solicitor, and it was admitted that they had formerly belonged to Mrs. Serres. Some portraits of Mrs. Serres were tendered for the purpose of showing her likeness to the Royal

Family, but the Court intimated that they could not possibly be evidence of legitimacy, and refused to allow them to be shown to the jury.

Evidence of handwriting was then given to make the documents produced by Mr. Bourdillon admissible, and Mr. Netherclift, the expert, was examined as to those written or signed by Dr. Wilmot. He stated that in his opinion they were in the handwriting of Dr. Wilmot; but on being questioned as to the grounds upon which he had formed that conclusion, it appeared that it was by comparing them with tracings of Dr. Wilmot's handwriting which had been given to him by Mr. Capel, and which he assumed to be genuine, and the Lord Chief Justice told him that if he had no better foundation for his evidence, he ought not to have given it so positively. Mr. Netherclift then compared the documents in question with the registers of Barton-on-the-Heath, and some signatures of Dr. Wilmot in the books of the University, and adhered to his opinion that they were genuine. He admitted, however, upon being pressed by the Court, that the documents in question were in a bold, free handwriting, while the handwriting admitted to be genuine was cramped and tremulous, but he said the difference was not greater than might be noticed in the writing of the same person at different times in many instances. Some other differences in the handwriting were called to his attention by the Court, such as the separation between each letter in the admitted documents, while all the letters were joined together in the documents in question, but he adhered to his opinion that they were all genuine.

The documents purporting to be written or signed by Dr. Wilmot were then read.

The following are some of the most remarkable:—

"I solemnly certify that I privately was married to the Princess of Poland the sister of the King of Poland. But an unhappy family difference induced us to keep Our Union Secret. One Dear child bless'd myself who Married The Duke of Cumberland March 4th 1767 and died in the Prime of Life of a broken heart December 5th 1774 in France.

"Janry 1st, 1780." "J. Wilmot."

There were two other certificates to the same effect, and the fourth was in the following terms:—

"I solemnly certify that I married the Princess of Poland, and had legitimate issue Olive, my dear daughter, married March 4th, 1767, to Henry F. Duke of Cumberland, brother of His Majesty George the Third, who have issue Olive, my supposed niece, born at Warwick, April 3d, 1772.

"J. Wilmot.
"Robt. Wilmot.
"G. R. "Chatham."

Then followed certificates of the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland to Olive Wilmot, attested by Lord Archer, Lord Brooke, Lord Chatham, and Mr. Dunning. One of them also bore the signature "George R.":—

"I hereby certify that I married Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland to Olive Wilmot, March 4th, 1767, and that such marriage was legally solemnized according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.

"George R. "J. Wilmot."

"Olive, the daughter of Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Olive, his lawful wife, born April 3, 1772, at Warwick.

"J. DUNNING. "J. WILMOT.
"CHATHAM. "ROBT. WILMOT."

The following document also referred to the marriage :—

"(Paper 6.)

"May 23, 1775.

"As a testimony that my daughter was not at all unworthy of her Royal consort the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Warwick solemnly declares that he returned privately from the Continent to offer her marriage, but seeing how greatly she was attached to the Duke of Cumberland, he witnessed her union with his Royal Highness March 4, 1767.

Witness "J. WILMOT.
"WARWICK. "ROBT. WILMOT."

The following certificates were written underneath each other upon the same sheet of paper, apparently a blank leaf out of a book :—

"I solemnly certify, that I married George Prince of Wales to Hannah his first Royal Consort in the year 1759, and that such Royal personage departed this life December the first 17—4, leaving issue two sons and one daughter lawfully born in wedlock. "J. WILMOT."

"I solemnly certify that Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland was married to Olive Wilmot, March the 4th, 1767, in London, at Lord Archer's house, Grosvr. Square.

"J. WILMOT."

"Olive, the daughter of Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Olive his wife, was born April the 3d, 1772, and is living. "J. W.

"Lord Chatham confirms the above birth.

"CHATHAM."

"The above certificates are written in this book for the securest mode of preserving the record of the same at Warwick Castle.

"WARWICK. "J. W."

Then followed certificates of the baptism of Olive, some of which were as follows :—

"Warwick, April 3, 1772.

"I hereby certify that the infant daughter of the Duke of Cumberland and Olive his lawful Duchess was privately baptized by myself at my mother Mrs. Sarah Wilmot's residence in the parish of St. Mary's, Warwick, three hours after the said infant's birth, by the name of Olive.

"Witness, ROBERT WILMOT. "J. WILMOT, Clerk."

"We hereby certify that Olive, the Duke of Cumberland's infant, was rebaptized, in order that she might pass as the child of my brother, Robert Wilmot, and that such child of the Duke of Cumberland was entered in the register of St. Nicholas, at Warwick, as Olive Wilmot only.

"J. WILMOT.
"ROBT. WILMOT."

"These certificates never to be acted upon during His Majesty George the Third's reign. "J. W."

"We solemnly certify in this Prayer-book that Olive, the lawful daughter of Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, and Olive, his wife, bear a large mole on the right side, and another crimson mark upon the back near the neck, and that such child was baptized as Olive Wilmot at St. Nicholas' Church, Warwick, by command of the King (George the Third) to save her Royal father from the penalty of bigamy, &c.

"J. Wilmot.
"Warwick.
"Robt. Wilmot."

"G. R. "May 3d, 1774.

"In the face of Almighty God we, the undersigned, solemnly certify that His Majesty gave his Royal command that Olive, the legitimate daughter of Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, by Olive, his first wife, should be rebaptized as the supposed child of Robert Wilmot, of Warwick, to save her Royal father, who had committed an act of bigamy by marrying Anne Horton.

"J. Dunning. "J. Wilmot."

Another certificate was as follows:—

"George R. "May 1st, 17—.

"We declare the birth of Olive, the infant of the Duke of Cumberland by Olive his Duchess, to be legitimate, who is condemned to privacy by the act of bigamy, &c., committed by her Royal father.

"Warwick. "Chatham.
"J. Wilmot. "J. Dunning."

There were others to the same effect. Some of the certificates related to the alleged marriage of George III. with Hannah Lightfoot; some of these were as follows:—

"I hereby certify that George, Prince of Wales, married Hannah Wheeler, *alias* Lightfoot, April 17th, 1759, but from finding the latter to be her right name I solemnized the union of the said parties a second time May the 27th, 1759, as the certificate affixed to this paper will confirm.

"Witness, (Torn.) "J. Wilmot."

Another paper, in which some peculiarities of spelling were pointed out by the Attorney-General, was as follows:—

"Not to be acted upon until the King's demise.

"With other sacred papers to Lord Warwick's care, for Olive, my granddaughter, when I am no more. J. W.

"My dear Olive,—As the undoubted heir of Augustus, King of Poland, your rights will find aid of the Sovereings that you are allied to by blood should the family of your father act unjustly, but may the great Desposer of all things direct otherwise.—The Princess of Poland your grandmother I made my lawful wife, and I do solemnly attest that you are the last of that illustrious blood. May the Almighty guide you to all your distinctions of birth. Mine has been a life of trial, but not of crime!

"January, 1791. "J. Wilmot."

The following was the last of the papers alleged to be in Dr. Wilmot's writing:—

("Paper 12.)

"If this pacquet meets your eye let not ambition destroy the honour or integrity of your nature. Remember that others will be dependent on your conduct, the injur'd children, perhaps, of the good and excellent consort of your King—I mean the fruit of His Majesties first marriage—who may have been consign'd to oblivion like yourself; but I hope that is not exactly the case; but as I was innocently instrumental to their being, by solemnizing the ill-destined union of power and innocence, it is but an act of conscientious duty to leave to your care the certificates that will befriend them hereafter! The English nation will receive my last legacy as a proof of my affection, and when corruption has desolated the land, and famine and its attendant miseries create civil commotion, I solemnly command you to make known to the Parliament the first lawful marriage of the King, as when you are in possession of the paper Lord Warwick has been sacredly and affectionately by myself intrusted with—their constitutional import will save the country! Should the necessity exist for their operation consult able and patriotic men, and they will instruct you. May Heaven bless their and your efforts in every sense of the subject, and so shall my rejoiced spirit, with approving love (if so permitted), feel an exaltation inseparable from the prosperity of England. "J. WILMOT."

Mr. Netherclift was recalled. He stated that he had compared the signatures of George III. in the Treasury warrants which had been produced with the signatures appearing upon the documents in question, and he was of opinion that the latter were genuine. He stated various reasons upon which this opinion was founded, such as the general character of the writing, the fact that the upper part of the capital "G" was never joined to the lower part, the formation of the small "r" in "George," and of the large final "R." The attention of Mr. Netherclift was directed by the Lord Chief Justice to the fact that in the authentic documents the upper parts and the lower parts of the "G" were joined together, and a final capital "R" was shown to him which he admitted bore no resemblance to any of the "R's" admitted to be genuine; but he said that, taking all the documents *en masse*, he adhered to his opinion. The exceptional "R" shown to him was contained in the following document:—

"G. R. "April 4, 1772.

"Whereas, it is our Royal will that Olive our niece be re-baptized Olive Wilmot, to operate during our Royal pleasure.

"To Lord Chatham."

This document, Mr. Netherclift said, was not at all like a forgery, because it was so badly done, and seemed to have been rapidly dashed off. The sign manual in the following document also was, he said, so bad, that he could not imagine that it had been done by a forger; but the great difference between this and the authentic signatures did not stagger his faith that it was genuine:—

"Olive, the only child of Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, and Olive his wife, born April 3, 1772. "JAMES WILMOT.

"GEORGE R. "CHATHAM.

"WARWICK."

The body of the following was, he said, in Dr. Wilmot's writing, and he believed the "George R." to be a genuine signature of the King, although he could find none at all like it among the undoubted signatures:—

"GEORGE R.

"We are hereby pleased to recommend Olive Our niece to our faithful Lords and Commons for protection and support, should she be in existence at the period of Our Royal demise; such being Olive Wilmot, the supposed daughter of Robert Wilmot, of Warwick. "Jany. 7th, 1780.

"J. DUNNING.

"ROBT: WILMOT."

All the documents which bore the signature of George III. were shown separately to Mr. Netherclift, and were compared by him with the signatures admitted to be genuine. He was examined and cross-examined as to each of them; and at the end of the re-examination the document in question was handed to the jury for the purpose of being compared with the authentic signatures. As there were a number of documents, this mode of examination occupied a great deal of time. Mr. Netherclift admitted that there were many points of difference between the signatures to the Treasury warrants and the signatures in question, but he said that such differences were often found in the signatures of the same person to official and those to private documents, and he looked upon the documents in question as documents of a private nature. One of the jurymen discovered an important difference between the two sets of documents—namely, that a dot invariably followed the final "R" in the authentic signatures, while there was no dot after the "R" in the signatures in question, with one exception; but Mr. Netherclift accounted for this by the distinction he had already drawn between public and private documents. It was remarked by the Court that one of the documents was addressed to the Lords and Commons of England, and that another purported to be the creation of a Duchess of Lancaster, and a third to be a will: but Mr. Netherclift was of opinion that these were not public documents.

Dunning's signature was the next of which Mr. Netherclift gave evidence, and his will was produced from Doctors'-commons as a standard of comparison. The first disputed signature of Dunning occurred in the alleged certificate of the marriage between the Duke of Cumberland and Olive Wilmot, which purported to be attested before "J. Dunning" and "Chatham." Mr. Netherclift was of opinion that this was the genuine signature of Dunning.

In cross-examination, several documents in Dunning's writing were put into his hands, and his attention was called to a remarkable peculiarity in the formation of the capital "D," and in the junction of the letters "J" and "D" in the signature. This peculiarity was present in the signatures to all the documents produced by the Attorney-General as genuine, and was absent in the signature to the certificate, as well as in all the other signatures in dispute. After comparing these signatures,

Mr. Netherclift said that he did not adhere to the opinion that the signature to the certificate produced by the petitioner was genuine.

Mr. W. Smith said he should produce other evidence as to the authenticity of Dunning's signature, and he did not admit that the documents produced by the Attorney-General were authentic standards of comparison.

The Attorney-General said he should prove that they were opinions given

by Dunning as a law-officer of the Crown, produced by the Treasury, and letters written by him to Lord Shelburne, produced by the Marquis of Lansdowne.

The next signatures as to which Mr. Netherclift was examined were those of Robert Wilmot and his wife Anna Maria Wilmot, and he was of opinion that they were genuine. Some differences were pointed out between the doubtful signatures and a genuine signature of Robert Wilmot to the marriage register of St. James's, Westminster, the principal one being in the formation of the capital "R" and of the final "t," but he said that the general character of the writing was the same, and these differences did not alter his opinion. Several differences were remarked in Mrs. Wilmot's signature, one of them being that in the register she had signed "Anne," whereas in the certificates the signature was "Anna," but he retained his opinion as to its genuineness. Some of the certificates in which these signatures occurred have already been published. Others were as follow:—

"Parish of St. Mary's, 1772.
"Warwick.

"Privately baptized, April 3, Olive, the daughter of Henry Frederick Guelph, Duke of Cumberland, and Olive, his wife.

"Witness, ROBT. WILMOT, "J. WILMOT.

"This is a true certificate,
"J. WILMOT."

"We hereby acknowledge having received to our joint protection Olive, the infant child of the Duke of Cumberland, April 4. 1772.

"Witness, J. WILMOT, "ROBT. WILMOT.
"WARWICK. "ANNE MARIA WILMOT."

"Princess Olive bears on her right side a large brown mole, and a mark of fruit upon her back near the neck.

"J. WILMOT.
"J. DUNNING.
"March 7, 1773. "ROBT. WILMOT."

The next signature taken was that of Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, in the marriage certificate, which Mr. Netherclift compared with the signature to his will and pronounced to be genuine. The will, however, was only signed "Henry," and it commenced, "I, Henry, Duke of Cumberland." Some differences in the writing were called to the attention of Mr. Netherclift, but they did not affect his belief.

The Lord Chief Justice asked whether there was any evidence that the Duke signed "Henry Frederick" at one time and "Henry" at another.

The Attorney-General.—None whatever. In accordance with the habit of Princes, he always used one Christian name.

Mr. W. Smith said he had no evidence on the point, but suggested that on the occasion of his marriage the Duke might have used a fuller signature.

The Lord Chief Justice.—Did he style himself "Henry Frederick" on the occasion of his marriage to Mrs. Horton?

The Attorney-General.—We have the proceedings in the Privy Council in which he signed "Henry."

The evidence as to Lord Warwick's handwriting was postponed until evidence

had been produced showing that he was a member of the family, upon an objection being taken by the Attorney-General to the admission of his declarations until that fact had been proved.

Mr. W. Smith said this was the end of Mr. Netherclift's evidence.

The Lord Chief Justice: Do you not propose to produce evidence as to Lord Chatham's signature?

The Attorney-General: I am quite prepared to disprove it.

Mr. W. Smith said he proposed to leave it to the other side to produce evidence as to Lord Chatham's writing.

The Lord Chief Baron: There are several documents which have no signatures but those of Chatham and Dunning, and your own witness has proved that Dunning's signature is in his own opinion a forgery. Dunning's signature being a forgery, it behoves you to prove as soon as you can that Chatham's signature is genuine.

Mr. W. Smith said that every effort had been made to get some of Chatham's signatures from the Treasury and the Record Office, but none could be obtained. There was a will, but a comparison with one signature was unsatisfactory, and when the will was made Lord Chatham had the gout.

The will of Lord Chatham was produced from the Registry in Doctors' Commons, and the Lord Chief Baron remarked that the signature was very steady, and did not look as if it had been written with chalky fingers.

Mr. Netherclift then compared the signature to the will with the disputed signatures, and said that, although there was a certain agreement between them, he would rather not say that they were written by the same person. Being pressed by the Court to give a more decided opinion, he said that he thought they were not in the same handwriting. A bundle of letters in Lord Chatham's handwriting was produced by the Attorney-General, and, after comparing them with the disputed signatures, Mr. Netherclift said, that in his opinion, assuming the letters to be genuine, the disputed signatures were not genuine.

Mrs. Ryves, the petitioner, was then examined. She gave her evidence very clearly and firmly, she repeated with emphasis the oath administered to her by the officer of the Court to tell "nothing but the truth;" and in the course of her examination, when a seat was offered her, she said she was not tired, and she could stand for ever to protect the honour of her family. She was first examined as to her marriage with Mr. Ryves, which, she said, she had cause to remember. It took place in November, 1822, at St. George the Martyr, Southwark, and she obtained a decree of divorce from him in 1841. She then proved the birth of her son, the other petitioner, at Vauxhall, in March, 1833. In 1859 she presented a petition for a decree declaring the validity of the marriage of her father and mother, and her own legitimacy—not, she said, from any motive of fraud, but to establish those facts. The petition came on for hearing in 1861, the trial lasted four days, and a decree was pronounced in her favour. The Attorney-General was represented at the hearing by Mr. Welsby and Mr. Roche, and did not oppose it. The proceedings in this suit were put in evidence. Mrs. Ryves then gave evidence as to her early history. She said; "I was born in 1797, and I remember coming to London from Liverpool with my father and mother when I was only two and a half years old. We lived in Harley-street, at the British School of Artists, which my father founded. I lived with my father and mother until their separation in 1803, and after that I lived with my mother. I left school at the age of thirteen. In 1805 we were living in Pall-mall."

Mr. W. Smith said he now proposed to ask the petitioner some questions as to declarations made by Hannah Lightfoot, the wife of George III.

The Lord Chief Justice: At present we have no evidence of the marriage of George III. to Hannah Lightfoot.

Mr. W. Smith referred to the two following documents:—

April 17, 1759.

"The marriage of these parties was this day duely solemnized at Kew Chapel, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, by myself.

"J. Wilmot.

"George P.
"Hannah.

"Witness to this marriage,

"W. Pitt.
"Anne Tayler."

"May 27, 1759.

"This is to certify that the marriage of these parties (George, Prince of Wales, to Hannah Lightfoot) was duly solemnized this day, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, at their residence at Peckham, by myself.

"J. Wilmot.

"George Guelph.
"Hannah Lightfoot.

"Witness to the marriage of these parties,

"William Pitt.
"Anne Tayler."

The Lord Chief Justice.—The Court is, as I understand, asked solemnly to declare, on the strength of two certificates, coming I know not whence, written on two scraps of paper, that the marriage, the only marriage of George III. which the world believes to have taken place, between His Majesty and Queen Charlotte, was an invalid marriage, and consequently that all the Sovereigns who have sat on the throne since his death, including Her present Majesty, were not entitled to sit on the throne. That is the conclusion which the Court is asked to come to upon these two rubbishy pieces of paper, one signed "George P.," and the other "George Guelph." I believe them to be gross and rank forgeries. The Court has no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, even assuming that the signatures had that character of genuineness which they have not, that what is asserted in these documents has not the slightest foundation in fact.

The Lord Chief Baron.—I wish to express my entire concurrence in the opinion of my Lord Chief Justice, and I think that the declarations of Hannah Lightfoot, if there ever was such a person, cannot be received in evidence on the faith of these documents. It is the province of the Court to decide any question of fact on the truth or falsehood of which the admissibility of a piece of evidence depends, for the only issues for the jury are the issues in the cause, and this is not an issue in the cause, but an incidental issue. These documents do not at all satisfy me that George III. was ever married before his marriage to Queen Charlotte. The signatures are not proved to be even like the King's handwriting, and the addition of the word "Guelph" to one of them certainly satisfies me that the King, at that date Prince of Wales, did not write it. There is not the slightest evidence that any of the Royal Family, on any occasion, ever signed that surname, and it is a matter of common information that it is the practice of

the Princes of the Royal Family only to use the Christian name. I think that these documents, which the Lord Chief Justice has treated with all the respect which properly belongs to them, are not genuine.

The Judge-Ordinary.—The Court is entirely unanimous on this question. My own opinion, formed not only on the evidence I have heard, but also on the evidence of my own eyes, is, that these documents are really nothing more nor less than very foolish forgeries. I am not at all sorry that the occasion has arisen for bringing them into a court of justice, where their authenticity can be inquired into by evidence, because the existence of documents of this sort is calculated to set abroad a number of idle stories, for which there is probably not the slightest foundation.

The Lord Chief Justice.—I have another reason for attaching no value whatever to these documents. It is my profound conviction, resulting from the most careful and deliberate attention I can give to the question, that the signatures "J. Wilmot" are also forgeries.

Mr. W. Smith.—I hope the Judge-Ordinary will state that his observations apply only to the two documents in question.

The Judge-Ordinary.—I am not in a position to express an opinion as to any of the other documents at present. But if you ask for my opinion I shall be happy to give it.

The evidence as to Hannah Lightfoot's declarations was accordingly excluded and Mrs. Ryves's examination continued. She said,—"In 1805 my mother and I were invited to go to Brighton, where the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., was then staying. We went by invitation to one of the balls given by the Prince at the Castle Tavern. At that time balls were not given at the Pavilion, but at the Castle. Several noble families were present, and we were presented to the Prince by the Dowager Marchioness of Downshire and the Dowager Countess of Lonsdale. I was present at all the balls at the Castle held on the Prince's birthday, the 12th of August, from 1805 to 1810. My mother and I had many a conversation with the Prince, and I have received many kindnesses from him, which I shall never forget. He has presented me with 5*l.* to buy a doll. In 1815 my mother and I were living at 74, Seymour-street, Bryanstone-square. I remember Lord Warwick from my childhood. He constantly visited me and my mother whenever he was in town until his death, and I have occasionally been to his house in Green-street, Park-lane. He died on the morning of the marriage of the late Princess Charlotte. He dropped down dead when he was dressed to go to the wedding. We always treated him as a relative. Dr. Wilmot was a descendant of a brother of Charles II.'s Earl of Rochester, and Lord Warwick was a descendant of one of the Earl's daughters. I knew the late Duke of Kent from a very early age. He constantly visited me and my mother from 1805 until his death. His Royal Highness came to see us in the spring of 1815. He received my mother with even more than his usual kindness, and told her he had come from Lord Warwick, who had communicated to him circumstances relating to her which had never before transpired, and with which she had never been made acquainted. The Duke further said, 'Lord Warwick has communicated to me that you are a relative of my own. I have often been struck with your strong resemblance to the Royal Family, and now it is accounted for. I have made an appointment with the Earl to meet me here, in order that he may communicate some of the circumstances to you; but in order to substantiate them he will be necessitated to go to Warwick Castle and get the proofs which have been

lodged there for a long series of years.' An appointment was made for the Duke and Earl to meet at my mother's house. The Earl, although a peer of the realm, was in difficulties, and my mother found means for him to go to Warwick Castle. The Duke told my mother that the Earl had not the means to go. The Earl asked her to find the means. The day after the Duke had called, or the next day, the Duke and the Earl came to my mother's house. The Duke then told my mother that she had been passing in a false position, and that she was the legitimate daughter of his father's brother, Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland. The Earl turned to the Duke and said it was necessary, as His Royal Highness was aware, that he should go to Warwick Castle and bring up the proofs in order to deliver them to His Royal Highness to present to the Princess Olive, but he had not the means of going, and he did not intend to inform his family that he was going, or they would put a stop to it. My mother found the means. She often helped the Earl with money, and sometimes he was so poor that he had not even a sheet of note-paper to write on. After this interview the Earl went to Warwick Castle, and a solicitor, Mr. Parker, afterwards brought this letter from him;—

"'Head-quarters at W. Castle,
Wednesday Evening.

"'Madam,—All goes on well. I have got safe your papers. My poor old housekeeper wept with joy at seeing me. What the nefarious trust will say as to my being here, I am at a loss to conceive.

"'I write to relieve your mind, so bear up.

"'Ever yours sincerely,
"'Warwick.

"'In exceeding haste.

"'Mrs. Olivia Serres, &c.

"'I have enclosed this for safety to Mr. Parker. Love to L.'

"On his return to London, he and the Duke of Kent again came to see us, and he brought a packet with him, seemingly of papers. The Earl said, 'Now, I am going to put into your hands papers which have been in my possession, and also in other people's possession, but which have been returned to me to keep.' There were three sets of papers, and the Earl said he had received one set from Dr. Wilmot and another set from Lord Chatham, and the third set had always been in his possession. One packet was marked not to be opened until after the King's death, and it was not opened on that occasion. The others were opened and read aloud in the presence of the Duke of Kent, the Earl of Warwick, my mother, and myself. His Royal Highness took each of the papers in his hand and examined it, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied that the signatures of George III. were in his father's writing. He acknowledged my mother as his cousin. He said that she was Princess Olive of Cumberland, the only legitimate issue of the Duke's marriage, and that for the future, Lord Warwick being in such a state of health that he might die at any moment, he would take on himself the sole protection and guardianship of my mother and me. The sealed packet was opened in the latter part of 1819. Mrs. Ryves pointed out the documents contained in the sealed packet, which for the most part related to the marriage of Dr. Wilmot to the Princess of Poland. One of them was as follows:—

"'Olive, provided the Royal family acknowledge you, keep secret all the papers

which are connected with the King's first marriage, but should the family's desertion (be) manifested (should you outlive the King) then, and only then, make known all the State secrets which I have left in the Earl of Warwick's keeping for your knowledge; such papers I bequeath to you for your sole and uncontrouled property to use and act upon as you deem fit, according to expediency of things. Receive this as the sacred will of

"'June —st, 1789. 'JAMES WILMOT.

"'Witness, WARWICK.'"

She continued her evidence.—"Up to the time when that packet was opened, my mother had believed herself to be the daughter of Robert Wilmot, and the niece of Dr. Wilmot, and she did not know of any Olive Wilmot except her aunt, who was the wife of Mr. Payne. When the first information as to her birth was given her by Lord Warwick she supposed she was the daughter of the Duke of Cumberland by the Olive Wilmot who was afterwards Mrs. Payne, and she did not know until the packet was opened that her mother was Olive Wilmot, the daughter of Dr. Wilmot. There was a great consultation as to opening the packet before the King's death; but the Duke of Kent thought it would be more satisfactory to open it, and it was opened. The Duke of Kent died on the 26th of January, 1820, and George III. on the 30th of January, 1820. In that year I consulted the Duke of Clarence as to using the papers to establish my mother's legitimacy, and he said he saw no objection to my doing so. They were to be laid before George IV. in Council." Mrs. Ryves then proved the handwriting of Lord Warwick and of the Duke of Kent to a number of documents which were read as declarations by members of the family as to her mother's legitimacy. Most of them were written on small pieces of paper, and the Lord Chief Justice remarked that His Royal Highness seemed to have been as poor as to paper as the Earl. "Yes," Mrs. Ryves answered, "he was very fond of scraps." She said these papers were written at different places, not at her mother's house, and were delivered by the Duke to her mother. She saw them as they were written, and they were not altered while they were in her custody. Her mother on her death delivered them to Mrs. Huntly, she (Mrs. Ryves) not being present, and they passed from the custody of Mrs. Huntly to that of Mr. Primrose, and from Mr. Primrose to Mr. Bourdillon. She had copied them all in 1820, and nothing had since been added to or taken away from them. Some of the most remarkable of these documents are as follows:—

"It is proper that we should certify that the creation of Duchess of Lancaster has been delivered to the Princess of Cumberland, with the certificates of her Royal birth. "WARWICK.

"London, June 27, 1815. "EDWARD."

"This is to declare that the Earl of Warwick has delivered in my presence the papers that confirm the birth of Olive Princess of Cumberland.

"EDWARD.

"London, July 17, 1815. "WARWICK."

"To Olive Princess of Cumberland.

"I consider it just to state that His Majesty was compelled to act as he did in regard to your father's conduct, to prevent other family troubles, for the late Duke of Cumberland had betrayed the secret of the King's first marriage to Mrs. Horton, or justice would have been faithfully done you, my dearest Princess, but

the ungenerous and unforeseen conduct of Lord North operated to your loss, as all the parties acquainted with your birth were sworn to secrecy, without suspicion that the false union with Mrs. Horton would have been tolerated, which the lamented dissolution of your angelick mother accelerated. The King almost lost his mind with distracted fear, but the noble forbearance of Dr. Wilmot saved the family from infamy, all of which I have faithfully stated to the Duke of Kent, as he will declare to you; so bear up, and by a dignified fortitude, convince your Royal cousin that you are such as I have faithfully reported you to be, and at last his Royal protection will be certain, until Divine Providence is pleased to restore you to your Royal birthright.

"God bless you, my dearest Olive, prays "WARWICK."

"July 2, 1816.

"As I was not Earl of Warwick at the time two of the papers were confirmed by His Majesty, witnessed by Lord Chatham and Mr. Dunning, it is proper that I should make declaration that, by His Majesty's own desire, Dr. James Wilmot and myself placed our signatures, September 21, 1773, to such Royal warrants.

"London, Green-street, April 16, 1816. "WARWICK."

"I regret my past false delicacy; but should I recover, the moment that my spirits will bear the test, all shall be made known to the Regent. I am resolved that every justice shall be done you. Don't consider that I am worse by the enclosed, for Sir H. Halford says nothing can be going on better. My best love attends yourself and dear L. "W."

"As Mr. Serres acted with so much unprincipledness and dishonour towards Olive Princess of Cumberland, it may be just to state that the consent of Mr. Robert Wilmot was given at the supposed marriage as the adopted parent only, a solemn and sacred obligation operating at that season to prevent a disclosure of Princess Olive's true birth.

"Which I bear solemn testimony of, this 16th day of April, 1816.

"London, Green-street. "WARWICK."

"London, Green-street, April 7, 1816.

"Having received 2000*l.* from the late Duke of Cumberland in trust, in the year 1784, for the use of Olive Princess of Cumberland, his daughter, called at this time Olivia Serres, I bind myself, my heirs and executors, to pay the said 2000*l.* so received which I am indebted, principal and interest, up to the present period. "WARWICK."

"Witness, EDWARD.

"My dear Princess,—Several of the papers of your birth were almost destroyed by accident while I was cutting them to make them lie in a smaller compass at Warwick Castle, which will account for their burnt state, many of which had been written in a book by His Majesty's own command for privacy. I am rather better to-day, Sir H. H. says. Thus I hope to see you soon. My best love attends youself and the worthy Lavinia. "Ever yours,

"April 27, 1816. "W."

"I solemnly promise to see my cousin Olive Princess of Cumberland reinstated in her R—l birthrights at my father's demise.

"May 3, 1816. "EDWARD."

"I bind myself, by my heirs, executors, and assigns, to pay to my dearest coz. Olive Princess of Cumberland four hundred pounds yearly during her life.

"May 3, 1818. "EDWARD."

"I bequeath to Princess Olive of Cumberland ten thousand pounds, should I depart this life before my estate of Castle-hill is disposed of.

"June 9, 1819. "EDWARD."

"I hereby promise to return from Devonshire early in the spring, to lay before the Regent the Certificates of my dearest cousin Olive's birth.

"Nov. 16, 1819. "EDWARD."

"Jany. [illegible].

"If this paper meets my dear Alexandrina's eye, my dear cousin Olive will present it, whom my daughter will, for my sake, I hope, love and serve, should I depart this life. "EDWARD."

"I sign this only to say that I am very ill, but should I not get better, confide in the Duchess, my wife, who will, for my sake, assist you until you obtain your Royal rights.

"God Almighty bless you, my beloved cousin, prays

"To Olive, my cousin, and blessing to Lavinia. "EDWARD."

One of Lord Warwick's letters referred to his efforts to raise the sum required to take up "the note." Mrs. Ryves explained this by saying that her mother had put her name to a note for some large sum for Lord Warwick. Her mother had put her name to many such notes to help his lordship.

Mrs. Ryves continued her evidence as follows:—

"A few days after the funeral of George III. and the Duke of Kent the Duke of Sussex came to see me and my mother. These same papers were all produced for His Royal Highness's inspection, and he examined them carefully, with the exception of those in the sealed packet. He said the signatures of his father were perfectly genuine, and he was quite satisfied with them. He also said he was satisfied that my mother was the daughter of the Duke of Cumberland. He kissed me, and parted with my mother on terms of the most affectionate kindness. In the summer of that year we met the Duke at the house of Sir Matthew Wood, in South Audley-street. The late Duke of Hamilton was present, and also the Rev. J. Brett, His Royal Highness's chaplain. The appointment for the interview was made by His Royal Highness. Every one of the papers (including those in the packet) was shown to him on that occasion. We all sat round a table and examined them. I stood close to the Duke. After looking at them he said that he considered the papers genuine, and that his father's signatures were indisputable; and he believed that my mother was the daughter of his uncle. He parted from us affectionately. I afterwards met him in 1824 at the house of Mr. Dickinson, at 32, Devonshire-place, and the meeting was by appointment. He wished to look at the papers again so that he might communicate their purport to the Duke of York. He looked again at the whole of them, and the examination took up many hours, and he came to the same conclusion. The Rev. Mr. Brett was present." Some questions were then put to Mrs. Ryves as to Robert Wilmot, and she said that her mother always addressed

him as Mr. Wilmot, even at the time when she thought he was her father. He did not treat her like a father, and there was always a coldness and distance between them. "In 1807," she continued, "I was at Dr. Wilmot's funeral at Barton, with my mother. Robert Wilmot was there. I walked with him in the churchyard on one occasion, and Mr. Fullarton asked him who I was.' He said, 'It is the daughter of Mrs. Serres'—he did not say 'my granddaughter. It struck me as odd, and I asked my mother 'Why did he not say I was his grandchild?' Robert Wilmot lived in Danvers-street, Chelsea, soon after 1807. He and my mother did not correspond much. I have repeatedly seen his handwriting, and I think his signatures are genuine." Mrs. Ryves then proved that the body of the document purporting to be the will of George III. was, in her opinion, in Lord Warwick's handwriting. She also proved the genuineness of Lord Warwick's signatures to all the documents on which his name appeared. Those proved by her were as follows:—

"I solemnly declare that I received His Majesty's command for Olive, Princess of Cumberland, to be a second time baptized as Olive Wilmot, serious State reasons having condemned her to privacy during His Majesty's reign.

"London, Green-street, April 6, 1816. "WARWICK.

"EDWARD."

"I hereby make solemn declaration that Dr. James Wilmot duly baptized Olive, the Duke of Cumberland's infant, April 3, 1772.

"George R. "WARWICK."

"Princess Olive of Cumberland living at this time as Olivia Serres.

"St. James's, Jan. 16, 1803."

"Green-street, April 22, 1816.

"I obtained the certificate bearing date 1803 the better to identify Princess Olive of Cumberland. "WARWICK."

"EDWARD.

She also spoke to the genuineness of the Duke of Kent's writing, with whom she said she had corresponded from 1815 up to his death. She had also received cheques from the Duke which were paid at Coutts's. His Royal Highness had made her an allowance of 400*l.* a year for four or five years before he died. She received it through Mr. Goodwin, formerly secretary to the Queen Dowager, who is now dead.

In her cross-examination by the Attorney-General the witness said her father was appointed a Royal painter, and her mother was appointed landscape-painter to the Court. Her mother was a clever draughtswoman, and a clever authoress. She was in the habit of writing letters to members of the Royal Family before 1815, when she had no idea of being related to them. Her mother collected pictures, and sometimes sold them. She sold one to Lord Warwick. Her mother knew a great many things. There were few things that she did not know. She might have practised astrology for amusement. The letter produced is in her mother's handwriting. It described the appearance of the ghost of Lord Warwick's father to witness and her mother. The other letter (now produced by the Attorney-General) was also in her mother's handwriting. (This was a manifesto to the great powers, principalities, and potentates of the brave Polish nation, and calling

upon them to rally round their Princess Olive, granddaughter of Stanislaus, and informing them that her legitimacy as Princess of Cumberland also had been proved.) Lord Warwick never gave her mother a sealed packet till 1815. Her mother published a life of Dr. Wilmot in 1813. (The title of the book was "The Life of Rev. J. Wilmot, D.D., author of the 'Letters of Junius,' &c., by his niece." The preface stated that the authoress's daughter—the present witness—had discovered a MS. which led to the discovery of the authorship of "Junius," by comparing the MS. with those in the possession of Woodfall, "Junius's" publisher.) Witness's mother issued a letter to the English nation in 1817, in which she spoke of Dr. Wilmot as having died unmarried; she could not account for that, as she had learned of the marriage in 1815. A pamphlet by Olive Serres on the "Junius" MSS. was read. It entered very particularly into the comparison of the handwriting with that of Dr. Wilmot's, and discoursed ingeniously on the modes of giving the appearance of age and old watermarks to new paper.

By the Lord Chief Justice: When the Duke of Kent first saw the document purporting to be the certificate of the marriage of Hannah Lightfoot to the King, did he make any observations to that?—Witness: Yes, he did. He did not like, but he acknowledged it.

There were some documents mentioned in that pamphlet. In one of them (now produced) the Duke of Kent acknowledged the marriage of his father with Hannah Lightfoot, and the legitimacy of Olive, and prayed her to maintain secrecy during the life of the King: the constituting Olive the guardian of his daughter Alexandrina, and directress of her education, on account of her relationship, and also because the Duchess of Kent was not acquainted with the modes of English education. Her mother abstained from acting on her right under that document out of respect for the Duchess of Kent, who, she thought, was best entitled to direct the education of her daughter (the present Queen). Her mother was publicly received in the city at the time of the disturbances about Queen Caroline. Several City people took an interest in them both. Sheriff Parkins once took an interest in her case, but afterwards changed his mind, as he often did. Other gentlemen took up the case and abandoned it, but not from any badness in it. A letter (dated 1809) was read, from Olive to the private secretary of the Prince of Wales, appealing for aid as a reward for her fidelity to the House of Brunswick, and stating that she was engaged on orations and on an opera. Other letters appealed to the generosity of the Prince, and said she desired a private interview, also "that ambition was her strongest passion; she could lay crowns and kingdoms at his feet as a woman," &c. In another letter she prayed to have an impression of some ring or seal which none save His Royal Highness himself could use.

Witness: The ring or seal was not sent, but an answer was. Witness's mother was in the rule of the King's Bench in 1810, owing to difficulties from having lent moneys to Lord Warwick.

A letter written by the Rev. Mr. Groves, and countersigned "Olive Serres," addressed to the Prince of Wales, was read, enclosing attestations that she was the daughter of the late Duke of Cumberland and of a Mrs. Payne, wife of a Captain Payne, an officer in the Royal Navy, and appealing to His Royal Highness's clemency for her.

The Attorney-General: How do you account for that—that your mother was the daughter of the Duke of Cumberland and Mrs. Payne? Was there any

thing in those attestations or certificates then in your mother's possession to show that Mrs. Payne was her mother.

Witness: That was a mistake. My mother had only known of one Olive Wilmot, who was married to Captain Payne, and supposed the Olive Wilmot mentioned in the certificates to be that Olive Wilmot.

The Attorney-General: You said before, that the Olive Wilmot who became Mrs. Payne was married before the date of the marriage said to have taken place between Olive Wilmot and the Duke of Cumberland, and that your mother knew that well. Do you mean to say that you can expect the jury to believe that your mother, with that knowledge, and with the certificates got from Lord Warwick before her, could mistake Olive Payne for the Olive Wilmot mentioned in the certificates?—Witness: It was a mistake of Mr. Groves's.

Another letter of Olive Serres to the Prince Regent in September, 1817, was read, in which she spoke of herself as a "natural daughter" of the late Duke of Cumberland.

The Attorney-General: What is the explanation of that?—Witness: My mother and the Duke of Kent thought at that time that by operation of the Royal Marriage Act my mother's marriage might be illegal.

In another letter, dated 31st of October, 1817, from Olive Serres to a Mr. Fielden, a magistrate of the county, she described herself as a natural daughter of the Duke of Cumberland and of a sister of Dr. Wilmot; and that the Duke had had her under a promise of marriage.

Witness: That was an error originally of Mr. Brookes, and afterwards of my mother, who, as already explained, did not understand it.

The Lord Chief Justice: Your mother had before her in 1815 the certificates under Dr. Wilmot's hand distinctly stating that Olive Wilmot was her daughter; how could she then think her mother was Dr. Wilmot's sister?—Witness: That was a mistake.

A memorial to George IV. was then read, in which Mrs. Serres assumed for the first time the title of Princess of Cumberland. In this document she stated that the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland with the daughter of Dr. Wilmot had taken place by banns somewhere in Middlesex; that the marriage was solemnized in the presence of Lord Warwick and James Addez, D.D.; that the memorialist was, ten days after her birth, substituted for a still-born son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Wilmot; that the Duke of Cumberland had contracted the bigamous marriage with Anne Horton in consequence of the threats of Col. Luttrell, her brother, to shoot him on account of some improper proposals he had made to her, and that Dr. Wilmot, having no other means of obtaining redress, had, out of revenge, written the letters of "Junius" until George III. signed the certificates which had been produced in this case. She also stated that it was the Earl of Warwick who had first communicated the facts to her, and that when she told the Duke of Kent he appeared exceedingly alarmed, and immediately made her promise to keep the matter secret; that he also persuaded her that her mother's marriage was against the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act; that it was not till November, 1819, that she was informed by the Rev. Mr. Rennie, that that Act did not become law till five years after, and that Lord Chatham had ordered the petitioner's mother to be conveyed to France, where she died of a broken heart.

Witness said that the memorial contained some errors. Addez was not a D.D.; but witness had heard that he was somebody about the Duke of Gloucester. Had

never heard before that George III. had not signed the certificates in the dates which they purported to bear. It was also quite a mistake that the petitioner's grandmother was conveyed to France by order of the Lord Chatham. These were the errors of Mr. Nugent Bell, the genealogical counsel, whom witness's mother had consulted. The Duke of Kent had given her the grant of a third of his lands in Canada in 1815; and yet, after calling her in that document "Princess of Cumberland," he afterwards told her that he understood she was illegitimate. The fact was His Royal Highness did not know the exact bearings of the Act, and he had told her that she was illegitimate because somebody had told him so. The Duke had thought her legitimate from 1815 to 1818.

The Chief Justice: During that interval whom did your mother believe to be her mother?—Witness: I don't think she knew.

The Judge-Ordinary: Then how did she know she was legitimate?—Witness: By documents.

The Chief Baron: The Duchess of Cumberland was received everywhere as such, and if she had borne issue it would have been regarded as legitimate; and yet it is suggested that the Duke of Kent thought a prior marriage of his uncle was void under the Royal Marriage Act.

The Attorney-General observed that the word "offspring" in the memorial was spelt "orfspring." Whose error was that?—Witness: Mr. Bell's [laughter].

The Attorney-General: In 1812 Mrs. Serres addressed a congratulatory ode to the Prince Regent on his birthday, in which there are the following lines:—

> "Hail valued hour 'orfspring' of Heaven's smile,
> The great and mighty succour of this isle!"

This eccentric orthography was found in several other autograph papers of Mrs. Serres.

Other documents were then produced, some of which have already been referred to. Amongst others there was an authority in the form of a Royal warrant, given by the Princess Olive to Mr. Bell, directing him to act on her behalf in taking such steps as he might think necessary for establishing her claims. There were also several letters which passed between Mr. Bell and Mr. Hobhouse, in which the former explained that he had seen the documents already referred to, and which he believed to be genuine. The witness said that her mother received from the Duke of Cumberland a present of a case of diamonds, but she did not know what had become of them. If she had had them she should soon have converted them into money. Witness had presented a memorial to Her Majesty, asking for pecuniary assistance at a time when she was in great distress. In that memorial she set forth her claims in respect of her mother's rank. She received an answer from the Queen's private secretary, stating that the claims advanced by her rendered it impossible for Her Majesty to comply with her request.

In re-examination the witness stated that her mother did not know who was *her* mother until the sealed packet was opened, which was after the death of George III. and the Duke of Kent.

A letter, written by the witness's mother, showing at what period she became aware of the fact of her being the daughter of the Duke of Cumberland, was not allowed to be put in evidence.

The witness said she could not, at the present time, undertake to state which were the particular documents comprised in the sealed packet.

The balls given by the Prince at Brighton were not held at the Pavilion till

some years after the period at which she was in the habit of attending them. Her mother was in the habit of associating with literary men, and with those who were connected with the Press. She was also in the habit of contributing to the periodicals of the day. Witness lived with her mother until she was twenty-two years of age. She never observed any levity in the conduct of her mother, and never saw her allow gentlemen to take any kind of liberty with her.

The Chief Justice said that nothing of the kind had been suggested.

Re-examination continued.—She never saw the letters written by her mother in 1817 and 1818 until they were prodnced to her by the Attorney-General. She copied out the documents on the margin of Mr. Bell's memorial, and saw the originals. Her mother took the title of Princess Olive immediately after the death of the King.

The Lord Chief Justice: I understand you to say that when these documents were first brought to your mother by Lord Warwick she became acquainted with the fact that she was the daughter of a person named Olive Wilmot, and knowing of but one Olive Wilmot—namely, Mrs. Payne—she supposed she was the daughter of Mrs. Payne. Your mother was naturally anxious, I suppose, to know who Olive Wilmot, her mother, really was?

Mrs. Ryves: Yes.

The Lord Chief Justice: Of course, Lord Warwick knew, because he was present at the marriage, and was aware of your mother's birth and baptism. Did she never ask Lord Warwick for information on the subject?

Mrs. Ryves: I don't think any thing passed between them then about it. Lord Warwick was not with us very often then.

The Lord Chief Justice: But when he was with you, did she not ask?

Mrs. Ryves: I never heard her.

The Lord Chief Justice: Can you account for her not asking?

Mrs. Ryves: I cannot say that I ever heard her ask the question. I did not care much about the matter then.

This concluded Mrs. Ryves's examination, which had lasted nearly three days. She gave her evidence throughout in a firm and decided manner, seldom hesitating for an answer; but from time to time, when pressed as to particular dates and documents, she said she must be excused if she made a few mistakes, for she was over seventy years of age, and she did not always understand the questions. "Although," she said, "I am here with a good will and spirit, it is a task to go backwards and forwards in a hurry."

Dr. Fraser, a physician, was then examined, and he stated that when a young man, shortly after he entered the medical profession, he attended upon the late Princess Olive, as she was then called. He attended her from February, 1832, to February, 1834. He was introduced by Mr. Macaulay, a literary gentleman. He visited her frequently, and talked a great deal with her upon a variety of subjects, including politics and her own affairs; and he never had the least reason to suppose that she was a person of unsound mind. Since that period witness had had considerable experience with regard to insane patients.

Mr. A. W. South said he had been acquainted with the late Princess Olive, and had frequently conversed with her relative to the claims she put forward on the subject of her birth. He believed her to have been as sound in mind as he was himself.

Mr. Harry Fether, a surveyor, said that his grandfather was a well-known painter, and had painted pictures for Lord Warwick. He had found among his

grandfather's papers a letter addressed to him in Lord Warwick's handwriting, and franked by him with his name on the envelope.

This envelope was put in as evidence of Lord Warwick's handwriting, for the purpose of comparison with the documents produced in support of the petition.

A will of Lord Warwick, dated the 22nd of June, 1812, was also put in, to show his signature.

The Attorney-General stated that in this will there was no mention whatever of the Princess Olive.

A will of the Duke of Kent, dated in June, 1820, was also put in to prove His Royal Highness's handwriting.

The Attorney-General stated that this will contained no mention of the lady in question, but the testator appointed the Duchess of Kent to be the guardian of his only daughter, the present Queen of England.

The Chief Justice: It is almost impossible to draw any conclusion as to a person's handwriting from his signature alone.

This was the conclusion of the petitioner's case.

It now became the duty of the Attorney-General, Sir Roundell Palmer, to address the Court on behalf of the Crown. The learned Counsel's speech, in which he dissected the evidence and exposed the numerous flaws and palpable inconsistencies in the tale got up by the Petitioners, was a very happy specimen of forensic criticism, in which argument and ridicule were effectually combined. He said that if, after the care and attention with which the jury had listened to the petitioner's case, and the time it had occupied, he trespassed for some further time upon their patience, it was not because he did them the injustice to suppose that they could entertain any doubt as to the facts, but because he thought that a case of such rank and audacious imposture could not be too thoroughly exposed. He desired, in the first place, to call their attention to the latest fraud which had been perpetrated, as an illustration of the spirit in which the petitioners' claims had been prosecuted from the time when they were first brought forward. The petitioner must have known that she was in this dilemma—if her alleged grandmother was a Princess of the Blood Royal it was utterly impossible that her own parents could have been lawfully married, because the marriage was rendered invalid by the Royal Marriage Act. But a stratagem was resorted to, about as wise and honest as the rest of the case, by which it was supposed that the eyes of the Court would be blinded and that difficulty would be evaded. The petitioner took the course of presenting two petitions instead of one, in the first saying nothing about her claim to Royal descent, but merely asking for a decree that Mr. and Mrs. Serres were lawfully married and that she was their lawful child. To make the farce complete, the Attorney-General was cited to see the proceedings, and, having no notice that he or the Crown had any interest in the matter, he did not oppose the claim. The marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Serres and the birth of the petitioner were proved without difficulty, and the decree was made. The petitioner all this time contemplated coming before the Court with a second petition, alleging that her mother was another person altogether, and it was imagined that the Legislature had been so dull as to allow such a course of proceeding to be successful. It was evident that by a similar course of proceeding an incestuous marriage or a bigamous marriage might be declared to be valid. But the Legislature had guarded against that danger by providing that such a sentence, if obtained by fraud or collusion, should be simply waste paper. The suppression in the first petition of the claim now brought forward by the peti-

tioner was undoubtedly fraud. In support of this proposition he cited "Manner-ton v. Molesworth" (1, *Eden Rep.*, 25 and 26) and other cases. The result was that, even if it could be established that the grandmother of Mrs. Ryves was a Princess of the Blood Royal, it must follow as a matter of course that Mrs. Ryves was illegitimate. He then went on to examine the petitioners' case, the mere statement of which was enough, he said, to stamp its true character. Its folly and absurdity were equal to its audacity; and in every stage it exposed itself to conviction by the simplest tests. It was a play in several acts. The hero of the first act was a country clergyman, the former Fellow of a college at Oxford, who died in the odour of celibacy in 1807, at the age of 85. Several years after his death it was discovered that he had been married to a Polish Princess, the sister of a Prince who in 1764 was elected King of Poland. He observed in passing that the wise fabricator of these documents appeared to have been ignorant of the fact that Poland was an elective monarchy. A charming daughter was the issue of this illustrious marriage. The truth was, that both the Polish Princess and the charming daughter were pure myths; no such persons ever existed—they were as entirely creatures of the imagination as Shakspeare's Ferdinand and Miranda. The fact of the marriage and the existence of the daughter were carefully kept from the outer world, especially from the outer world of Oxford, where Dr. Wilmot retained his Fellowship notwithstanding his marriage; and no reason was assigned or suggested for keeping it a secret, except "unhappy family differences." It might have been supposed that when the Princess's brother ascended the throne of Poland, either these unhappy differences would have been arranged, or there would have been a complete estrangement between the married couple; but neither of those events occurred, and the King of Poland took the occasion of the marriage of his niece Olive with the Duke of Cumberland to send her a dowry of 5000*l.* in money and a casket of diamonds. This was Act 1, which might be called the Act of the Polish Princess and her beautiful daughter. Act 2 was still more astonishing, and might be called the Act of George Prince of Wales. The Fellow of Trinity College must have acquired a reputation for his clever way of managing marriages, which should be both public and clandestine, because in 1759 he was selected to solemnize a marriage between the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., and Hannah Lightfoot, in the presence of the great Secretary of State, William Pitt; and this ceremony he twice performed, once at Kew and afterwards at Peckham. Three children were born of this illustrious union. Why did not they and their mother take the places to which their rank and their birth entitled them? Why was not the marriage acknowledged by the King? It was not acknowledged, the lady held her tongue, the children remained in obscurity, and Dr. Wilmot not only kept the secret but preached sermons before the King and his second wife, Queen Charlotte. Mr. Pitt also was present at the Privy Council at which the King announced his intended marriage to the Princess Charlotte. In the third act the future Duchess of Cumberland had become a woman, and she had grown so fair that an Earl and a Prince were contending for her hand. She was engaged to the Earl of Warwick; but the King's brother being attracted by her charms, the Earl generously relinquished his intended bride, and Dr. Wilmot, the husband of the Polish Princess, and the claimant of the dormant Rochester peerage, married his daughter to a Prince of the Blood. There was no sort of concealment about the marriage, and it was performed by banns, in the house of one nobleman and in the presence of another. Unfortunately, there was no entry in

any register either of the publication of the banns or of the marriage. The fact of the marriage was, however, perfectly well-known to George III., to Lord Chatham, to Dunning, to the Wilmot family, and the Royal Family of Poland. How did it come to be concealed for such a length of time, and what motive was there for concealment? It was known to the families of both the parties, and really it was a very respectable match for the Duke of Cumberland—much better than the one he afterwards made. The motive for concealment was unexplained, and the possibility of concealment was excluded. In the next act Mrs. Horton came upon the scene. The Duke of Cumberland was certainly not very careful of his money or his reputation; but if he wished to commit bigamy, why should he be assisted by the King, and by Chatham and Dunning? Yet the King, and Chatham and Dunning, and the lady's father, Dr. Wilmot, were parties to a conspiracy to suppress the true Duchess and acknowledge the false Duchess; and it was part of the conspiracy to palm off the child of the true Duchess as the child of Dr. Wilmot's brother. The conspiracy was successfully carried out. The true Duchess was got out of the way by Lord Chatham, and died of a broken heart in France. Her cruel father did not speak a word to protect her or to vindicate her honour; and not only did he keep silence while the Duke of Cumberland was alive, but his silence continued after the Duke's death, in 1790, although he died without leaving any child by Mrs. Horton. There could, then, be no possible motive for concealing the birth of his Royal granddaughter. Not that Dr. Wilmot did not feel his wrongs; but the mode of revenge which he adopted was to write the letters of *Junius*. Yet Dr. Wilmot died, in 1807, apparently a commonplace country parson. There was never a more wonderful example of the possibility of keeping secrets. One would have imagined that the very walls would have spoken of such events; but, although at least seven men and one woman (the wife of Robert Wilmot) must have been acquainted with them, the secret was kept as close as the grave for more than forty-three years, and was never even suspected before 1815, although all the actors in these extraordinary scenes seemed to have been occupied night and day in writing out little bits of paper, telling the whole story. In 1815 the facts first came to the knowledge of the petitioner's mother; but even then they were not disclosed until the grave had closed over every individual who could be vouched as a witness to handwriting. This was the history of the case as it was stated by the petitioner herself, and it was utterly incredible even if supported by the strongest evidence. But what evidence was offered in support of it? The evidence of two witnesses, Mr. Netherclift and the petitioner. If all experts gave evidence like Mr. Netherclift, the sooner such evidence was got rid of the better. He faltered, and he floundered, and he contradicted himself, and at last he disproved two of the signatures which he was called to prove. As for the evidence of Mrs. Ryves, he could imagine that she had brooded on this matter so long, that she had brought herself to believe things that had never happened. He had often heard a story of a Royal personage who firmly believed that he had been present at the Battle of Waterloo, and at last he even appealed to the Duke of Wellington to confirm his statement. The Duke's only answer was, "I have often heard your Majesty say so." The mind might bring itself to believe a lie, and the petitioner might have dwelt so long upon documents produced and fabricated by others, that, with her memory impaired by old age, the principle of veracity might have been poisoned, and the offices of imagination and memory confounded to such an extent that she really believed that things had been done and said in her presence which were entirely

imaginary. No part of the petitioner's story was corroborated by a single authentic document, or by a single extrinsic fact. The forgery, falsehood, and fraud of the case were proved in four ways, of which the evidence of handwriting was of the least importance—firstly, by the history of the claimant and of the claim; secondly, by the internal evidence of the documents themselves; thirdly, by every extrinsic fact and every authentic document which could be brought to bear upon the inquiry; fourthly by the evidence of handwriting. First, as to the history of the claim. The folly as well as the fraud of the fabrication confirmed his view that Mrs. Serres was not altogether accountable for her actions. The first document in the case was an authentic one—namely, the certificate of the baptism of Olive, afterwards Mrs. Serres, as the daughter of Robert and Anna Maria Wilmot. This was a public document, and was undoubtedly genuine, and it had been necessary to trump up several spurious documents in order to get rid of its effect. There was also an authentic register of her marriage to J. T. Serres on the 1st of September, 1791, which did not support the case. She was married by licence, and she was under age, and it was necessary to give a bond and to make an affidavit in order to obtain that licence. The bond and the affidavit would be produced, and in the affidavit Mr. Serres swore that Robert Wilmot, the father of the bride, consented to the marriage, and Robert Wilmot now made an affidavit that he was her natural and lawful father, she being a minor, and was consenting to the marriage. Some time after the marriage she came to London, and took to painting. Dr. Wilmot left a will, dated 25th of October, 1802, appointing his nephew, Olive's brother, his executor, and gave the residue of his estate to his brother Robert for life, and on his death one moiety to his nephew and the other moiety to his niece, Olive Serres. Thus all the authentic documents were consistent. Between 1807 and 1815 the lady had the advantage of becoming personally known to some members of the Royal Family, and being a person of ill-regulated ambition and eccentric character, and also being in pecuniary distress, her eccentricity took the turn of making advances to different members of that family. The manner in which some of these advances were made throw considerable light on her character. She opened fire, so to speak, on the Prince of Wales in 1809, by sending a packet to Colonel M'Mahon, the Prince's secretary. The terms of that letter appeared to him to show symptoms of insanity. She compared His Royal Highness to Julius Cæsar, and she talked in a mad way about the politics of the illustrious personages of the day. There were other letters of the same character written in 1810. In one of them she said, "Why, Sir, was I so humbly born?" Her insane ambition took the turn of trying to rise to the level of the Royal Family in one way or another. Scattered about the letters were mysterious allusions to secrets of State and symptoms of insane delusions. In one she imagined that she had been injured seriously by the Duke of York. In another she imagined that some one had poisoned her,—a very common form of insane delusion. Sealed packets, of which this case was so full, were continually mentioned. The poor woman's mind was crammed full of insane delusions. In one letter she actually offered to lend the Prince of Wales 20,000*l.* in order to induce him to grant the interview of which she was so desirous, although in other letters she begged for pecuniary assistance, and represented herself to be in great distress. The letters were also full of astrology; she spoke of her "occult studies," and she further believed in ghosts. The manifesto to Poland pointed to the same conclusion as to her state of mind. A person of such an erratic character was very likely to concoct such a story as the present,

and the story would naturally take the turn of trying to connect herself with the Royal Family. During the interval between the death of Lord Warwick in 1816 and 1821, her story passed through no less than three distinct and irreconcilable stages. Her first story was stated in the letter of Mr. Groves to the Prince Regent, in 1817, countersigned by her, and referred to in some of her subsequent letters. That letter stated that she was the daughter of the Duke of Cumberland by Mrs. Payne, the wife of Captain Payne, sister of Dr. Wilmot, and that the writer, Mr. Groves, had seen the attestation of her birth. In the supplementary pamphlet about Junius, published in 1817, she still described herself to the world as Dr. Wilmot's niece. Mr. Groves had seen the attestation of this story with his own eyes, and described it. The statement of the manner of the discovery of the secret was, that she did not come into possession of the papers until after the death of Lord Warwick. This statement was altogether contradicted by the evidence of Mrs. Ryves as to events which were within her own recollection, and which she represented to have passed in her presence. The letters of Mrs. Serres in 1817 upon this point were to the same effect as the statement of Mr. Groves. The second stage of the story was contained in her letter to Mr. Fielding, the Bow-street magistrate, in October, 1817. Having been threatened with arrest, she wrote to him for protection; and in this letter she represented herself as the natural daughter of the late Duke of Cumberland by a sister of the late Dr. Wilmot, whom he had seduced under promise of marriage, she being a lady of large fortune. In connexion with this stage of the story he referred to another letter which she wrote to the Prince Regent in July, 1818. In this letter she stated that Lord Warwick had told her the story of her birth in his lifetine, but without showing her any documents; that he excused himself from not having made the disclosure before by saying that he was unable to repay a sum of 2,000*l.* which had been confided to him by the Duke of Cumberland for her benefit, and then she actually went on to say that when Lord Warwick died she thought all evidence was lost until she opened a sealed packet which contained the documents. This alone was enough to blow the case out of court, for it was quite inconsistent with the extraordinary story they had heard from Mrs. Ryves as to the communication of the papers to her and to her mother, in 1815. He pointed out various other inconsistencies between the various stories, and said it did not take its present form until 1821, when George III. and the Duke of Kent were dead; but even in the memorial of that year the account of the finding of the documents was different from that now given. The documents then vouched and then in existence in proof of the lady's illegitimacy of birth were being constantly tendered for inspection, and those documents must, of course, have been perfectly inconsistent with those now produced. Mr. Groves asserted that he had seen them, and in several letters she asked different persons to come and examine them. It was not unlikely that the Duke of Kent might have thought it worth his while to inspect some of these documents, and that if he saw a few papers plausibly manufactured, he might have been imposed upon and induced to believe that there had been some illicit connexion between a sister of Dr. Wilmot, a Mrs. Payne, and the Duke of Cumberland. But it was evident that the documents then offered for inspection were very different from those upon which the petitioners now relied. What was the explanation attempted of this point? Why, they were told a ridiculous story about a sealed packet which was not opened until 1819, and it was said that it contained the documents relating to Dr.

Wilmot's marriage with the Polish Princess and the birth of their child. The absurdity of the story was, that this packet was kept sealed out of consideration for the King, although it contained documents in which the King had no concern. But there were multitudes of other documents which Mrs. Ryves owned were not contained in that sealed packet, and which spoke of the marriage of the Duke and of Olive Wilmot as lawful, and of the birth of their daughter as legitimate—documents purporting to be attested by Chatham and Dunning. With those documents before her, it was impossible that Mrs. Serres could have supposed that she was the illegitimate daughter of the Duke by Mrs. Payne. Mrs. Ryves betrayed her consciousness that there was a difficulty in her way, and she explained it by saying that the only Olive in the Wilmot family was Mrs. Payne, and thus the mistake arose. But the documents did not admit of the possibility of that explanation, and the idea of Dr. Wilmot marrying his sister, whom he knew to be married to Mr. Payne, to the Duke of Cumberland, was absurd. The conclusion was irresistible, that the present set of documents was not in existence at that time, and that an entirely different set of documents was then in existence. Her story of the Duke of Kent having misled her mother as to the effect of the Royal Marriage Act was not only supremely ludicrous, but was inconsistent with the documents which she produced, purporting to be signed by the Duke, in all of which he spoke of her mother as the Princess Olive. Could they suppose that the Duke of Kent was not aware of the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act? He could not help pitying a woman who could tell such a story in a witness-box. The explanations were as false and feeble as the story itself. He could not of course lay bare the whole history of the concoction of these extraordinary documents, but there were circumstances which indicated that they were concocted by Mrs. Serres herself. Some light was thrown upon the studies of this lady in handwriting in two publications on "*Junius*," the latter of which was published in 1817, when she claimed to be the illegitimate daughter of the Duke by Mrs. Payne. He read some minute criticisms upon the imitation of handwriting and signatures from these publications, and said that the mind which had gone through such a course of study was well prepared for the fabrication of spurious documents. The claim of legitimate Royal birth was first brought forward at a time of great excitement and agitation, when the case of Queen Caroline was before the public; and it was brought forward in a tone of intimidation. Mr. Bell, in his letter to Mr. Hobhouse, threatened a revolution if the claim were not recognized within a few hours. In these letters of Mr. Bell they were told of a whole family of documents besides those now produced, and besides those referred to by Mrs. Groves, of which not even copies were forthcoming. One of these certified the re-marriage of George III. to Queen Charlotte after the death of Queen Hannah, and was witnessed, of course, by Chatham and Dunning. Another certified that William Henry, the Duke of Clarence, was the King's first legitimate son, and was witnessed in the same way. Even in January, 1821, there was a sealed packet in reserve containing other important documents. Another paper was said to contain a promise of the Duke of Cumberland to make a marriage settlement upon his wife. Again, there was a sealed parcel directed to the Society of Quakers. Among the signatures which vouched for these facts, there were thirteen which appeared upon the documents produced, and twelve which did not. In support of the petition, seventy-two documents had been put in evidence by the petitioner, and ten more documents had been called for and produced by Mr. Bourdillon.

Thus there were eighty-two documents, which were certainly in one sense of the word "originals." The memorial of 1821 contained copies of eleven other documents, and the pamphlet contained fifteen more, which did not appear elsewhere. Besides these, there were twenty or thirty documents referred to by Mr. Bell in the letters which he wrote by the authority of Mrs. Serres. But what sort of documents were those which were produced? The internal evidence proved that they were the most ridiculous, absurd, preposterous, series of forgeries that the perverted ingenuity of man ever invented. If every expert that ever lived in the world swore to the genuineness of every one of these documents, they could not possibly believe them to be genuine. They were all written on little scraps and slips of paper, such as no human being would ever have used for the purpose of recording transactions of this kind, and it would be proved that in every one of these pieces of paper the watermark of date was wanting.

The Lord Chief Justice remarked that a will of Queen Hannah was described as being written on parchment in one of the documents, and the will produced was written on paper.

The Attorney-General said that, in order to explain the mutilated state of the papers, Lord Warwick, who was used as common vouchee, wrote a letter stating that he had cut them to make them lie in a smaller compass in Warwick castle.

The foreman of the jury here interrupted the Attorney-General, and said that the jury were unanimously of opinion that there was no necessity to hear any further evidence, as they were convinced that the signatures to the documents were not genuine.

The Lord Chief Justice: You share the opinion which my learned brothers and I have entertained for a long time, that every one of the documents is spurious.

One of the jurymen said they had come to that conclusion, not on the evidence of the expert alone, but upon an examination of the documents themselves.

The Lord Chief Justice: You are quite right. The adept only assists you in forming an opinion by pointing out the grounds of his opinion. The adept really gave as a reason for believing some of the signatures to be genuine, that they were such bad imitations, and he admitted that the signatures of Chatham and Dunning were spurious.

Mr. W. Smith said he felt it his duty to make some observations to the jury before they delivered their verdict. He said he believed, on his word and honour as a gentleman, that the documents which the petitioner had produced——

The Lord Chief Justice: I insist on your not finishing that sentence. It is a violation of a fundamental rule of conduct, which every advocate ought to observe, to give the jury your personal opinion.

Mr. W. Smith said he would not intentionally trespass beyond his proper limits, but he was entitled to say that the eminent genealogical lawyer who took up the petitioner's case in 1821 believed her documents to be genuine on his word of honour as a gentleman. The case had, he said, been prejudiced at the outset by the observation of the Attorney-General, that it was a claim on the part of his client to the throne. If there was any such claim, however, it was on behalf of Hannah Lightfoot's children, and the Lightfoot documents were so mixed up with the documents upon which he relied that he was obliged to give them in evidence. He next commented upon the suggestion that Mrs. Serres was insane, and contended that it was altogether inconsistent with the suggestion that she had been guilty of fraud and forgery. The statement in some of the documents that the marriage was by banns, simply meant that the marriage was not by

licence. Before the Marriage Act the banns were called out formally at the time of marriage, and not in the manner now prescribed in the parish church. The dates on many of the documents were not the dates when they were written, but the date when the events occurred to which they had reference. The petitioner's explanation of the reason why Mrs. Serres did not ask Lord Warwick who was her mother, was quite consistent with the documents, which showed that Lord Warwick was in a very bad state of health after 1815, and seldom visited her. He reminded the jury that Mrs. Serres had always been anxious to have her documents examined from the first time when she brought forward her claims, and said it was absurd to suppose that she had, as was suggested, forged a set of documents proving her own illegitimacy. The documents brought to her knowledge in 1815 proved that there had been a marriage; but she at one time supposed that it was not a valid marriage.

The Lord Chief Justice: She says first that she is the daughter of the Duke by a married woman, and next that she is his daughter by a woman whom he has seduced under promise of marriage. How can those statements be reconciled with the certificates of marriage said to have been found among the papers in 1815?

Mr. W. Smith said the two statements were equally inconsistent with each other, and she was evidently a weak untutored woman, who did not know the law, but she always kept to the story that she was the daughter of the Duke of Cumberland. He argued that it was incredible that a forger should have fabricated such a mass of unnecessary documents, that their informality was a strong proof of their genuineness, and that a woman of the character of Mrs. Serres, as described by the Attorney-General, was incapable of having forged them. Was it not a fact that she had received an allowance of 400*l.* a year from the Duke of Kent?

The Attorney-General: It is a perfect fiction.

Mr. W. Smith said it was evident there was some connexion between her and the Royal Family, and that connexion must have been legitimate. In conclusion, he reminded them of the truthful manner in which his aged client had given her evidence, and entreated them, before giving their verdict, to take the documents into their hands and examine them carefully, and say whether they could resist the conclusion that they were genuine.

The Lord Chief Justice, in summing up, said it was a question whether the internal evidence in the documents of spuriousness and forgery was not quite as strong as the evidence resulting from the examination of their handwriting. Two or three of them appeared to be such outrages upon all probability, that even if there had been strong evidence of the genuineness of their handwriting, no man of common sense could come to the conclusion that they were genuine. Some of them were produced to prove that King George III. had ordered the fraud to be committed of rebaptizing an infant child under a false name as the daughter of persons whose daughter she was not; another showed that the King had divested the Crown of one of its noblest appendages,—the Duchy of Lancaster,—by a document which he was not competent by law to execute, written upon a loose piece of paper, and countersigned by W. Pitt and Dunning; by another document, also written upon a loose piece of paper, he expressed his Royal will to the Lords and Commons that when he should be dead they should recognize this lady as Duchess of Cumberland. These papers bore the strongest internal evidence of their spuriousness. The evidence as to the marriage of the

Duke of Cumberland with Olive Wilmot could not be separated from that part of the evidence which struck at the legitimacy of the Royal Family by purporting to establish the marriage of George III. to a person named Hannah Lightfoot. Could any one believe that the documents in which that marriage was attested by W. Pitt and Dunning were genuine? But the petitioner could not help putting forward the certificates of that marriage, because two of them were written on the backs of the certificate of the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland with Olive Wilmot. As men of intelligence, they could not fail to see the motive for writing the certificates of those two marriages on the same piece of paper. The first claim to the consideration of the Royal Family put forward by Mrs. Serres was, that she was the illegitimate daughter of the Duke of Cumberland by Mrs. Payne, a married woman. Her next claim was, that she was his daughter by an unmarried sister of Dr. Wilmot. She lastly put forward her present claim, that she was the offspring of a lawful marriage between the Duke and Olive, the daughter of Dr. Wilmot. At the time when the claim was put forward in its last shape, it was accompanied by an attempt at intimidation, not only on the score of the injustice that would be done if George IV. refused to recognize the claim, but also on the score that she was in possession of documents showing that George III., at the time when he was married to Queen Charlotte, had a wife living, and had issue by her, and consequently that George IV., who had then just ascended the throne, was illegitimate, and was not the lawful Sovereign of the realm. And the documents having reference to George III.'s first marriage were inseparably attached to the documents by which the legitimacy of Mrs. Serres was supposed to be established, with the view, no doubt, of impressing on the King's mind the fact that she could not put forward her claims, as she intended to do, if these were not recognized, without at the same time making public the fact that the marriage between George III. and Queen Charlotte was invalid. Could any one for a single moment believe in the authenticity of certificates like these, that George III., at the time of his marriage to Queen Charlotte, had been already married, and that his first Queen was then living, and he had had issue by her? One of the documents produced purported to be her will, and was signed "Hannah Regina." Was it possible to imagine, even if such a person had ever existed and had asserted her right to that title, that great officers of State like Chatham and Dunning should have outraged all propriety by recognizing that claim and putting their names to a document in which she assumed that title? These things spoke for themselves. In another document the Duke of Kent gave the guardianship of his daughter to the Princess Olive. Remembering the way in which that lady had been brought up, and the society in which she had moved, could the Duke of Kent ever have dreamt of superseding his own wife, the mother of the infant Princess, and passing by all the other distinguished members of his family, and conferring on Mrs. Serres, the landscape-painter, the sole guardianship of the future Queen of England? It was for them to say, having looked at the handwriting of these documents, whether they believed them to be genuine. They must also bear in mind that the way in which the claim had been brought forward, first one story being told and then another, laid it open to grave suspicion; and the explanation of these inconsistent stories was equally open to observation. If Lord Warwick communicated any of these documents to Mrs. Serres in 1815, some of them must undoubtedly have informed her that there had been a marriage between the Duke and an Olive Wilmot, and her claim to be his illegitimate daughter was inconsistent with her knowledge of that fact. She seemed to have failed in her

appeals to George IV. to recognize that claim, and then, when George III., Lord Warwick, and the Duke of Kent were dead, she brought forward the present claim, and supported it by the documents now produced. In each of the claims which she made at different times, she appealed to documents in her possession by which they were supported. What was the irresistible inference? Why, that documents were from time to time prepared to meet the form which her claims from time to time assumed. A great deal had been said about different members of the Royal Family having countenanced and supported this lady. He could quite understand, if an appeal was made on her behalf as an illegitimate daughter of the Duke of Cumberland, that a generous-minded prince might say, "As you have our blood flowing in your veins, you shall not be left in want and penury;" and very likely papers might have been shown to some members of the Royal Family in support of that claim, which they believed to be genuine. It was just as easy to fabricate papers showing her illegitimacy as to fabricate those now produced, and probably such papers would not be very rigorously scrutinized and criticized. But it was not possible to believe that the documents now produced (including the Hannah Lightfoot certificates) had been shown to members of the Royal Family and pronounced by them to be genuine. He could not understand why the secret was to be kept after the Duke of Cumberland's death, when there was no longer any danger that he would incur the risk of punishment for bigamy, and why the death of George III. should be fixed upon as the time for disclosing it. The death of George III. was the very time when it would become important to keep the secret; for if it had been then disclosed, it would have shown that neither George IV. nor the Duke of Kent were entitled to succeed to the throne. Why, then, should the Duke of Kent stipulate for the keeping of the secret until George III. died? They must look at all the circumstances of the case, and say whether they believed the documents produced by the petitioner to be genuine.

The Lord Chief Baron: As you stopped the Attorney-General, gentlemen, I don't very well see how you can find against him without hearing his case to the end.

The jury, without hesitation, found that they were not satisfied that Olive Serres, the mother of Mrs. Ryves, was the legitimate daughter of Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, and Olive his wife; and that they were not satisfied that Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, was lawfully married to Olive Wilmot on the 4th of March, 1767. The other issues, affirming that Mrs. Ryves was the legitimate daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Serres, and that W. H. Ryves was the legitimate son of Mr. and Mrs. Ryves, they found for the petitioners.

The Attorney-General: I should state that we were prepared to prove that Dr. Wilmot was at Oxford on the day of the pretended marriage, and that Lord Warwick used the name of Greville, and not that of Brooke, up to the time when he succeeded to the earldom.

Mr. W. Smith said he was prepared to controvert those facts.

On the motion of the Attorney-General, the Court ordered the documents produced by the petitioners to be impounded.

Thus ended this extraordinary trial.

Not the least curious part of the case was, that if Mrs. Ryves had succeeded in making out that her mother was a Royal Princess, she would have established at the same time her own illegitimacy. The alleged marriage of the Duke of Cumberland was celebrated before the Royal Marriage Act; and consequently, if Mrs.

Serres had been the Duke's daughter, she would have been a Princess of the Blood Royal. But that Act had been passed before her marriage with Mr. Serres, and would have rendered it invalid, so that her issue would have been illegitimate. As it was, Mrs. Ryves obtained a declaration of her legitimacy, but at the cost of her pretended Royal descent. It is possible, as the Attorney-General said, that she, like her mother, may have brooded over the story till she persuaded herself it was true; but it was unpardonable that more responsible persons should have abetted her in the delusion. As the story, however, was brought so prominently forward, it is satisfactory that it has been so thoroughly exposed. It will only be remembered for the future as an extraordinary monument of the ingenuity and perverted industry which may be exerted by vanity and madness.

II.

THE CASE OF DR. COLENSO, BISHOP OF NATAL.

PAYMENT OF INCOME OF SEE.

THE BISHOP OF NATAL *v.* THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE AND OTHERS.

A suit of considerable interest in its bearing on the question of the Colonial Episcopate was decided by the Master of the Rolls. The proceeding arose out of the judgment of the Privy Council on the "Colenso case in March, 1865"—a judgment of which the effect was to disturb almost all received opinions as to the constitutional position of the Colonial Church. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council did not, indeed, negative the right of Bishop Colenso to assume the Episcopal character, or that of Bishop Gray to call himself Metropolitan of the South African Church, whatever spiritual authority such titles may import; but they denied that any coercive jurisdiction could be exercised by either, inasmuch as the patents which purported to confer that jurisdiction were null and void in law. They declared that "there was no power in the Crown, by virtue of its prerogative, to establish a metropolitan see or province, or to create an ecclesiastical corporation whose *status*, rights, and authority the colony should be bound to recognize." "It may be true that the Crown, as legal head of the Church, has a right to command the consecration of a Bishop, but it has no power to assign him any diocese, or give him any sphere of action," either within the United Kingdom or within any colony which has received legislative institutions, unless by special provisions of an Act of Parliament. Upon the delivery of this judgment Bishop Colenso applied to the trustees of the "Colonial Bishoprics Fund" for the arrears of the income annually payable out of that fund to the Bishopric of Natal, which had been withheld and carried to a separate account since his illegal deposition in the previous year. The trustees, however, among whom were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Gladstone, Vice-Chancellor Page Wood, and Mr. Hubbard, took a different view of their duty. They contended that, inasmuch as Bishop Colenso was not a suffragan Bishop within the Province of Cape Town, he was not a Bishop at all in the sense contemplated by the original promoters of the fund, and could receive no benefit from it. Bishop Colenso therefore sought redress from the Court of Chancery, and the matter

having been argued before Lord Romilly, that learned judge delivered his decision on the 6th of November as follows:—

He said that it was a suit instituted by Dr. Colenso, as Bishop of Natal, against the treasurers of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, praying that the annual income derivable from that fund and appropriated to the endowment of the Bishopric of Natal might be paid over to him as Bishop, the same having been for some time withheld. The defendants, as treasurers of the fund in question, resisted Dr. Colenso's claim, on the ground that the fund was entrusted to them for the payment of a Bishop of quite a different stamp from Dr. Colenso; that the decision of the Privy Council in the case of "Dr. Colenso *v.* the Bishop of Cape Town" had established that such an office as Dr. Colenso held was not such a bishopric as the subscribers to the Colonial Fund contemplated or were willing to endow; and that the council of and subscribers to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund had been misled as to the powers of the letters patent appointing the Bishop of Natal,—inasmuch as they thought they were procuring the establishment of a colonial bishopric with full ecclesiastical jurisdiction (the same as an English bishopric), and subject to complete metropolitan supervision and control. The facts of the case were as follows:—In the early part of the year 1841 the Archbishop of Canterbury issued an invitation to the clergy and laity to attend a meeting for the purpose of creating a fund for the endowment of additional bishoprics in our colonies, and to remedy the defective provisions previously existing for planting the Church in the distant dependencies of the British empire, and extending to them the full benefit of apostolical government and discipline. In obedience to this invitation a meeting was held on the 27th of April, 1841, in Willis's Rooms, at which resolutions were passed to the effect "that the want of episcopal superintendence was a great and acknowledged defect in the religious provisions hitherto made for many of the colonies and dependencies of the British Crown; that a fund should be raised towards providing for the endowments of bishoprics in such of the foreign possessions of Great Britain as should be determined upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland; and that their lordships should be requested to undertake the charge and application of the fund, and to name treasurers and such other officers as might be required for conducting the necessary details." On the Tuesday following this meeting the Archbishops and Bishops undertook to take charge of the fund, and appointed a committee of Bishops to arrange measures for the erection of additional colonial bishoprics. On the 18th of May, 1849, it was determined by special resolution that henceforward all the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England and Ireland should form the committee, which should be called "The Council for Colonial Bishoprics," and that the present defendants, among others, should be appointed treasurers to the council. In March, 1853, the council determined to appoint four new colonial bishoprics, of which the province of Natal was to be one, and in November of that year, the council having previously stipulated for the due endowment of the bishopric of Natal out of its fund, so far as was consonant with its power, Her Majesty by letters patent erected the province of Natal into a separate see and diocese, appointed Dr. Colenso to be ordained and consecrated Bishop thereof, desired the Archbishop of Canterbury to ordain and consecrate Dr. Colenso to such see in the accustomed manner, and declared that Dr. Colenso, after having been so ordained and consecrated, might, by virtue of such appointment and consecration, enter into and possess the see of Natal for the term of his natural life. On the 30th of the same month of November Dr. Colenso was

duly ordained and consecrated, and shortly afterwards proceeded to Natal, and took possession of his bishopric. In the making of this appointment it was formally provided that the bishopric of Natal was to be under the metropolitan supervision of the Bishop of Cape Town, and that Dr. Colenso, as Bishop of Natal, was to take oath to obey the Bishop of Cape Town as his Metropolitan. From the month of November, 1853, until the month of April, 1864, the treasurers of the Council for Colonial Bishoprics duly paid Dr. Colenso his salary (662*l.*) as Bishop of Natal; but since the latter period they refused to continue payment of such salary, having received a notification from the Bishop of Cape Town that he had, on account of certain heretical doctrines, deprived Dr. Colenso of his post as Bishop of Natal; and Dr. Colenso's salary had ever since been withheld by the council, and carried to a separate account. In the month of March, 1865, Dr. Colenso having appealed to the Crown against the decision of the Bishop of Cape Town, and brought the matter before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, that Court decided in favour of Dr. Colenso and against the Bishop of Cape Town, whose decree of deprivation, as against Dr. Colenso as Bishop of Natal, the Privy Council declared to be null and void. On obtaining this decree of the Privy Council in his favour, Dr. Colenso, as Bishop of Natal, applied to the treasurers of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund for the payment of his salary, which had been withheld; but the treasurers of such fund refused to make such payment, alleging that, according to the decision of the Privy Council, Dr. Colenso was not such a Bishop as the subscribers to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund intended to endow; that, according to such decision, the letters patent had no right to create him such a Bishop; that the Bishop of Natal, according to the decision of the Privy Council, had no such pastoral care over his clergy, and was under no such supervision of his metropolitan as the Colonial Bishoprics Council contemplated and intended that he and their other colonial Bishops should be. Upon the treasurers of the Colonial Fund persisting in their refusal to pay Dr. Colenso his salary or to recognize his claim as Bishop of Natal, Dr. Colenso had instituted the present proceedings against them; and the issue which this Court had to decide was whether or not they were bound to pay him. In deciding this issue the Court was not called upon to pronounce any opinion as to the nature or character of Dr. Colenso's doctrines, or whether or not some of his works might be heretical or otherwise; all that the Court was called upon to pronounce an opinion on, was the force of the letters patent under which Dr. Colenso was appointed. What the letters patent had done was, to appoint Dr. Colenso Bishop of Natal, and to desire the Archbishop of Canterbury to ordain him as such. The Archbishop had so ordained him, and Dr. Colenso was a duly appointed titular Bishop. By such appointment Dr. Colenso had full episcopal powers over his clergy and flock, subject to the restriction that such power could only be enforced by resort to the civil tribunals. The Bishop of Natal had, in fact, much the same power over his clergy in Natal as an English bishop had over his clergy in England, the main difference being, that the Bishop of Natal's order must be entirely resisted, according to the civil tribunals, with power to appeal to the Queen in Council. Dr. Colenso was created a titular Bishop all the world over, and a territorial Bishop within the province of Natal. The law, as laid down by the Privy Council in these cases, instead of uprooting the colonial Churches, as branches of the Church of England, would do much to establish them. The Privy Council had laid it down as a rule that the Church of England in our colonies was a voluntary association, or, in other words, that, where there was no State religion in a colony, a few members

associating themselves together, and agreeing to be governed by the law and doctrine of the Church of England, should be recognized by the parent Church as a branch or branches of such Church. This was made apparent by the decision of the Privy Council in the case of "Colenso *v.* the Bishop of Cape Town," in which it was held that the Colonial Synod had decided matters which could never be decided by the State, and that a colonial Bishop's authority was merely by consent over such persons within his alleged jurisdiction as agreed to be bound by it. What the Privy Council has decided in the case of "The Bishop of Cape Town *v.* Colenso" was, that the Crown had no power to create a Bishop or bishopric in a colony with coercive powers over the people of a colony having an independent Legislature. But it has not decided that the Bishop of Cape Town has any jurisdiction over the Bishop of Natal. The effect of the judgment of the Privy Council was to show—first, that Natal was a district presided over by a Bishop of the Church of England, and that the members of the Church of England in Natal were members and part of the Church of England; and, secondly, that the letters patent did not, and could not, create a new order of Bishop in the colony, but that all such appointments must be made by the head of the Church, as settled by the law of England, according to which no Bishop of the Church could be appointed in a colony by the Crown, as head of the Church. All the laws which had been passed by Parliament since the time of the Act of American Independence tended to prove that such was the law of this country and the intention of the Legislature. As to the objections raised by the defendants as treasurers of the Colonial Bishopries Fund, to pay Dr. Colenso his salary as Bishop of Natal, because the bishopric was not established with such ecclesiastical coercive powers as the subscribers to the fund contemplated, this Court was of opinion that such a plea could not prevail,—first, because the letters patent creating the See of Natal could not possibly grant such coercive powers; and, secondly, because there was nothing in the letters patent to lead the subscribers to the fund to believe that any such powers were intended to be granted; but the Court was desirous to speak with deference of any opinion expressed by the dissentient subscribers to the fund in question, more particularly when enunciated by a lady like Miss Burdett Coutts, who had been so constant and ceaseless a contributor in establishing colonial bishopries; but upon all the facts before the Court, it could not but think that such subscribers were mistaken in supposing that the Crown had not, by the letters patent in question, conferred upon the Bishop of Natal full pastoral powers to exercise in his office of Colonial Bishop. The principle of the Church was, that in all cases the Crown should be recognized as the paramount head of the Church; and no letters patent could be issued or could stand that would place any of the colonial Churches merely under the *Forum Domesticum* of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The appointment of Dr. Colenso as Bishop of Natal might be looked upon as an agreement between the Crown, the representatives of the Bishopries Fund, and Dr. Colenso; and so long as Dr. Colenso performed his part of the contract,—and there was nothing before the Court to show that he had not done so,—he was entitled to the benefits of it. In the case of Dr. Colenso ceasing to be Bishop of Natal, and a new prelate being appointed in his place, new stipulations might, of course, be introduced; but, so far as Dr. Colenso was concerned, the present contract must be held as binding, and, whatever the opinion of the subscribers to the fund might be, it could not deprive Dr. Colenso of the right to be paid his salary. If Dr. Colenso had not performed his part of the contract, or if he had wilfully done any wrong act to disentitle him to payment under it, the case might have been

different; but there was no case before the Court to show that he had not done the one, or that he had done the other; and therefore the Court was bound to hold him entitled to the relief he prayed. The decree of the Court would be, that Dr. Colenso was entitled to the relief asked for by the prayer of his bill, and that the defendants must pay the costs of the suit. In making this award as to costs, the Court did not wish to imply that the defendants could have acted otherwise than they had done as treasurers of the fund of which they were the representatives, or that they ought not to be indemnified, as to their costs, out of such fund. Dr. Colenso would, of course, have to pay the Attorney-General his costs, which, however, he could add to his own costs, and claim them against the defendants.

III.

DR. HUNTER'S CASE.

CHARGE OF LIBEL AGAINST THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE."

In the Court of Queen's Bench was brought on the case of Hunter *v.* Sharpe, namely, an action against the printer of the "Pall Mall Gazette" for a libel published therein on the 10th of November, 1865.

Mr. Coleridge, for the plaintiff (Dr. Robert Hunter), said the plaintiff was son of Dr. James Hunter, an English physician, who brought up his three sons to the medical profession; and on emigrating to Canada he sent plaintiff to the medical school there, after which plaintiff studied in the New York University and obtained an M.D. degree. Subsequently he practised extensively in New York; and his health being delicate, he studied his own symptoms, and resolved to make pulmonary diseases his speciality, and adopted the practice of inhalation, which eminent medical men had previously recommended, but which had not till then been systematically carried out. He had such a large practice that four medical men, each holding an English degree, had been engaged to assist him. In 1858 he came to England. He published a book setting forth his qualifications, and he also published advertisements, giving extracts from his work in the shape of letters. In 1855 a Mrs. Merrick accused him of having ravished her, and pending the investigation of that charge the libel now complained of appeared. It was headed "Impostors and Dupes," and it said, "one of the evils which are a curse to English society was the advertising practices of a certain class of medical impostors," and, referring to plaintiff as one of these, the article said, "the Merrick-Hunter story is a fresh illustration of the state of the law in the matter of these abominable advertisements."

The plaintiff deposed to the facts above stated.—In cross-examination he said his advertisements had cost him about 1000*l.*

Several witnesses were called for the plaintiff.

Dr. J. Pattison, M.D., of New York University, and a registered practitioner in London, deposed that he had seen plaintiff's diploma.

Dr. Henry Melville (Edinburgh degree) and Dr. J. J. Macgregor (M.D., Edinburgh), now practising in Dublin, respectively deposed to having been acquainted with plaintiff's medical system and practice, and to his applications of inhalation to cases of consumption, &c., having been most beneficial. That system had

been previously adopted by medical authorities, but plaintiff had carried out the system more effectively than had been done previously.

Mr. Robert Curtice, of 86, Bond-street, manager of Messrs. Corbyn's drug establishment, deposed that he supplied drugs to plaintiff, who in the first year paid 800*l.* for drugs.

Mr. Edward Morensey, of Uxbridge, and Major Hughes, formerly of the Bengal Army, respectively deposed to having consulted plaintiff for asthma, bronchitis, &c., and to finding great benefit from his treatment.

Mr. Fres deposed that he had spasmodic asthma, and on seeing plaintiff's published letters he consulted plaintiff, whose inhalation system had so much effect that witness was in a month declared off the doctor's books. Plaintiff gave him so much medicine that, with economy, it lasted three months, and only cost at the rate of 8*s.* 9*d.* a week.

Mr. Calcraft, of Toronto, barrister, and several other witnesses deposed to a similar effect.

This closed the plaintiff's case.

Evidence was then given for the defence. The advertisements published by plaintiff in several London newspapers having been read, Dr. C. J. Williams, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and consulting physician of the Brompton Hospital, said he had practised in London for thirty-five years, and he paid much attention to diseases of the lungs. He had read Dr. Hunter's work, which stated that "the root of consumption was in the lungs, and that tubercles were but the fruits of imperfect respiration." Witness considered that doctrine to be wholly opposite to truth. The witness then pointed out at length the erroneous doctrines professed by plaintiff. In cross-examination, witness said he did not agree in plaintiff's opinion as to the inefficiency of cod-liver oil in consumption. He was aware that Dr. M'Cormack held that all the cod-fish in the mighty ocean could not delay for a single instant tubercular decay, but that opinion should only be taken *valeat quantum*. On re-examination, the witness said that Dr. Jas. Clark was somewhat incredulous as to the value of medicine at all.

Dr. Bennett, physician to the London Hospital, and to the Hospital for Diseases of the Chest, and Dr. Cotton, physician to the Brompton Hospital, also expressed opinions adverse to the doctrines laid down in the plaintiff's work.

Further evidence was given for the defence by Dr. Markham, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians; Dr. George Johnson, M.D., University of London; Dr. Richard Quain, M.D., of London University; and Dr. Hodgkins, M.D., a lecturer on chemistry at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, who deposed to opinions similar to those expressed by the other medical witnesses for the defence.

Mr. Karslake, Q.C., for the defence, then reviewed the evidence on both sides, and asked, Could any one read plaintiff's work without feeling that its object was to inculcate the opinion that he and his assistants possessed the great secret for the cure of consumption, and that if he and his assistants were, by a railway accident or otherwise, removed from the world, the great secret of curing consumption would be irrevocably lost? It was no wonder that in one year he purchased 800*l.* worth of drugs, to be made up into 8600*l.* worth of prescribed medicines. The learned gentleman concluded by saying, if the plaintiff had sought by a system of terrorism and misrepresentation to practise on the credulous and ignorant, then they could come but to one conclusion, namely, that his conduct had been characterized in language which was not too strong, and that the writer had well discharged a duty which he owed to society.

Mr. Coleridge, Q.C., in reply on behalf of the plaintiff, vindicated him from the allegation that he was a medical quack, and said that the libel complained of was beyond the bounds of fair criticism. The learned gentleman concluded an eloquent address by saying he trusted the verdict of the jury would enable Dr. Hunter, if he left England, to say that he came to this country with a new theory, and set himself against great authorities, provoking thereby a certain amount of prejudice; but that when he complained of being assaulted with insinuations the most brutal, in language the most cruel—not in a low journal, but in a paper well written and ably conducted—English gentlemen flung aside their prepossessions, and did him justice.

The Lord Chief Justice summed up the evidence at considerable length. That this was an important case there could be no doubt; it was important to the plaintiff unquestionably, because upon their verdict would depend his professional position, his fortune, success, and, what was of more importance, his personal character in society; for if he was convicted of being an impostor, his personal character would be irretrievably ruined. The case was also of importance, because it involved more or less the principle by which the conduct of a public writer, and his responsibility for what he wrote was concerned. It was also important because incidentally they might have to consider how far the character and dignity of an honourable profession might be sullied and tarnished by recourse being had to a course of puffing by advertising to which the plaintiff had thought fit to resort. There were one or two preliminary matters which might as well be disposed of before they came to the real matter in issue. In the first place, there could be no doubt that unless it could be justified on the score of its truth, or excused as privileged, the article was libellous. To say that a man was an impostor—that he first frightened people into becoming his patients, and then treated them by pretended remedies, and that he did all this for the sordid purpose of putting money into his pocket, was unquestionably matter of a very serious and libellous character. Again, there could be no doubt but that the article was directed against the plaintiff. He was named by name, the unfortunate circumstance of a charge having been brought against him by Mrs. Merrick in the police court was referred to, his double diploma was remarked upon, and no reasonable man could doubt that the plaintiff was the person to whom the article intended to refer. Indeed, no attempt had been made on the part of the defendant to disguise that fact from the jury. Lastly, the defendant was unquestionably liable to this action; he was the printer and the publisher of the newspaper in which the article appeared, and as such was responsible, whether the alleged libel was written by himself or by others. It was when they came to the pleas put upon the record by the defendant that they came to the real contest between the parties. The defence was rested upon two grounds. In the first place, the defendant said, "What I have written and published is true; and as by the law of England truth is not libellous, I am justified in writing the article complained of." In the second place, he said—and it was a matter well worthy of their consideration—"Even if I should fail in making out to the necessary extent the plea of justification—in other words the truth of the libel—nevertheless I say that, looking at all the circumstances of the case, I, having exercised all needful caution in the matter, having exercised my judgment to the best of my ability in discussing a subject concerning the public, was justified in writing the article in question." He would proceed to deal with those questions in the order in which he had referred to them. In the first case came the question whether the defendant had established his plea of justification,

—in other words, whether they were satisfied that the facts set forth, however damaging to the plaintiff's character, were true; and in order to arrive at a decision upon this point it was quite obvious that they must look very critically at the book which the plaintiff published. But before they turned to that work he would shortly refer to the charge contained in the alleged libel. Having carefully considered what the charge was, they would be enabled to see how far the contents of the plaintiff's work and of his advertisements justified it. Now the charge was, that the plaintiff, in dealing with one of the most fearful diseases to which the human frame is subject, with the intention of obtaining profit and gain to himself, began by exciting unnecessarily the fears of those who might read his publication, and then proceeded to hold himself out as the only person who could cure them effectually—that he induced them to trust in the remedies which he prescribed, which he knew to be delusive, and that thus he tampered with their health and trifled with their hopes, for the sordid purpose of putting money into his pocket. If the charges were true, hardly any thing could be worse than the conduct of the plaintiff. The language used in the article was of the strongest and most bitter character; but if the facts upon which the article was assumed to be grounded were true,—if it were true that the plaintiff had intentionally, fraudulently, and dishonestly put forward such statements as were contained in his book in order to make those who read that work his victims in purse, if not in person,—no language could be too strong in which to describe his conduct, for he would not only be an impostor, but an impostor and a swindler of the very worst description. Of course it was obvious that the more serious such a charge, if well founded, would be, so much more would a person against whom an unfounded accusation of the same was made be entitled to look at the hands of a jury of his countrymen for ample and proportionate redress. Bearing in mind what the charge was, let them look at what the plaintiff had done. He must, in the first place, draw the attention of the jury to one or two parts of the alleged libel as to which it was contended,—the defendant having offered no justification, as he had tendered no evidence with respect to them,—the plaintiff was entitled to their verdict. That must greatly depend upon the construction they put upon those passages, which were those relating to the proceedings in the police court in Mrs. Merrick's case. Now, did they believe that in writing those passages the author of the article intended to convey that Dr. Hunter was guilty of the offence with which Mrs. Merrick charged him? Because in that case, the defendant having offered no evidence on that point, the plea of justification utterly failed, and their verdict must be for the plaintiff upon that plea. Or, on the other hand, did they believe that the charge at the police court had only been made use of as the occasion, and was not the substance of the article against the plaintiff? These points, however, although they might enable the plaintiff to obtain a verdict, were not the real matters of contest between the parties. The plaintiff had been acquitted by the verdict of a jury of Mrs. Merrick's charge; and therefore the article in question could not injure him in that respect, although it was doubtless published at a most inopportune moment, namely, when the charge was still hanging over the plaintiff's head. The main question between the parties was this: Was the system which Dr. Hunter had propounded one which an honest medical writer and practitioner would have put forward? Was it put forward for the mere purpose of enlightening the profession and the public as to his system of cure; or was it a system of quackery which he promulgated for the sordid purpose of putting money into his pocket? He would, in placing before the jury the subject, tenour, and spirit of

the plaintiff's book, endeavour to do the best justice he could to the system put forward by the plaintiff. The plaintiff came forward professing to understand as others had not understood the true cure of consumption; he came forward professing that whereas the whole medical profession had abandoned the hope of curing this terrible disease, he had discovered means whereby in its incipient stage certain cure could be effected, while even in its more advanced stages the patient who submitted to his system might be restored to health. By way of introducing his mode of treatment, and in order to show that it must be efficacious, the plaintiff in his book entered into an account of what were the causes of this fatal disease. He said it had been the fashion hitherto to believe that consumption, or, in other words, tubercles in the lungs, was the consequence of an hereditary predisposition to disease. That, he said, was a fallacy. The true and only cause of it was impaired respiration, which acted in this way: that whereas the healthy condition of the lungs depended upon the free respiration of atmospheric air, whereby the blood might be purified, when the respiratory organs were obstructed the consequence was that the due amount which nature required of the oxygen derived from the atmosphere failed, and the consequence was that they got an excess of carbonaceous matter, which, being brought by the blood to the lungs, accumulated there, and was not disposed or got rid of. The plaintiff said that carbon was tubercle, and tubercle was carbon; and how were you to remedy the disease set up by the obstruction of the organs of respiration? The only mode of remedying the disease was to introduce oxygen by artificial means. He said he had discovered a preventive, or rather that he possessed an instrument whereby oxygen could be inhaled or artificially conveyed into the lungs. He further said that the medical profession knew nothing of his system—that they treated the disease by medicines administered through the stomach; that it was all idle and delusive, because medicine taken through the stomach could not reach the part locally affected, but that if oxygen was inhaled by his process they got not merely the regeneration of the blood by the admixture of oxygen which nature required, but they got direct and immediate application of the remedy to the lungs. The oxygen operated with twofold effect. In the first place it acted immediately upon the carbonaceous matter of the tubercle which it decomposed, whereby the lung healed; and in the second place it entered into the system by oxydizing the blood, which was thus enabled to restore healthy matter in place of the worn-out tissues of the body. If the plaintiff's theory were true, no greater blessing could have befallen mankind than the discovery of which the plaintiff boasts himself the author. But they were told, and upon high scientific authority, that the whole of this supposed discovery was purely delusive; in the first place that it was not true that imperfect respiration was the cause of tubercles in the lungs, and that the assumption of what appeared to be the foundation of his system was wholly delusive, since it required either hereditary taint or circumstances which conduced to a scrofulous disposition in order to produce consumption. They said further that the plaintiff was deluding himself or the public when he said that tubercle was carbon, or at all events was carbon united with worn-out tissues, and that it was those two assumptions which proved the basis of the plaintiff's whole system, both as regarded the disease and the means of treating it. With regard to the imperfect respiration being the cause of tubercles, the medical profession gave facts which would appear to afford an obvious and an immediate answer. In the first place they said there were instances in which imperfect respiration had been going on for

years, yet the patient had not suffered from tubercle. Cases of asthma and of distortion of the spine were given as instances in which respiration had been imperfect, sometimes in a very great degree, without tubercle following. So they said, taking the reverse of the proposition, that there were many persons who died of tubercle whose air passages were healthy; and again they said, what was more striking, that many people died of consumption whose other important organs were affected by tubercle, which could never be affected by imperfect respiration. They said, therefore, that Dr. Hunter's views, so far, were utterly untenable. Then came the question whether tubercle was, as he described it, composed of carbon. The defendant's witnesses said that it was certainly untrue, and they said that the authority upon which he based that assumption, namely, Scherar's analysis, was misunderstood, or, more properly speaking, misrepresented by the plaintiff, as to tubercle containing more carbon than the other animal tissues. It only entered into the tubercle in chemical combination, and it was not until decomposition took place that it could be separated or eliminated from the other elements with which it formed a chemical combination. To suppose, therefore, that oxygen could act specifically upon the tubercle without at the same time acting upon the other parts of the lungs, was absurd; and that, therefore, the whole of the plaintiff's theory was perfectly delusive. They said that had he been an ordinary intelligent medical man, he must have known that what he was writing was untrue. But the matter did not stop there. They said that even assuming that he was right in his assumption that the principal element of tubercle was carbon, and that the introduction of oxygen removed the disease by purifying the blood or by decomposing the carbonaceous deposit, when they came to the practical treatment proposed by the plaintiff, they would find it to be utterly untenable either in theory or in practice. In the first place, oxygen could only be introduced into the system to a limited extent, because the act of inhalation was exhausting to the patient and could only be carried on for a limited period. Considering the enormous quantity of oxygen that was inhaled by ordinary respiration, they were told by the medical profession that the quantity of oxygen that could be inhaled by artificial means would be so infinitesimally small that it would be of no effect; that it would not be more—as they had been informed by that very intelligent gentleman the professor of chemistry at St. Bartholomew's Hospital—than 1 per cent. Therefore the medical profession said that that part of Dr. Hunter's theory was a delusion also; and further than this, they said that even if they could get the oxygen into the lungs, it would not be beneficial. Then it was shown that oxygen could only be obtained in combination with other bodies, and that if it is evolved by the use of choloric acid, as stated by Dr. Hunter, both oxygen and choloric gas were produced, the latter of which was most irritating to the lungs of the patient—in fact, it would be so irritating to the lungs as to preclude its use; and if alcholic tinctures were used, the alcholic would seize upon the oxygen the moment it was evolved. He did not know which three of the gentlemen of the jury—for that was the proportion, according to the doctrine of Dr. Hunter, which should be affected with incipient or actual consumption—were in that unfortunate state; but he was sure they must be most interested in this discussion. However, it was not because a man put forward erroneous notions in any science that he was to be held up to universal scorn. When a man put forward views of any kind on a matter of public concern, he challenged criticism; and those who differed from him were those justified in criticizing them with severity, and might even hold up his views to ridicule, although they had no right to impute sinister motives to him. It

was not, therefore, because scientific men had satisfied them that the views of the plaintiff were erroneous, that he was to be held up to society as an impostor, a swindler, and a scoundrel. In order to ascertain the motives of the plaintiff in publishing his work, they must look a little closer into the contents of his book. In the first place, what were the charges? It was said by the defendant that the plaintiff had put forward his theory for the purpose of frightening persons to become his patients, in order to gain by them. The learned judge then referred to the chapters in the plaintiff's book relating to the symptoms of consumption and the causes of consumption, which he alleged to be colds, catarrh, elongated uvula, bronchitis, &c. The plaintiff's book warned those who were afflicted with these complaints that if they resorted to their ordinary medical attendants for advice, although they might apparently improve in health, they were the certain victims of consumption. On the other hand the medical profession said that such statements were utterly false. If they thought that these statements were put forward by the plaintiff with a knowledge that they were untrue, and with the sinister design of putting money into his pocket, they must say whether they were of opinion that the article in which the plaintiff was described as a swindler and an impostor went one whit beyond what the circumstances justified. There were two or three passages in the plaintiff's book which were very important indeed, as enabling them to arrive at an accurate judgment as to the honesty or dishonesty of the plaintiff in publishing that work. Thus, in one part of the work, he stated that a common cold in the head would, if not checked, tend to the loss of the bones of the nose. This was at least rather a startling proposition. Then he proceeded to remark how a sore throat must lead to consumption, unless it was immediately cured, adding that a patient having such a complaint would soon find how short a step led from a sore throat to consumption, if he remained under the hands of his ordinary medical adviser. It was also rather startling to hear that the tickling in the throat arising from an elongated uvula, might be the precursor of speedy decline. Physicians perfectly conversant with those complaints had come forward on behalf of the defendant, and had declared that all these suggestions were utterly untrue, and were pure delusions. It was for the jury to say whether they thought that the experience of the medical men who had given their evidence before them in the witness-box was to be received as truth rather than the statements contained in the plaintiff's book. It was also for them to say whether they believed those statements on the part of the plaintiff to have been put forward as the result of honest conviction of their truth, or merely for the purpose of deceiving people into believing that they were in danger of losing their lives. Were they put forward with the honest intention of warning the profession and the public generally of the dangers which might result from slight colds; or were they published for the twofold purpose of terrifying persons in order to induce them to believe that unless they adopted his system of cure they were certain to die of consumption, and for the purpose of putting money into his pocket? In all cases where it was suggested that a man had done a dishonest act, it was incumbent on them to see whether he was interested in the result, and whether he had made his profit a prominent feature. Now the plaintiff alleged in his work that medical men, although they tampered with the disease by administering cod-liver oil and other nauseous mixtures, had abandoned the idea of effecting a cure, whereas he alone had discovered a certain remedy for the disease, and therefore if they wished to be cured they must come to him, as he alone could and would cure them. He did not think he was doing the plaintiff the slightest

injustice when he suggested this to be the effect of his work. Another point that must be considered in coming to a determination as to the good faith of the plaintiff was, that he described as unmistakable symptoms of consumption such things as shortness of breath on walking up a hill—an affliction from which every person in years suffered, or an acceleration of the pulse, which might be the result of a slight cold. Again, he said that losing flesh was a sign of consumption, although he added that this was not a necessary consequence of that disease, as it frequently happened that plump, pretty, rosy-cheeked girls, looking the very picture of health, were marked as the victims of consumption. It was for the jury to say whether these statements were put forward by the plaintiff for the honest purpose of enlightening the profession or the public, or for the more sinister motive which was alleged in the article complained of. Were they put forward for the purpose of promoting the interest of the plaintiff or not? Undoubtedly the tenour of the book was to show that it was useless to go to the ordinary practitioner for advice as to the treatment of consumption or its premonitory symptoms. It mattered not what confidence might be placed in the medical man, or what honours he had achieved in his profession, if there was any thing the matter with the respiratory organs, he was unfit to remedy the evil, and the patient must necessarily turn to whom? Why to the man who administered medicines by means of inhalation, and did not give his patients cod-liver oil. And who was that? Why the plaintiff, who was possessed of the necessary instruments, and of the requisite knowledge for curing the complaint by his peculiar mode of treatment. He was most anxious not to draw any deduction from the book which was not justified by its contents; but was it possible to read it without coming to such a conclusion as he had suggested? They must, however, take care that a man should not be held up to the finger of scorn simply because he had put forward a theory which, upon being strictly tested by the rules of science, was found erroneous. It might be that when a valuable discovery was first brought to light, the profession, who were told that all their preconceived ideas were worthless and their learning useless, might object to the introduction into practice of the new theory, that they might say the theory had no substantial foundation, and might stigmatize its author as an impostor and a quack; and it would be the duty of the jury to take care that a man was not crushed and driven out of the profession for such a reason. On the other hand they knew by the history of the world that, from the earliest ages, men had sought to impose upon the credulous by acting upon the fears of mankind, by pretending to be possessed of the power of healing all the ailments and diseases to which human nature was subject—men who had trifled with the misery and suffering of their fellow-creatures for the purposes of their own sordid interests. The denouncement of such pretenders was, perhaps, one of the most meritorious actions in which a public writer could exercise his power. It might certainly be that the plaintiff, while he made dupes of others, was himself a dupe of his own theory. He might believe that he had hit upon a great discovery, by which he believed he could cure this fatal disease; but it might also happen that his knowledge as a medical man had shown him that the best way of acting upon mankind was by working upon the fears of the timid and nervous, by leading them to believe that they were marked as the victims of a disease which he alone could cure. Nor must they confine their attention to the book alone; they must also look at the circumstances under which it was published, and at the method of advertising which had been adopted by the plaintiff. The medical men who had been examined had told them that the plaintiff's

book was deficient in one essential particular—a particular by which a genuine work, published by a scientific man, was distinguished from that of a quack—namely, that it did not contain in distinct and clear terms the method of cure adopted by the plaintiff. The object of a scientific medical man in publishing a work, was to enlighten the members of his profession, and enable them to treat patients according to his method, whereas the object of the quack was to conceal his method, and thus to keep his system of cure secret for the purpose of making money by its means. They had been told that in this respect the work was altogether silent, and that no medical man could by reading the work in question apply the plaintiff's system to his patients. But this book was said to have passed through edition after edition with unexampled rapidity, and he could scarcely see the necessity for publishing the advertisement respecting it even in "The Times"—since, if it passed through fifty-six ordinary editions in a month, every man, woman, and child in the kingdom must have been engaged in reading the work. Could it be supposed that these were ordinary editions? Again, there were prefaces to the work purporting to be written by two physicians, who turned out to be merely assistants to the plaintiff. Would it not have been as well if the plaintiff had made that fact public, instead of leading people to believe that two gentlemen high in the profession had stamped the work before it came out with their unqualified approval? But would any medical man in England, if ever he published a treatise upon any branch of his science, resort to the quack-like expedient of advertising himself in the way the plaintiff had done? The plaintiff, however, was not satisfied with the repeated and successive editions of his work. He had resorted to the extraordinary and unprecedented expedient of taking his book to pieces and of publishing it by instalments in the daily papers. Had he employed a hundred criers to hawk about his book, or had he stuck up large placards at every corner in the streets, he could not have resorted to a better means of making his book known, than by the course he had adopted of publishing it by portions of a column at a time in the various newspapers. Even the learned counsel who appeared for the plaintiff could not in any way approve of this course of proceeding, and endeavoured to excuse it by stating that the plaintiff came from America, where advertising to any extent was legitimate. But they were not in America—they were in England; and whatever might be the practice in the former country, he was happy to say that such a practice had not extended to this kingdom. The rule here was this—that quacks advertised, but professional men did not, and no one could doubt that if it were open to medical men to advertise their attainments, the honour, and the dignity, and the respectability of the profession would soon become tarnished and soiled. What would be thought if a member of the Bar, in publishing one of those treatises by which from time to time they were enlightened and instructed, were to take portions of it, and publish it day after day as an advertisement, taking care to append to the advertisement the important piece of information, that he would sit daily at his chambers from ten till six, to advise with clients who came to consult with him? Such an individual so acting would be scouted from the profession which he disgraced. Then why should such a system be permitted in the sister profession, the honour of which was equally dear to its members? Therefore, until he had some better evidence to the contrary, he did not and would not believe that any such practice was resorted to by the medical men in America. The plaintiff had undoubtedly brought forward a number of witnesses who alleged that they had been cured by his method of treatment; but of the twelve who so came forward, only two

were alleged to be cases of consumption, and even of those two only one had been informed by an independent practitioner that he was suffering from consumption —an assumption in which he might have been mistaken. A gentleman in Canada had declared that he had been materially benefited by the plaintiff's system; but in that case, as in that of the Polish countess, there was no reliable evidence before them to establish the fact that those persons were really suffering from that disease when treated by the plaintiff. Supposing that the defendant had failed in showing that the plaintiff was an impostor, he might still rely upon his second ground of defence, which was that, as a public writer, he was justified in writing the article in question, as an honest and fair comment upon a matter of public concern, even although it might afterwards turn out that the assumed facts upon which the article was founded were not correct. He fully endorsed the proposition that if a public writer, in commenting upon a matter of public concern, exercised honestly his powers of criticism, he would be justified in so doing, even although the facts might fall short of what he had supposed them to be. The occasion in such a case was a privileged one, and he was entitled to the protection of his privilege. It was undoubted that the article was written in a spirit of extreme bitterness and severity, which could only be justified by the assumption that it was written by a medical man who was defending his profession from what he regarded as a stain upon its honour and its dignity. The whole matter was, however, one for the determination of the jury. They must weigh the whole of the circumstances that had been laid before them in the course of this lengthened trial, and must say—first, whether the libel was true; secondly, whether it was a fair comment, honestly written, upon a matter of public concern; and if they found both those questions in favour of the plaintiff, to what amount of damages he was entitled.

The jury retired and deliberated about two hours, after which the foreman said they found a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, One Farthing.

The Lord Chief Justice: I wish to know whether it is your opinion as a matter of fact, that the article was intended to convey that the imputation with regard to the offence alleged by Mrs. Merrick to have been committed was true?—The Foreman: We have taken the article as a whole.

The Lord Chief Justice: Then you consider that the justification was not entirely made out?—The Foreman: Yes, my Lord, we do.

The verdict was then entered for the plaintiff for a Farthing Damages.

APPENDIX.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS.

I.

REPORT OF THE JAMAICA ROYAL COMMISSION, 1866.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

INTRODUCTION.

We Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to make inquiry into the origin, nature, and circumstances of certain late disturbances in the Island of Jamaica, and with respect to the measures adopted in the course of their suppression, and being for the purpose of such inquiry authorized jointly or severally to collect evidence in the said Island respecting the origin, nature, and circumstances of the said disturbances, and respecting the means adopted in the course of the suppression of the same, and respecting the conduct of those concerned in such disturbances and suppression; and being required to communicate to your Majesty as well the said evidence as any opinions which we may think fit to express thereupon; humbly report as follows:

1. In obedience to Your Majesty's commands we have instituted a full and searching inquiry into the subjects referred to us.

2. In the course of such inquiry we have collected a large body of evidence, and have also been furnished with certain Returns.

3. The whole of the evidence, both oral and documentary, will be found in the Appendix.

4. Before entering upon our Report, it will be proper to state briefly the course which we have pursued in conducting our inquiry.

If we encountered difficulties, they have been such as have been inherent in the nature of the case, and have not been attributable to other causes.

It is our duty, no less than our pleasure, to place upon record our sense of the readiness with which all persons of all classes in Jamaica, upon the first announcement of Your Majesty's intention to appoint a Commission of Inquiry, at once came forward to promote the objects of such Commission.

Before, indeed, intelligence of the full constitution of the Commission had been received, the Island Legislature had already invested the Commissioners with those statutory powers for enforcing the attendance of witnesses, and taking their examination upon oath, without which our proceedings would have been seriously impeded.

The readiness in fact with which, as soon as the purport of Your Majesty's Commission became generally known, evidence was proffered, proved at first a source of some embarrassment, and, together with other circumstances, which we proceed to narrate, led to a modification of our original plan.

Our intention, at the outset, was, to

have followed the order of events, which was also the order prescribed by Your Majesty's Commission.

We proposed that each branch of the inquiry should be kept separate and distinct; that all the evidence under each head should be taken consecutively; and that no subsequent subject should be entertained until all the evidence under the prior head had been exhausted.

By this method we should have secured that order which tends so much to clearness as well as to thoroughness in the investigation. We should also have been enabled to present the body of evidence obtained in a convenient form for future reference.

But owing to a variety of causes, partly local and partly arising out of the strangeness of the circumstances in which we were placed, we soon found that much delay was caused by irregularity in the attendance of witnesses.

It then became necessary, in order to avoid expense and loss of time, and notwithstanding the inconvenience incident to the derangement of our plan, to take the evidence of such persons as were at hand, numbers of whom were daily presenting themselves before us, especially from the lately disturbed districts, for the purpose of tendering their evidence.

We were thus compelled, by the force of practical exigencies, to depart from the systematic arrangement which we had prescribed.

5. So far, however, as circumstances permitted, we have endeavoured to marshall the evidence in order of subjects.

6. We have, moreover, with a view to remedying the inconvenience of the defective arrangement of the evidence, appended to our Report a classified in addition to a general index of the witnesses.

7. But besides the difficulty of enforcing adherence to method in the distribution of the evidence, we encountered one of a still more serious complexion in the nature of the evidence itself.

In many cases the witnesses manifested a singular ignorance of the nature and value of evidence, as well as a misconception of the proper scope of the inquiry.

As regards the negroes, it is enough to recall the fact that they were for the most part uneducated peasants, speaking in accents strange to the ear, often in a phraseology of their own, with vague conceptions of number and time, unaccustomed to definiteness or accuracy of speech, and, in many cases, still smarting under a sense of injuries sustained.

Many of them, again, misconceived the object of the Commission, and came to tell their tale of houses burnt or property lost, in the undisguised hope of obtaining compensation. Some also heard of the money which was being paid out of the funds at our disposal to those who travelled to Spanish Town to give evidence.

Even as regards the other witnesses, many even of the educated class could often scarcely be restrained from giving opinions in general and positive terms as equivalent to facts, or from stating as facts within their own knowledge matter communicated to them by others.

A considerable body of evidence, especially in relation to the state of the Island, was thus tendered, which, on being sifted by us, proved of but little value.

The result of these tendencies on the part of so large a number of the witnesses has been the accumulation of a vast mass of evidence, much of which is vague, unimportant, and remote from the subject of inquiry.

8. Upon a review, however, of the evidence as a whole, and with a full appreciation of the gravity of the defects, in substance as well as in form, to which we have adverted, we are nevertheless satisfied that all such defects are more than compensated by their collateral results.

If we have erred on the side of a too great facility in giving audience to all persons, of whatever class, at whatever stage of the inquiry they might present themselves, and in receiving evidence in many cases but little pertinent or material, and if, moreover, in consequence, the evidence taken is more or less wanting in order and somewhat redundant, we have yet the satisfaction of feeling that the inquiry has been both thorough in fact and thorough likewise in the estimation of the persons most concerned.

No difficulties in point of form have been suffered to bar access to our tribunal; no material witness, of whatever colour or party, has been denied a patient hearing; no material evidence has been excluded by a too rigid circumscription of the limits of the Inquiry; and therefore we trust that any incidental formal defects will be thought of minor consequence, in comparison with the object which throughout we have regarded as paramount,—that of the fullness, thoroughness, and impartiality of the inquiry.

9. There is, however, yet another observation to be made, arising out of a circumstance not always appearing on the face of the evidence.

Some of the evidence which we have received was wholly unworthy of credit, and has been discarded by us in the preparation of our Report.

We should have been glad if we, who

witnessed the deportment of witnesses, and had the opportunity of comparing their evidence with one another, could have distinguished those upon whose testimony we could not rely. To have done so, however, we must have entered minutely and at length into details which seemed to us to be inconsistent with the character of our Report.

10. We proceed to give a brief account of the mode in which the evidence was presented to us, as well as to state the principle upon which we acted in defining the limits of the inquiry.

11. In any ordinary investigation of a judicial character, the conduct of the proceedings is vested in recognized officers with well-understood functions, and by such a course the great object of all such inquiries, the ascertainment of the truth, is best secured.

In the case, however, of the inquiry which we have been commissioned to institute, these ordinary aids towards the discovery of the truth were wanting.

To supply them, so far as the nature of the case admitted, we determined at the outset to appoint a solicitor, to whom should be entrusted, subject to the superintendence of the Secretary, the duty of marshalling the evidence, summoning witnesses, and taking preliminary depositions.

At the same time we took an early opportunity of notifying that the Inquiry was an open one; that we were anxious to obtain the fullest information touching the subjects referred to us; that we desired to summon all such witnesses as might appear likely to afford us information; and that we should be glad to receive assistance from every quarter in prosecuting our object.

We also publicly declared, that in our capacity as Your Majesty's Commissioners we were to be regarded as the representatives of all classes equally of Your Majesty's subjects in the Island.

12. One of the most serious difficulties, however, with which we had to contend, consisted in grappling with the vast mass of evidence which was tendered in support of the allegation of excessive and unlawful severity in the suppression of the disturbances. We were informed that there were some 300 witnesses to be examined with respect to the graver cases comprised in that branch of the inquiry, independently of the far more numerous cases of the burning of houses.

The sufferers were mostly poor persons of the peasant class, living at a considerable distance from Spanish Town.

It became necessary to adopt some course which, while securing to ourselves the proper control over the proceedings, should at the same time ensure a thorough and searching inquiry into the extent and nature of the severities inflicted.

13. We resolved, therefore, to institute, under our own direction, an official visitation of the lately disturbed districts, with a view to a report being made to us of the number and value of houses destroyed in the course of the suppression.

14. Having thus provided for an exhaustive investigation of one main branch of the grievances alleged, we determined also to investigate on the spot all the other alleged cases of a grave kind involving loss of life, or circumstances of special hardship.

15. In pursuance of this determination, the Commission was opened on two several occasions in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. On each occasion the Commissioner engaged in the investigation traversed the district, and was occupied for several days in examining witnesses.

All the graver cases of repression which have been brought to our knowledge have thus been individually investigated.

The results of the evidence so taken have been carefully digested, and compared with the official Returns, and will, together with the official Report on the subject of the houses destroyed, be found in the Appendix.

16. We are thus enabled to present Returns, compiled or verified on the spot, for the accuracy of which we can vouch, and which will offer as near an approximation to the number of lives lost and houses destroyed in the course of the suppression, as we believe the nature of the case will admit.

17. At an early period in our proceedings we were called upon to define some principle by which to guide ourselves in restraining the inquiry within proper limits.

Under the terms of Your Majesty's Commission, which direct us to make inquiry into the "origin" of the disturbances, we were solicited to admit evidence with respect to a great variety of subjects, embracing almost the whole range of Island politics for several years past. The limitation, however, of the object of our inquiry to the subject of the late disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East seemed to prescribe a natural limit to the range of the investigation. Accordingly we resolved, as far as we could, to confine ourselves to an examination of the causes which proximately and directly led to the disturbances.

While, therefore, we were ready to entertain any subject, however general in character, which seemed to satisfy this

requirement, we made it our endeavour, on the other hand, to reject all evidence which, either in point of time or place, failed to conform to the above standard.

18. Your Majesty's Commission was first fully constituted in Jamaica, on the arrival at Kingston of those of us who joined the President of the Commission, on Saturday the 20th of January.

The Commission was formally opened on the following Tuesday.

On Thursday the 25th of January we began to take evidence.

From that day until the 21st of March we sat from day to day continuously, with scarcely an intermission.

Since the 21st of March we have held three additional sittings, for the purpose of receiving further evidence.

In the course of the first-named period we paid several visits to the scene of the late disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

On the first occasion we all visited Morant Bay and Stony Gut, and took evidence on the spot.

On the second occasion, Mr. Russell Gurney, availing himself of the power conferred by Your Majesty upon any one or more of us of holding a separate Court, visited Morant Bay, Bath, and Manchioneal.

At each of those places he sat as Commissioner, and examined in all 140 witnesses from the several adjacent districts.

On the last occasion Mr. Maule sat in the like capacity at Monklands, Leith Hall, Golden Grove, and Morant Bay, and took the evidence of eighty-two witnesses.

On both occasions on which one of the Commissioners was thus engaged in examining witnesses in St. Thomas-in-the-East, sittings were concurrently held by the others, as usual, at Spanish Town.

The total number of days occupied in the examination of witnesses has been fifty-one.

The total number of separate sittings amounts to sixty.

The total number of witnesses examined before us in the course of the inquiry is 730.

19. We have thus set forth a statement of the course which we have pursued in conducting the solemn inquiry which Your Majesty has been pleased to entrust to us.

It has been our endeavour to investigate calmly, thoroughly, and impartially, the origin, nature, and circumstances of the lamentable events, the intelligence of which affected Your Majesty with so much concern.

In the process of that investigation, we have collected full evidence respecting the disturbances, respecting the means adopted in the course of the suppression of the same, and respecting likewise the conduct of those concerned in such disturbances and suppression.

With the full information before us, derived from the evidence deduced upon each and all of these important subjects, we have anxiously sought to arrive at a deliberate and a just decision upon the whole case referred to us.

And, lastly, in submitting for Your Majesty's information the body of evidence which we have collected, we have also, in obedience to Your Majesty's commands, not failed to report, with respect to the many grave and momentous issues directly involved, the opinions which, in the discharge of a difficult and painful public duty, we have felt ourselves bound to form upon the foundation of established facts.

The Origin and Outbreak of the Disturbances.

The first resistance to lawful authority occurred on Saturday, the 7th of October, 1865.

On that day, which was also market day, a Court of Petty Sessions was held at Morant Bay.

The business which came before the magistrates during the early part of the day was of an ordinary description, consisting principally of charges of assault, and of the use of abusive language by negroes towards persons of the same class.

Among other cases of this description, there was a charge of assault, brought by a woman against a boy. He was found guilty by the magistrates, and sentenced to a fine of 4*s.* and the payment of the costs, which amounted to 12*s.* 6*d.*

When the defendant was called upon to pay this amount, a person of the name of Geoghegan interfered, and told him to pay the amount of the fine only, and not to pay the costs.

This caused so much disturbance in the Court, that business was for a time suspended, and the magistrates ordered that Geoghegan, who was speaking very loud and causing the disturbance, should be brought before them. The constables laid hold of Geoghegan for that purpose, but he was rescued by bystanders, and left the Court House. He was followed by the police, who attempted to retake him; but a considerable number of persons having come to his assistance, the police were beaten, and compelled to retreat without effecting their object. When

order was in some degree restored, a summons, in which Lewis Miller was the defendant, was called on for hearing. This case, from the interest which was felt in it, had caused a numerous attendance at the Court House on that day.

It arose out of a dispute relating to an estate in the neighbourhood of Stony Gut, not far from Morant Bay, a portion of which had been leased out to small occupiers. Some years ago the occupiers had refused to pay rent for their holdings, on the ground that the land was free, and the estate belonged to the Queen.

The question was then tried, and decided against the occupiers. During the last summer there seems to have been a disposition again to raise the same question, and a refusal to pay rent was accompanied by the statement that the land was free.

It was for a trespass on a part of this estate that Miller, who was one of the occupiers, was summoned.

The case was heard and decided against him, and notice given of an appeal against the decision.

On the following Monday, informations having been taken upon oath, warrants were issued for the apprehension of two persons of the name of Bogle, and several others who were stated to have taken an active part in the riot of the previous Saturday.

These warrants were placed in the hands of a policeman who, with five other policemen and two rural constables proceeded early on Tuesday morning the 10th of October to Stony Gut, a Negro Settlement about five miles from Morant Bay, where Paul Bogle and some other of the alleged rioters lived.

They found Paul Bogle in his yard, and told him that they had a warrant for his apprehension.

He desired to have the warrant read to him, which was done. He then said that he would not go, and upon one of the policemen proceeding to apprehend him he cried out, "Help, here." At the same time a man named Grant, who was with him, and was addressed as "Captain," called out, "Turn out, men." Almost immediately a body of men, variously estimated at from 300 to 500, armed with cutlasses, sticks, and spikes, rushed out from a chapel where Bogle was in the habit of preaching, and from an adjoining cane field, and attacked the policemen.

The policemen were, of course, overpowered. Some of them were severely beaten. Three of the number were made prisoners, and detained for several hours, and were ultimately released only upon their taking an oath that henceforth they would "join their colour," that they would "cleave to the black."

It was stated by Bogle, in the presence of the policemen, that they had expected to go to Morant Bay that day, but that it was then late; that on the morrow there was to be a vestry held at the Bay, and that they expected to come down. It was said by others that they intended to come down to the Bay "to kill all the white men and all the black men that would not join them."

Information of what had taken place, and of the threat to come down on the following day, was on the same Tuesday evening given to the Inspector of Police at Morant Bay, and to Baron Ketelhodt, the Custos of the Parish. In consequence of this information the Custos summoned the Volunteers of the district to assemble at Morant Bay, and at the same time wrote to the Governor for military aid.

On Wednesday the 11th of October the Vestry, consisting of certain elected members, and of the Magistrates, who were members *ex officio*, assembled in the Court House at Morant Bay at about 12 o'clock, and proceeded with their ordinary business till between three and four o'clock, when notice was given that a crowd of people was approaching.

The Volunteers were hastily called together, and almost immediately afterwards a body of men, armed with cutlasses, sticks, muskets, and bayonets, after having attacked the Police Station, and obtained possession of such arms as were there deposited, were seen entering a large open space facing the Court House in front of which the Volunteers had been drawn up. Baron Ketelhodt went out to the steps, and called to the people to know what they wanted. He received no answer, and his cries of "Peace, peace," were met by cries from the crowd of "War."

As the advancing people drew near, the Volunteers retired till they reached the steps of the Court House. The Custos then began to read the Riot Act. While he was in the act of reading it stones were thrown at the Volunteers, and Captain Hitchins, who commanded them, was struck in the forehead. The Captain, having received authority from the Custos, then gave the word to fire. The order was obeyed, and some of the people were seen to fall.

There was some conflict of evidence on the point, whether stones were thrown before the firing commenced. That fact, however, was, as it appears to us, clearly established by the testimony of a large number of witnesses, although there were some who stated that they did not see any stones thrown until after the firing.

One witness fixes the time of the throwing of the stones. He saw stones thown, and immediately left the place before the firing commenced, which he heard but did not see.

Another, again, who did not see the stones thrown, saw the face of the captain bleeding before he gave the order to fire.

The apparent contradiction may, we think, be easily reconciled. It is possible that the eyes of those who did not see the stones thrown were fixed on the main body who were advancing towards the Volunteers, while the stones were apparently thrown by women, who had been observed carrying them, and by others who were walking at the side of the main body.

At the time of the discharge of the rifles, the mob were close upon the Volunteers. The rioters instantly rushed upon them, and succeeded in disarming some of them. The rest they compelled either to flee or to take shelter in the Court House.

Here were assembled the Magistrates and other members of the Vestry, with such of the Volunteers as had succeeded in effecting an entrance.

Some escaped at once by the back windows, but the greater part remained for a considerable time, being pelted with stones and fired at from the outside; such of the Volunteers as had retained their guns also firing from the inside.

A cry was then heard, "Go and fetch fire;" "Burn the brutes out." Bogle in particular said, "Let us put fire upon the Court House. If we don't, we will not manage the Volunteers and the Buckra."

Very shortly afterwards men were seen to set fire to the School House, which adjoined the Court Hourse. Then, after a time, the fire spread from the roof of the one building to that of the other.

As the roof of the Court House was beginning to fall in, the inmates were compelled to leave the building; and it being now dark they sought to conceal themselves in different places in the vicinity.

Some remained undiscovered throughout the night, but others were dragged from their hiding places, and one by one either beaten to death or left for dead on the ground.

The number of persons killed by the rioters in or about the Court House appears to have been eighteen, and the number of the wounded to have amounted to thirty-one.

After this the town remained in possession of the rioters. The gaolers were compelled to throw open the prison doors, and fifty-one prisoners who were there confined were released.

Several stores were attacked, and from one of them a considerable quantity of gunpowder was taken. Previous to the attack upon the Volunteers, an unsuccessful attempt had been made to obtain gunpowder from the same store.

An attempt was made to force the door of the Magazine, where above 300 serviceable stands of arms were stored. Happily the endeavour was not successful.

It became of course very important to ascertain whether what occurred on this day was an accidental riot, followed, when passion was excited in the heat of the contest, by the killing of opponents, or whether it had its origin in a planned resistance to the constituted authorities, and whether the killings were premeditated murders.

In considering this point it is necessary to refer to the conduct and declarations of those who took an active part in the riot before and upon the 11th of October.

It was proved that two or three weeks before that time meetings had been held at some meeting houses in the neighbourhood of Morant Bay, at which an oath was administered, and the names of the persons sworn were taken down. The terms of the oath were not shown. All that was proved before us respecting it was that an oath was administered, a pledge of secrecy required, and the names of the persons sworn registered.

One witness was told by Alick Taylor (who was one of the persons sworn in his presence, and who moreover was during the sitting of the Commission convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for life for the part which he had taken in the disturbances,) that what they wanted was to have the back lands to work for nothing, and that they were going to kill the Buckra.

At the time too of the burning of the Court House it was stated by Moses Bogle to one person who had been invited by him to attend one of the meetings, "This is the same affair I sent to call you about."

Another meeting, at which a similar course was pursued, was shown to have been held at Coley, a place about ten miles from Morant Bay, on the night of the 9th of October. Those who were present, and who went through the form of swearing, were told that they were to go down to the Bay the next day, and that they would hear what it was for.

At another of these meetings Bogle stated that he must have fifty men from each place, and a captain to each set.

Moreover, one witness who attended a

meeting on the 3rd of October, at which an oath was administered to him, and his name registered, was suddenly summoned from his bed late at night on the 9th to go to Stony Gut. Upon his arrival there he was told that the Volunteers and policemen were coming, and that he must assist in keeping guard. He remained in the chapel all night, and was one of those who answered to Bogle's call for help when the police arrived on the following morning.

It has already been mentioned that on the arrival of the policemen at Stony Gut on that morning some of them were compelled to take an oath, and that the purport of that oath was that they would "cleave to the blacks."

It was admitted too by a very unwilling witness, that for a week before the 11th of October the person before described as Captain Grant had been in the habit of drilling the men at Stony Gut; and it was stated by one of the constables who was detained in Bogle's house on the 10th that he saw a number of men drilled in companies by Moses Bogle and a person who was called Colonel Bowie. The account, in fact, which was given us of the proceedings on this occasion was so circumstantial that it deserves a place here. Paul Bogle said, "Colonel Bowie, take the men out to drill." Immediately, as we were told, about 300 men, armed with cutlasses, sticks, and lances, assembled about Bogle's house in three companies; one under Bowie, who appears to have taken the lead, a second under Moses Bogle, and the third under James Dacres.

One company at a time went out to drill; the other two remaining in the yard of Bogle's house, "Colonel" Bowie's was the first company to be drilled; he ordered his men to fall in in threes, and gave the word of command, "March." They marched out in order with drum and shells, and practised marching and the use of their cutlasses. When Bowie's men came back, Moses Bogle took out one of the other companies.

Altogether the drilling occupied about three quarters of an hour.

On the morning of the 10th small parties were seen going, with fife and drum, in the direction from Stony Gut towards Coley, Somerset, and Mount Lebanus, and some of them were again seen in the evening returning with greatly increased numbers.

The conduct of the rioters on Wednesday, the 11th of October, was also very significant. They came, or, as some of the witnesses described it, marched into Morant Bay in different parties. There were individuals who exercised over them some sort of authority, one being addressed as Colonel, another as captain. The larger body came from Stony Gut, where they had been collected from different places in the immediate neighbourhood. Others came from a distance of several miles from beyond Bath, while one large body, nearly 100 in number, came from Torrington, a large negro settlement to the north of Stony Gut, and joined those from the latter place at the entrance to Morant Bay.

Here the first thing done was to attack the police station, and to obtain possession of the arms placed there, consisting of muskets, bayonets, and pistols.

The muskets, however, proved to be of little use, as they were without flints. Upon this being discovered by their new possessors, they were heard to say, "How can they fight us when they have no flints to their guns."

It has already been stated that at this time an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain gunpowder from a shop in the town.

Out of the very few persons assembled in the Court House who were allowed to escape, two were doctors, one of whom was told that if he had not been a doctor he would have been killed like the rest. Another pretended to be a doctor, and was let go by Bogle upon his swearing that he would not dress a white man's wound. A fourth was a Maroon.

There was manifested, indeed, throughout these disturbances, a great desire to conciliate the Maroons, and a great fear of offending them. "Be careful what you do with this man, he is a Maroon," was sufficient to obtain the release of one of the policemen who was taken before McLaren, "The Captain of the Guard," and of one of his companions for whom he interceded. "Don't kill this man; he is a Maroon; the Maroon is our back," was the expression used by Bogle respecting one who had been taken prisoner,

"I am a Maroon, and if any one disturbs any one in my house I shall send for the Maroons," was the exclamation of a woman, of itself sufficient to frighten away a crowd of men intent upon violence.

We were unable to learn upon what foundation the hope of support from this singular people rested. Occupying as they do a mountainous district, difficult of access, and commanding the road from the north to the south of the Island, they had it in their power to afford most valuable assistance to any rising which might take place in St. Thomas-in-the-East. The only communication shown to us to have taken place between them and Bogle

occurred three or four weeks before the 11th of October, when Bogle paid a visit to the Maroon settlement at Hayfield in the neighbourhood of Bath, accompanied by Bowie and Bailey, both of whom were shown to have taken an active part with him in subsequent proceedings.

In this visit Bogle spoke of the grievances under which he said the people laboured from nonpayment of sufficient wages and the undue imposition of taxes.

He does not, however, appear to have obtained any encouragement from his audience, or to have said any thing as to any future plans.

Bowie, on the other hand, is represented to have said to one of the party that their intention was to beat the whites and browns out of the country, but that they were afraid of the Maroons, and wanted them not to interfere.

Among the members of the vestry deliberately murdered in the course of the night of the 11th was a Mr. Price, a negro, who had by his abilities raised himself to a position in life superior to that of most of his race.

When he was first caught, a discussion was overheard as to what should be his fate. One said, "Kill him." Another said, "Don't kill him; we have orders to kill no black, only white." "He has a black skin but a white heart," was the reply, and he was beaten to death.

It was proved that after the murders Bogle returned to Stony Gut, and that there was a service in his chapel in which he returned thanks to God that he "went to this work, and that God had succeeded him in his work."

With this evidence before us it was impossible to avoid arriving at the conclusion that there was on the part of the leaders of the rioters a preconcerted plan, and that murder was distinctly contemplated.

We ought, however, to advert to the following letter signed by Bogle and nineteen others, and addressed to the Governor:—

"We, the petitioners of St. Thomas-in-the-East, send to inform your Excellency of the mean advantages that has been taken of us from time to time, and more especially this present time, when on Saturday, 7th of this month, an outrageous assault was committed upon us by the policemen of this parish, by order of the Justices, which occasion an outbreaking for which warrants have been issued against innocent person, of which we were compelled to resist. We, therefore, call upon your Excellency for protection, seeing we are Her Majesty's loyal subjects, which protection, if refused to will be compelled to put our shoulders to the wheel, as we have been imposed upon for a period of twenty-seven years with due obeisance to the laws of our Queen and country, and we can no longer endure the same, therefore is our object of calling upon your Excellency as Governor-in-Chief and Captain of our Island, and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray."

This letter was on the 10th of October, at some time after noon, given to a messenger, to be delivered to the Governor at Spanish Town, distant from Stony Gut about fifty miles, and was delivered at the Governor's house between ten and eleven o'clock on the following morning.

It seemed to be relied upon as showing the peaceable intentions of the writers. We confess we cannot look upon it in that light.

Its language is that of scarcely concealed defiance, and looking at its terms, at the time at which it was written, and the acts by which it was accompanied and followed, it seems to us to partake rather of the character of a manifesto preparatory to and attempting to justify a recourse to violence.

The designs of some of the insurgents, and the hopes entertained by others, will more clearly appear from what passed during the three days following the rising on Wednesday the 11th.

During the evening and night of the 11th some of those who had escaped from the Court House were concealed in places where they had the opportunity of overhearing the conversation of the insurgents. One heard them say that on the following day they were to go to Bath. Another, who was close to what he described as their guard-room, to which their prisoners were taken, learned that they were to meet at Stony Gut at two o'clock in the morning; that one party was to go and gather more men; another to proceed to Port Morant and the Plantain Garden River District. These plans appear to have been carried out. We find that there was a meeting at Bogle's in the course of the night, and that men were carried as prisoners by armed parties to Bogle's house; that one was compelled to swear that he would leave the whites and cleave to the blacks; and another was promised that if he would join Bogle he should have the land which he leased for his own from generation to generation; that early on the following morning a party consisting of 200 men armed with guns and bayonets mounted on sticks, and with shells blowing, proceeded to Coley, a few miles to the north-west of Stony Gut, endeavouring to obtain fresh support, and compelling persons, under the threat of immediate death, to

swear that they would henceforth join the blacks; that Bath and the estates in the Plantain Garden River District were attacked in the course of the day, and Port Morant on the day following.

The first party who entered Bath came in search of the ammunition belonging to the Volunteer Corps, which had been kept in the house of their late captain.

Later in the day a much larger party came marching in military order, with flags flying and drums beating. They had complete possession of the town till the following day, when on hearing the well-known horn of the Maroons, who, at the request of a magistrate resident there, came to the relief of the inhabitants, they fled from the place.

The stores in the town were pillaged, and property to a large amount was taken or destroyed.

The few white and almost all the coloured inhabitants fled to the bush.

The estates attacked in the course of that day and night were all situated within a few miles of Bath.

At an estate in Blue Mountain Valley, a few miles on the west side of Bath, an armed party of about fifty men, under the command of one addressed as Captain Wilson, attacked the book-keeper, who received wounds, from the effects of which he shortly afterwards died. The life of the son of the owner, who had lately arrived from England, was threatened, and saved through the zealous intercession of his coloured overseer.

At Amity Hall, on the other side of Bath, which was attacked by 400 men, Mr. Hire was murdered, and his son left for dead; while Mr. Jackson, the stipendiary magistrate, and Mr. Creighton, were severely wounded, the latter so severely that it seemed scarcely possible that he should survive.

The account given by some of the actors themselves of their proceedings at Amity Hall is remarkable.

They said in the hearing of a witness that they had murdered Hire, and would kill his son; that as soon as Jackson said he was a friend of Gordon they rubbed him up, and brought him to life; and that they had set fire to Dr. Crowdy's bed, but that when they discovered that he was a doctor they put it out.

The houses upon the other estates in the neighbourhood were attacked and plundered, but in no other case was murder committed. Search, indeed, was made for different persons connected with the estates, and the intention of killing them if found was openly avowed, but the persons sought for either were absent or succeeded in making their escape, being in most cases assisted by some of their own labourers.

In one case, "I am Manning of the Maroons" seems to have been sufficient to enable Mr. Manning to secure the safety of those for whom he was interested.

Monklands, which is about sixteen miles up the valley from Morant Bay, was attacked by a party of above fifty men, armed with guns, cutlasses, bayonets, and swords.

At Hordley, an estate in the Plantain Garden River District, a large party of women and children, above twenty in number, were obliged to hide in the wood for the night, and to conceal themselves during the whole of the following day and night, until the advance of a small body of troops enabled them to reach a place of safety. And a faithful black servant, who assisted them in escaping, was herself compelled to flee in consequence of her life being threatened.

Whitehall, an estate in the Blue Mountain Valley, was attacked by a smaller party. The proprietor, Mr. Smith, was sought for, but escaped in the bush. He died shortly afterwards from the effects of exposure.

There was one curious exception to the rule generally followed, of destroying the furniture found in the houses, and that was in the case of Golden-grove, one of the most valuable properties in the eastern part of the island. When it was proposed by one to go over to what was called the Great House, the answer was, "that is to be saved for Paul Bogle; those were the orders of the general."

It is always difficult to know how far to rely on the accuracy of ordinary observers when estimating numbers. But there were witnesses who gave evidence as to the number of the insurgents on this day having been at one place 1500, and at another as many as 2000, all or the great majority of whom were armed with various kinds of weapons.

It is impossible not to attach some importance also to the cries which were heard, as not unfrequently the real object of the body of men from which they proceed is thereby disclosed. "Colour for Colour," was the cry everywhere during the short time that the disturbances lasted.

"Blood, blood," "We want blood," was heard at one place.

"We must humble the white man before us," "We are going to take the lives of the white men, but not to hurt the ladies," was what was said in the hearing of the widow of one of the persons killed at Morant Bay.

"Hurra! Buckra country for us. Never mind the Buckra women; we can get them when we want," was the cry upon one estate.

"We want the Buckra men to kill, but we don't want the women now; we will have them afterwards," was what was heard upon another, by a faithful woman, who succeeded in hiding her mistress and all the members of her family.

Again, "Don't burn the trash house; we want sugar to make for ourselves;" and "Don't set fire to the house; only kill the white man, for when we have done that we have the house to live in for myself," were exclamations heard elsewhere.

The several estates to which reference has hitherto been made were all situated to the north or east of Morant Bay. The only movement in an opposite quarter which was made on this same day was in the direction of White Horses, a place four miles to the west of Morant Bay. There a party of thirty or forty persons attacked a shop, plundered the house, and compelled the owners to promise to go over to the side of the blacks.

During the next three days the insurgents continued their course through Port Morant northward to Manchioneal, and on to Mulatto river and Elmwood, the last of which places is situated in the most northerly part of St. Thomas-in-the-East, where that parish abuts upon Portland.

As they advanced with the cry of "Colour for Colour" they were joined by a considerable number of the blacks, who readily assisted in the work of plundering. The houses and stores were sacked. The intention also of taking the lives of the whites was openly avowed, and diligent search was made for particular individuals. But in each case the imperilled persons had timely notice, and sought safety in flight.

Elmwood was the point furthest from Morant Bay to which the disturbances extended, as on Sunday the 15th the troops arrived at Port Antonio, and put a stop to the further progress of the insurgents northwards.

Thus it will be seen that in the course of these few days the insurgents had spread over a tract of country extending from White Horses, a few miles to the west of Morant Bay, to Elmwood, at a distance of upwards of thirty miles to the north-east of that place.

They seem to have been under the impression that they would be allowed to remain in possession of the estates.

Not only were the crops uninjured, and the buildings for the most part preserved, but the intention was openly avowed of proceeding to take up the crops.

"We are going down the river to take up the crops," was the statement of one man at Manchioneal, who just before had been telling of the events in the district of the Plantain Garden River, and how he and others "had downed that fellow Hire."

And by several of a party of armed negroes who entered Machioneal Bay it was openly said that they were going down next week to take off the crops, and take charge of the estates.

During these latter days very little was seen, by any of the witnesses, of Bogle or of those who were associated with him in the original outbreak.

It has been already mentioned that he returned to Stony Gut on the night of the 11th. He was still there with Craddock, McLaren, and Bowie on the afternoon of the 12th. On that occasion a large number of men met in the chapel, some of whom were afterwards drilled. They were then addressed by Bogle and Craddock. They were told "that this country would belong to them, and that they were about getting it, to take possession, that they had been long trodden under sandals," that the country "had long been theirs, and they must keep it wholly in possession."

When the people separated it was arranged that those who lived on the valley side should leave for their homes, and that "when the enemy came" they should send a messenger to let the men in Stony Gut know, and that if any came towards Stony Gut information should be given to the men in the valley.

The next day Bogle and McLaren were seen at Chigoe Foot Market, at the head of 200 men, marching up the valley.

On the 15th he was at Mount Lebanus Chapel with more than 100 men, when the alarm was given that the soldiers were coming.

He then gave directions to the men that they should get their arms loaded, and that those who knew that their arms were not loaded should go and get powder and load their guns.

Later in the day it was mentioned in the hearing of a witness, who was for several days detained as a prisoner at Fonthill, that when on that day the troops were coming over a hill in the immediate vicinity of the insurgents, Bogle was in force, and advanced to give them battle, but that he was dissuaded by Cowell, one of the most active of his associates, and that his followers then became panic-stricken and took to flight.

In corroboration of this account it is in

evidence that Bogle was seen, and pursued by General Jackson, who accompanied the troops on that day, at a time when the insurgents were seen to be dispersing.

On the following day he went with a very small number of followers to the Maroon settlement at Hayfield, but found that all the men had left, and were employed in guarding Bath.

From that time nothing appears to have been heard of him until the 23rd, when he was apprehended by the Maroons, and taken as a prisoner to Morant Bay.

In reporting the result of our inquiry into the origin of the disturbances it is necessary to allude to peculiar circumstances affecting the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Mr. Gordon was a proprietor, and had been a magistrate in that parish, and had taken an active part in parochial concerns.

Among other things he had complained of the unhealthy state of a building at Morant Bay used as a lock-up house, and had caused inquiry to be made into the conduct of a brother magistrate in relation to that matter. The result of the inquiry was, that while the building was condemned as unfit for its purpose, he was thought to have made charges against the magistrate which he must have known to be untrue. On this ground he was dismissed by the Governor from the magistracy, and his dismissal was approved by the Home Government.

He had been also elected to fill the office of churchwarden, but his right to act in that capacity was disputed on the ground of his not being a member of the Church of England.

This alleged want of qualification formed the subject of an action at law, in which Mr. Gordon was the plaintiff, and Baron Ketelhodt, the Custos of the Parish, was the defendant.

The action was twice tried, and on each occasion a verdict was found for the defendant, and an application for a third trial was still pending in the month of October.

By the law of Jamaica the parochial expenses are not defrayed out of a local rate but out of the general funds of the Island, on the application of the vestry, sanctioned by the approval of the Executive Government. As the Custos in questioning the right of Mr. Gordon to sit at the vestry as churchwarden had acted at the request and as the chairman of that body, they had included the costs incurred in defending the action brought by Mr. Gordon in their parochial estimate; and the Executive Committee, after taking advice of the Attorney-General, had approved of the estimates so framed.

All these proceedings had produced considerable irritation in the western part of the parish, and especially among the members of the Native Baptist Communion to which Mr. Gordon belonged.

There were other causes for irritation existing alike in St. Thomas-in-the-East and in other parts of the Island. These arose from the alleged lowness of the rate of wages and irregularity in their payment, and the difficulty of obtaining relief from alleged injustice in consequence of the constitution of the magistracy.

The magistrates are principally planters and persons connected with the management of estates. Those who are not so connected are for the most part engaged in business, and their attendance is very irregular. The consequence is, that disputes between employers and labourers, and questions relating to the occupation of land, which are decided in the first instance at petty sessions, are adjudicated upon by those whose interests and feelings are supposed to be hostile to the labourer and the occupier.

We had a great deal of evidence on these subjects, and it did not appear to us that the rate of wages was low, but rather that the smallness of the sums frequently received by the labourer at the end of the week arose from the unwillingness to labour for more than a very limited time.

Nor was it proved before us that there was unfairness on the part of the managers of estates in the payment of wages.

Disputes, however, must frequently arise upon such subjects, and it was clear to us that the difficulties in the way of seeking relief by law were very great, and it was not to be expected that, constituted as the bench of magistrates at present is, it would have the confidence of the labourers.

The evils resulting from the want of a good Master and Servant Act, by which summary relief might be obtained before an independent and impartial tribunal, are evidently very great.

But the originators of the outbreak do not appear generally to have belonged to the labouring class. They were for the most part what are called free settlers, occupying and cultivating small patches of land, and placed in better circumstances than the ordinary labourer.

Their great desire was to obtain, free from the payment of rent, what are called the "back lands."

"Soon we shall have the lands free, and then we shall have to pay no rent," was the answer received by one rent collector in the summer of 1865.

Other evidence of the same description was given, showing that there was both in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and in some other parts of the Island, a vague expectation that in some way the occupiers were in future to be freed from the payment of rent.

THE SUPPRESSION.

1.—THE MEASURES ADOPTED.

The Despatch of Troops. Proclamation of Martial Law.

It is right that we should now relate the means by which this apparently formidable insurrection was checked and finally suppressed.

The letter of Baron Ketelhodt, written on the 10th of October, and requesting military aid, was received by the Governor at Spanish Town on the following morning.

Expresses were immediately sent off to Major-General O'Connor at Kingston, requesting him to get ready 100 men for immediate embarcation, and to the senior naval officer at Port Royal, requesting that a man-of-war might at once be sent up to Kingston to receive the troops, and convey them without delay to Morant Bay.

These requests were at once complied with, and the troops arrived at Morant Bay in time to preserve that place from a second attack of the insurgents.

On the following morning the Governor received information of the events of the 11th, that the Court House had been burnt down, many persons murdered, and the prisoners released; and also that the insurgents were marching up the valley on the line of the Yallahs River.

In consequence of this information an additional force was sent to Morant Bay, and troops were ordered to march from Newcastle towards the Blue Mountain Valley, to stop the progress of the insurgents in that direction.

The Privy Council were then summoned. They met on the evening of the 12th, and all the information which had been received up to that time was laid before them. They came unanimously to the conclusion that it would be desirable at once to proclaim martial law. By an Act of the Local Legislature of 9 Vict. c. 35, after a recital that the appearance of public danger by invasion or otherwise may sometimes render the imposition of martial law necessary, but that, from experience of the mischief and calamities attending it, it must ever be considered as amongst the greatest of evils, it is provided that martial law should not in future be declared or imposed but by the opinion and advice of a Council of War.

By another section of the same Act it was provided, that the Governor, the members of the Privy Council and of the House of Assembly, with certain naval and militia officers, should be members of the Council of War, and that not less than twenty-one should be a quorum.

This Council was summoned to meet on the morning of the 13th, and was attended by about thirty members, among whom were men of all parties in the Island.

The opinion of the Chief Justice was required by the Governor, and given; and it was unanimously resolved that martial law should be at once declared over the whole of the county of Surry, with the exception of the town of Kingston.

The only point upon which any difference of opinion was manifested at this meeting was, as to whether Kingston should not be included. One witness, indeed, who was present, stated it to be his impression that the Governor had proposed that martial law should be declared over a more extended area. No one else, however, seems to have had this impression, and it is clear that it was the result of mistake.

The original draft of the Proclamation prepared by the Attorney-General by the direction of the Governor was laid before us; and on comparing it with the actual Proclamation agreed to by the Council, we found that the area agreed upon by the Council was somewhat more extensive than that originally suggested by the Governor.

The following is a copy of the Proclamation:—

"Jamaica S.S.

"Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, and of Jamaica Supreme Lady, Defender of the Faith.

"To all Our loving subjects.

"Whereas We are certified of the committal of grievous trespasses and felonies within the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East of this Our Island of Jamaica, and have reason for expecting that the same may be extended to the neighbouring parishes of the county of Surry of Our said Island: We do hereby, by the authority to Us committed by the laws of this Our Island, declare and announce to all whom it may concern that martial law shall prevail throughout the said county of Surry, except in the city and parish of

Kingston; and that Our military forces shall have all power of exercising the rights of belligerents against such of the inhabitants of the said county, except as aforesaid, as Our military forces may consider opposed to Our government, and the well-being of Our loving subjects.

"Given at Head Quarter House, Kingston, on the 13th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and in the 29th year of Our reign.

"Witness, his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over Our said Island of Jamaica, and other the territories thereon depending in America, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of British Honduras, Chancellor of Our said Island of Jamaica, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

"(Signed) E. Eyre.

"By his Excellency's command.

"(Signed) Edward Jordon,

"Governor's Secretary."

We are of opinion that the Legislature of Jamaica, in the recital to the Act just referred to, have not in any sense exaggerated the magnitude of the evils attending martial law, and we are confirmed in that opinion by what is shown to have taken place in the Island during the few weeks of its continuance.

But with the full knowledge of all that has occurred we are nevertheless also of opinion that upon the information before them, and with the knowledge they possessed of the state and circumstances of the Island, the Council of War had good reason for the advice which they gave, and that the Governor was well justified in acting upon that advice.

The Military Operations.

When intelligence of the outbreak reached the Government, troops were immediately sent to the scene of action, the object being to limit the disturbances within certain bounds.

With this view, detachments composed of the West India regiments serving in Jamaica were despatched to Morant Bay and to Port Antonio, at each of which places military posts were established.

At the same time a party of the 2nd battalion 6th Regiment marched from Newcastle to proceed along the line of the Blue Mountain Valley, and endeavour to intercept the insurgents who were reported to be advancing by that route.

Seamen and marines were also landed at Morant Bay from Your Majesty's ship "Wolverine," who co-operated with the regular troops.

Bodies of Maroons protected Port Antonio and Bath.

Troops were also sent to Linstead in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, about 14 miles to the north of Spanish Town; and Volunteers, pensioners, and special constables were enrolled for the protection of Kingston, and for the general maintenance of order.

These military arrangements appear to us to have been prompt and judicious.

By confining the insurgents to the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East and its neighbourhood the disturbances were kept in check, and were prevented from spreading to other parts of the Island.

Operations of which Morant Bay was the Centre.

On Friday, the 13th of October, Captain Luke was sent forward from Morant Bay with a force of 120 men of the 1st West India Regiment to Bath, which he reached on the following day.

At the "Rhine," an estate near Bath, he found nearly 100 refugees, consisting of the women and children of the families from the surrounding districts.

These refugees were escorted to Port Morant, whence they embarked for Kingston. Many of them had undergone severe privations, and some were severely wounded.

On the morning of the 14th a man was tried by Court-martial at Port Morant, and executed, who was said to be one of the leading rebels, and had threatened the life of the Collector of Customs at that place.

During the same day a party of fifty marines and sailors under Lieutenant Oxley, Royal Navy, advanced from Morant Bay, westwards as far as Easington. On the road two negroes were seen running away, and failing to stop when ordered to do so, they were both shot. The same fate befel a prisoner who, during the march, attempted to escape by flight. A fourth man was tried and executed, by order of Court-martial, at Easington, for having joined in the outbreak on the 11th.

On the 18th of October ninety men were sent up to Stony Gut from Morant Bay. This party, on their arrival, took possession of that place, and of the chapel belonging to Paul Bogle. On this occasion an act of cruelty towards a woman has been charged against this party.

As far, however, as the officer in command and his men were concerned, their acts appear to have been limited to this:—That they detained the woman during the

day to act as cook for the troops, confining her to the spot by attaching a long cord to her wrist, the other end being fastened to the door of the building to prevent her escape.

Whatever else may have been done to her was done before the troops arrived, and is attributed to Mr. Gordon Ramsay, the Provost-Marshal, whose conduct will be referred to in a future part of our Report.

While this party of marines and sailors were advancing through the village of Stony Gut, a shot was fired at one of them from within one of the huts. A man who ran out of it directly afterwards was shot at and hit, but he succeeded in getting away. On the following day this force left Stony Gut, after burning the chapel and about eight cottages.

Easington was again occupied from the 21st to the 29th of October, with the view of keeping up communication with the troops who were posted under Colonel Hobbs in the Blue Mountain Valley.

By order of Brigadier-General Nelson, who was in command at Morant Bay, Lieutenant Adcock of the 6th Royal Regiment, and ten men, accompanied by a body of Volunteers and armed planters, marched northward from the Bay through Leith Hall to Golden Grove on the Plantain Garden River on the 21st of October.

On the morning of the same day Ensign Cullen was sent with fifty men of the 1st West India Regiment southward from Manchioneal to meet Lieutenant Adcock.

The orders issued by Brigadier-General Nelson to Lieutenant Adcock were "to make excursions in any direction supposed to be advantageous, care being taken that firing of huts and buildings be not carried to excess."

At Leith Hall a prisoner charged with having fired on the Volunteers at Morant Bay was tried and executed.

Near Harbour Head, on the road to Golden Grove, a man named Charles Mitchell was taken prisoner, and on the charge of having attempted the life of a person at Bowden on the 12th of October he was tried by drum-head court-martial, and shot in his own yard. The circumstances of this man's case call for special notice. He was in the first instance charged with a minor offence, for which he was sentenced to be flogged, and was tied up to receive his punishment. While he was in that position fresh evidence was taken on a second and more serious charge, for which he was sentenced to be shot, which sentence was immediately carried into effect.

After Lieutenant Adcock had reached Golden Grove, and visited the neighbouring estates that had been sacked, he ordered seven men to be tried by court-martial, six of whom were executed on the 24th of October. They were not executed until their trials had been reported to Brigadier Nelson at head-quarters, and the following despatch had been received in reply:—

"Memo.—Lieut. Adcock, A.D.C., commanding detachment, is hereby authorized to carry out the sentences awarded on the prisoners brought in.

"It is not desirable now to inflict capital punishment, except on men actually found armed, or those who were ringleaders or murderers."

After this Lieutenant Adcock returned to Morant Bay.

The following General Order was next issued by Brigadier-General Nelson on the 25th of October:—

"Officers commanding respectively must forbid any man to enter a house in or near his place under any pretext whatever, unless accompanied by a non-commissioned or a warrant officer. Any man found doing so to be handed over to the Provost-Marshal for summary punishment."

A party of twenty-five men, detached from the 1st West India Regiment were ordered by Brigadier-General Nelson on the 31st of October to be sent from Manchioneal to Golden Grove for permanent service; and on the 2nd of November an officer proceeded from Morant Bay to take command of them, with the following orders given to him by Brigadier Nelson:—

"It will be necessary for you to exercise strict control over the men of your detachment, and not to permit any man to quit his quarters for the purpose of foraging.

"You are not sent to your post for the purpose of punishing the negro, but to maintain order, and to afford protection to the inhabitants generally. You are not authorized to inflict summary punishment. If any supposed rioter be sent as prisoner to you, be good enough to inquire into the case, and if you consider the same as of a serious nature, send him to my head-quarters with the evidence against him.

"You will doubtless have many prisoners brought before you, and some possibly through the animus of the inhabitants. Petty cases of larceny I cannot interfere with; they must hereafter be dealt with by the civil authority.

"I am quite aware you will be much pressed to administer punishment to supposed criminals, and you must be firm, temperate, and judicious in all communications with civilians."

At the time that the district of Plan-

tain Garden River was occupied by the military, thirteen persons belonging to the neighbouring villages were shot without trial by parties of soldiers said to belong to the West India Regiment.

During the continuance of martial law, 149 cottages were destroyed by fire in the districts around Morant Bay and the Plantain Garden River.

Ten persons appear to have been shot without trial or sentence of regular court-martial at Airey Castle and at Leith Hall, some by Maroons, and others by parties of black soldiers.

During the course of the operations of which Morant Bay was the head-quarters, the evidence and returns relating to trials of prisoners show that 187 executions were carried out in that place.

Operations of which Monklands was the Centre.

In the district of the Blue Mountain Valley 120 men of the 2nd Battalion, 6th Regiment, under Colonel Hobbs, occupied Monklands as head-quarters, on Sunday, the 15th of October.

Monklands is a coffee estate near the head of the Blue Mountains Valley, and distant about sixteen miles from Morant Bay.

During this week the troops made excursions down the valley to the neighbouring villages where the insurgents were said to be collected.

These villages lay along the line of the valley at distances varying from two to fourteen miles from head-quarters.

Colonel Hobbs reported on the 16th of October to Major-General O'Connor, "that numbers of the rebels had come in, having thrown away their arms, seeking protection; and though worthy of death," that he "shrunk from the responsibility of executing them, without first receiving the General's or Governor's wishes respecting them."

A despatch was sent the same day from the Major-General to Colonel Hobbs, which crossed on the road the despatch last mentioned, stating that "Stony Gut was said to be a hot-bed of ruffians, and that it would be advisable if he looked it up."

These instructions added, "The Major-General would like you to be careful about burning villages, and not to do so without it is clear that the inhabitants have joined the insurgents. The Major-General can give you no instructions, and leaves all to your own judgment."

On the evening of the 18th, Colonel Hobbs, then at Monklands, received orders to push on to Stony Gut at once. That place is about fourteen miles from Monklands, lower down the valley.

The troops started on the night of the 18th, and reached Chigoe Foot Market, ten miles off, at daybreak on the 19th, after effecting the march under great difficulties, arising from the state of the weather and the swollen condition of the rivers.

After halting at Chigoe Foot Market they went on in the morning to Stony Gut, four miles in advance, but on reaching that place they found it deserted by the inhabitants, and already occupied by a force from Morant Bay.

In the evening Colonel Hobbs returned to Chigoe Foot Market, and bivouacked there during the night.

On the following day he returned with his detachment to Monklands, which was reached at night, and there he found instructions from Major-General O'Connor to make Monklands his head-quarters, and the Major-General expressed a hope that the Colonel would deal in a more summary manner with the rebels, and on no account to forward prisoners to Kingston.

During this march through the valley, eleven prisoners, found at Chigoe Foot Market on the morning of the 19th, were tried and executed. They were charged with having been engaged in the disturbances and murders at Morant Bay.

Colonel Hobbs reported these executions to Major-General O'Connor the same day, stating that the men "were captured from the rebel camp," and that, "finding their guilt clear, and being unable either to take or leave them, he had them shot."

The same evening, on his return to Chigoe Foot Market, a body of fifty prisoners was found there, twenty-seven of whom were selected as known rebels by a witness who represented himself to have been pressed into their company by Paul Bogle.

These twenty-seven were tried and convicted on the morning of the 20th at Chigoe Foot Market, and sentenced to death. They were carried on to Coley and Fonthill, two villages a short distance up the valley, to which they respectively belonged; and of sixteen brought out for execution at Coley, fourteen were shot, and two escaped. Nine others were shot, and then hung up inside a chapel at Fonthill, which had belonged to McLaren, one of the leaders of the insurgents. Wellington and another were taken to Monklands.

The execution of Arthur Wellington,

after trial, took place on the 21st of October, at Monklands.

He belonged to Somerset, one of the settlements of the valley, and had the reputation among the people around Somerset of being an "Obeah" man. To such a man these people attribute the possession of supernatural evil powers over themselves, and the faculty of being himself invulnerable. He is regarded with terror by his neighbours, and has great influence among them. There is a local statute which makes the practice of "Obeahism" a crime, and describes the offence as a pretence of possessing supernatural power to effect designs, by falsely using omens, spells, charms, and incantations. Poison was said to have been found in Wellington's house at Somerset.

The house and the works of Monklands are in the bottom of the valley, and the hills on each side stand apart about half a mile.

Colonel Hobbs has stated that he hoped, by means of the example of Arthur Wellington's death, to disabuse the other prisoners and the people in the valley of the folly of their belief in the powers of the "Obeah" man.

In order that his execution might be seen by all who were watching upon the hills as well as by the prisoners, he caused Wellington to be taken half way up the hill on one side of Monklands.

This was done, and at a spot about 400 yards from the Barbacue occupied by the firing party, the prisoner was stationed and shot.

He was there visible from the surrounding heights.

The effect of the volley which was fired was very soon fatal, nor does any cruelty appear to have attended his death.

A constable, without any authority for the act, severed the head from the body prior to interment, and both head and body were afterwards buried in a trench at the bottom of the hill.

A heavy flood from the hill side during the night seems to have washed away the head out of the grave, and carried it down the stream.

It is stated that the head was subsequently placed on a pole, but it does not appear that this was done by or with the knowledge of any persons in authority.

The circumstances of this execution, and the accidental effect of the flood, were adduced as proofs of intentional cruelty and barbarity; but the suggested object of making an example, and the facts when explained relating to the head, have in our opinion disposed of this charge.

The effect produced by the example given in this execution upon the other prisoners is stated to have been very good, and many were heard to say that they never would believe in "Obeah" again.

Colonel Hobbs, seeing this effect, felt at liberty to release a considerable number of prisoners charged with minor offences.

A further charge of cruelty is also made, connected with the execution of nine prisoners at Monklands, who were placed kneeling in a line in front of the trench prepared for their interment. One of these prisoners showed signs of life after the firing party had discharged their rifles, and it is said that a pickaxe was then used to strike him dead. It appears, however, that he was despatched by a close shot; and the person who filled in the trench over the body has distinctly denied that either he or any one else used a pickaxe in the manner alleged.

On the 21st of October Colonel Hobbs received a despatch from the Major-General, dated the day before, in which the General informs him as follows: "I am much pleased by your adopting a decided course with regard to captured rebels; the many you have sent into camp on mere suspicion or vague charges has caused some embarrassment. One of two courses seems to me, under martial law, to be the rule for your conduct; if on careful investigation the captured persons are innocent, always giving them the advantage of a doubt, then release them; but if guilty, and taken red-handed, summary justice and execution of the sentence."

About thirty-two other executions took place in Monklands before the troops were withdrawn, all of which appear in the return of deaths.

During the operations along the valley about eight casual deaths were inflicted by soldiers without authority, on inhabitants in some of the villages.

Some of these persons were shot in their houses, others while passing in the road, and two of the number were infirm persons, incapable of resistance. One of the two latter, however, suffered through a mistake. About 493 dwellings, situate in the various settlements of this district, were destroyed by fire during the same time.

Operations of which Manchioneal was the Centre.

Operations for suppressing the outbreak were at the same time carried on through the country on the north side of the Island.

At mid-day of October 15th Captain Hole marched from Port Antonio with forty men of the 6th Regiment, and sixty

men of the 1st West India Regiment under Ensign Cullen.

Captain Hole received orders from Brigadier-General Nelson to proceed to Manchioneal, about twenty miles eastward from Port Antonio, with directions "not to leave the line of march in search of rebels, nor to allow prisoners to be brought in except leaders of rebels; and that those who were found with arms were to be shot."

Shortly afterwards, and before his departure, he got further orders from Governer Eyre, who directed him "to go off the road to meet any body of the rebels he heard of, and to engage and make examples of them."

With this force Captain Hole advanced before night to a place named "Castle," and early in the morning he reached Long Bay, and from that place he went on to Manchioneal during the day.

Just as the troops under Captain Hole were leaving Port Antonio on the 15th, six or seven soldiers of the West India Regiment, not of the numbers attached to his force, galloped past, stating that they had been ordered to come on.

Upon this they were told to go forward, and to join the advanced guard under Ensign Lewis.

Upon their reaching the advanced guard they said that the Captain had ordered them to proceed to Long Bay, and they galloped forward, and were not seen again during the day.

While the troops were at the "Castle" a prisoner named Donaldson was brought there, and his execution calls for some special notice.

Murray, a man not in custody, but believed to be one of those who murdered Mr. Hire, was proved, and was admitted by Donaldson, to have come to his house a few days before, having with him Mr. Hire's horse and saddle.

Donaldson was called upon to give information of the place where Murray could be found, and of the time when he left him. This information Donaldson refused to give, and he was executed by order of Captain Hole for the offence of harbouring Murray,

Later on the march, a prisoner, who had been released by the insurgents from the Morant Bay Gaol, and who had been found with a cutlass and some stolen property, was brought in and shot; and another prisoner, in possession of a flask of powder, was afterwards shot at Long Bay.

In consequence of an alarm given near Cog Hall of an expected attack by the insurgents, a skirmishing party was thrown forward, who shot two or three negroes.

In the course of the day Captain Hole found eleven or twelve dead bodies lying near the road. As these had not been shot by any of the troops under his command, it is supposed that they must have fallen by the hands of the mounted soldiers of the West India Regiment who had ridden forward contrary to orders the day before.

A great quantity of pillaged property was also found during the march scattered along the road, and deposited in the adjacent cottages of the negroes.

At Manchioneal, Courts-martial sat during eleven days, from the 17th of October to the 3rd of November.

Thirty-three prisoners were sentenced to death by these Courts and executed.

During the time that the troops under Captain Hole were at Manchioneal, a detachment of the 1st West India Regiment under Ensign Cullen was sent to a place in the Plantain Garden River District called Friendship. The guides led them to another place, and three soldiers became separated from the main body.

They were absent some days, and on their return they brought with them two waggon loads of property recovered from the plunder taken by insurgents from the houses of Mr. Hire and Mr. Shortridge.

These three soldiers reported to Captain Hole that during their absence they had shot ten rebels, three of whom had been concerned in murdering Mr. Hire.

On the 17th of October a black soldier of the West India Regiment, who had deserted, was met on the road near Long Bay, going towards Port Antonio. He stopped three constables who were taking four prisoners under their charge.

The soldier took away the prisoners from these constables, and having placed them on the road at a convenient distance, he shot them in succession.

Later in the day a soldier, being alone, and supposed to be the same deserter, shot six other prisoners at a place near Manchioneal, in the presence of a head constable and some other persons.

These ten deaths were attended with such barbarity on the part of the soldier, and such cowardice on the part of the constables and other persons who witnessed what was done without interfering to prevent it, as to call for special notice and condemnation.

There is ground for believing that this soldier may be identified.

At Port Antonio fifty-four prisoners were tried by Courts-martial, and suffered death during martial law.

The deaths by casual shooting along the line of march amount to twenty-five.

In the villages of the district between

Port Antonio and the country bordering on the Plantain Garden River, 217 cottages were burnt.

Among the sentences of flogging awarded by Courts-martial at Manchioneal, about twenty cases relate to the infliction of this punishment upon women.

Under any circumstances, the infliction of corporal punishment on females is to be reprobated.

It is right, however, to bear in mind the somewhat difficult position in which Captain Hole found himself placed. It was necessary to determine what course should be pursued with respect to women, who appear to have been the principal plunderers, as there was no prison in which they could be detained. The women were accordingly told, that if they would give up the property they were shown to have taken, they should at once be discharged. This offer was not accepted, and it is much to be regretted that even then it should have been thought right in such a case to resort to the punishment of flogging.

While Captain Hole was engaged in suppressing the disorders attending the outbreak, he found it necessary, by severe examples, to secure the discipline of those under his command. By this means he endeavoured to put a stop to acts of military lawlessness tending to aggravate the sufferings of the inhabitants. Two corporals at Manchioneal under his command were degraded for having been absent all night; another soldier was tried and sentenced by Court-martial to seven years' penal servitude for having burnt houses in Long Bay. A fourth man was convicted of having been absent for several days without leave, and of having committed depredations. He was sentenced to fifty-six days' imprisonment, forfeiture of his good-conduct pay, and fifty lashes.

Operations of the Maroons.

A party of Maroons from the Hayfield Settlement occupied Bath on the evening of Friday, October 13th.

A body of fifty Maroons, armed at Port Antonio, and under command of Colonel Fyfe, marched on the 19th of October across the country, through Moortown, to which place they belonged.

On the following day they reached Bath, where Colonel Fyfe took command of the Hayfield Maroons, whom he found already there. The following verbal orders were given to Colonel Fyfe by Brigadier-General Nelson: "You are never to molest a woman or child, and you are not to shoot any man who surrenders."

Acting on intelligence that the rebels in force were occupying a fort they had made at Torrington, Colonel Fyfe proceeded to march upon and attack that place, and as he advanced, several shots were fired at his party, and one man was wounded.

The steep and wooded nature of the ground made it necessary to act with caution. The place was attacked on Saturday, October 21st, and the insurgents were driven out. Seven of them were shot in the attack.

The huts of the settlement, in which large quantities of plunder were found, were burnt; but orders were given by Colonel Fyfe that in the burning of houses care should be taken to leave some building as a place of shelter for women and children.

On proceeding through the country to Stony Gut a party of Maroons, under Colonel Fyfe, shot four men, one of whom was wearing the ring of the deceased Custos, Baron Ketelhodt.

The insurgents had constructed in this part of the country, between Torrington and Stony Gut, a rude field-work, by felling large trees, and throwing them as a barricade across the angle of the road; they were removed with considerable difficulty.

The total number of men shot by the Maroons during these excursions does not appear to us to have exceeded twenty-five. About 141 cottages of the villages situated near this district were burnt by the Maroons, or by persons who alleged that they were acting under their orders.

This concludes our Report of the military measures adopted for the suppression of the disturbances.

It appears to us that the strategical positions taken up, the detachments posted in the disturbed districts and in the Island generally, and the active co-operation of your Majesty's naval forces, produced a most beneficial effect; and by the prompt and rapid manner in which the different movements were executed the outbreak was overcome in a very short period.

Summary of Punishments during Martial Law.

The total number of deaths caused by those engaged in the suppression amounted to 439, and the total number of dwellings burned to 1000.

With respect to the number of persons

who were flogged, it is impossible to state it with any degree of accuracy. Sixty appear to have been flogged by order of Courts-martial; one woman was sentenced to be flogged at Morant Bay, but Colonel Nelson refused to confirm the sentence. The numbers flogged without a Court-martial was much larger.

Seventy-three were thus flogged at Port Antonio, forty-four at Up-Park Camp, twenty at Manchioneal, fifty at Monklands and Golden Grove, and considerably above a 100 at Morant Bay.

A still larger number were flogged at Bath. Nearly fifty were flogged on one day, of whom twenty were women; and it is stated that between thirty and forty were flogged on other days. This did not, however, continue long, as Colonel Fyfe, who arrived a very few days after the floggings commenced, gave positive orders for the discontinuance of the practice.

The whole number subjected to this degrading punishment during the continuance of martial law we think could not have been less than 600.

The mode of inflicting the punishment at Bath calls for special notice. It was ordered by a local magistrate, after a very slight investigation, and frequently at the instance of book-keepers and others smarting under the sense of recent injury. At first an ordinary cat was used, but afterwards, for the punishment of men, wires were twisted round the cords, and the different tails so constructed were knotted.

Some of these were produced before us, and it was painful to think that any man should have used such an instrument for the torturing of his fellow creatures.

Upwards of 100 of those who were flogged were sentenced also to different terms of imprisonment, varying from six months to twelve years. As, however, from the time of the expiration of martial law there was no power to enforce these sentences, the persons so sentenced have been released.

II.—CONDUCT OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN THE SUPPRESSION.

Comments on Punishments inflicted.

In considering the conduct of those engaged in the suppression of the disturbances in the several districts through which the military were moved, the first point to which our attention was directed was the sacrifice of human life occasioned by the measures then taken.

The number of persons executed at the several stations by order of Courts-martial have been ascertained by us from the returns made to amount to 354, and are thus distributed:—

At Morant Bay and Plantain Garden River District . . .	194
„ Port Antonio and Manchioneal	89
„ Monklands, &c. . . .	68
„ Up-Park Camp . . .	3

The numbers of those killed without any trial have been investigated by us with much labour and careful inquiry, by visiting the districts where the deaths occurred, and by examining the relatives of the deceased, and other witnesses in Spanish Town.

We believe that the return given in the Appendix furnishes as accurate an account of all who perished as the circumstances of the events admit of, without affecting a precision which it is impossible to command.

We carefully examined into every case in which it was alleged that a life had been taken. It will be seen in the evidence that the same cases were repeatedly spoken to by different witnesses, and that not a few of those deposed to are included in the returns of persons executed by order of Courts-martial. It occasionally occurred that one person was known by two names. Whenever we entertained a doubt both names have been entered, and on that account the return may be relied on as showing all deaths that were capable of proof.

Nearly all the cases returned in the official lists as of persons executed, "names unknown," have, by means of this investigation, been discovered and named, and the result of inquiry on the spot has remarkably coincided with these official returns.

Comment has already been made on cases of destruction of life which happened under exceptional circumstances.

The conduct of the black soldier on the road between Manchioneal and Port Antonio caused the death of ten persons without any inquiry or proof of guilt. The excuse of dread of the soldier, made by those who witnessed his acts, and might have interfered, cannot be allowed.

One of the people shot on the advance on Torrington by the Maroons was a woman. The Maroon by whom she was shot gave evidence before us with much frankness, and it was clear to us that it was no act of wantonness, but that, seeing a figure behind a bush, as he thought about to fire at him, he had himself fired, and that he did not discover that it was a woman whom he had wounded until some time afterwards.

In none of the cases where deaths occurred from shots fired on the march, except in the advance upon Torrington, does it appear that any actual resistance was offered to the advance of the troops.

A good deal of our time was occupied in an inquiry into the case of an alleged shooting of three men by a detachment of the 1st West India Regiment under the command of Ensign Cullen. The evidence was most conflicting, and we do not feel called upon to decide upon which side the truth lay. But we think that the character of the service is so deeply involved in a question affecting the conduct and veracity of two officers and several men that it may well form the subject of further inquiry.

The same observation applies to a charge of shooting a person named William Gray by Staff Assistant-Surgeon Morris.

It will doubtless be observed that a great deal of evidence laid before us, with a view of proving the use of undue severity during the existence of martial law, has reference to the conduct of Mr. Gordon Ramsay, the Provost-Marshal. As he is now about to take his trial on a charge of wilful murder for an act done by him while he filled that office, it was not thought right by any of the parties concerned in the inquiry that he should be asked any questions, the answers to which, or a refusal to answer which, might prejudice him on his trial.

It will be obvious that for the same reason it would not be right for us to make any remarks upon his conduct.

It is due to those under whom Mr. Ramsay acted to state that no complaints of the cruelties now charged against him, although stated to have been witnessed by many, were made to those who placed him in authority, and had the power, and undoubtedly would have had the will, to deprive him of that authority, if such cruelties had been shown to have been committed.

Further, we cannot help noticing the conduct of a Magistrate who states that he witnessed what in his opinion at the time appeared to be an act of murder without giving any intimation respecting it. He states that he was prevented by fear; but this did not prevent his making a formal complaint against Mr. Gordon Ramsay, when a comparatively trifling act of injustice was committed against himself; and it seems that he consented not to press his complaint in order that the public might not lose the services of Mr. Ramsay.

Brigadier-General Nelson, upon being made acquainted with the conduct of Mr. Ramsay towards this Magistrate, sent the following reprimand:

"Having given Mr. Marshalleck's complaint and the Provost-Marshal's explanation my grave and serious consideration, it is my duty to inform the Provost-Marshal that in every way connected with the case he has exceeded his powers and adopted a course I must strongly reprehend. . . . . Briefly, the Provost-Marshal in acting as he did, is open to very severe censure, much of which I withhold in consequence of the good service he has done, and because I hope that this error in dealing with Mr. Marshalleck was the result of over-zeal. . . . . I peremptorily forbid any summary punishment being inflicted within the camp henceforth, and all cases of a serious nature are to be referred for my decision, or that of my aide-de-camp, to whom alone I shall delegate the authority to dispose of such."

Comments on the Courts-martial.

The number of executions by order of Courts-martial appeared to us so large that it became very important to ascertain, as far as we were able, the principles upon which the members constituting the Courts acted, and the sort of evidence upon which their decisions were pronounced.

It would be unreasonable to expect that in the circumstances under which these Courts were assembled there should be the same perfect regularity and adherence to technical rules which we are accustomed to witness in our ordinary tribunals; but there are certain great principles which ought under no circumstances to be violated, and there is an amount of evidence which every tribunal should require before it pronounces a judgment which shall affect the life, liberty, or person of any human being.

In order to ascertain whether these principles have been adhered to, and whether in all cases this necessary evidence has been required, we have carefully read the notes of the evidence given before the different Courts, upon which notes the confirmations of the sentences were pronounced.

In the great majority of the cases the evidence seems to have been unobjectionable in character, and quite sufficient to justify the finding of the Court. It is right also to state that the account given by the more trustworthy witnesses as to the manner and deportment of the members of the Courts was decidedly favourable.

But we think it right also to call attention to cases in which either the finding or the sentence was not justified by any evidence appearing on the face of the proceedings.

The case of Mr. Gordon will be hereafter referred to.

In the cases of Samuel Clarke, George McIntosh, and William Grant, in all of which the notes of the proceedings will be found fully set out in the Appendix, and in each of which cases also some witnesses were examined before ourselves, the evidence appears to us to have been wholly insufficient to justify the findings.

It appears also from the proceedings that one person was executed upon proof that he was advising the rioters on the 7th of October how to act, and that he resisted the Police, and assisted in handcuffing them on the 10th.

Another on proof that he had resisted the Police on the 10th, having in his hand a cutlass and big stick, and that he had made use of the following expression: "You were taking my name down on Saturday, now I can take my revenge. If we did not consider one thing we would take your head off."

Another for having assisted in rescuing Geoghegan on the 7th, and for having been one of the party who came down with a drum.

Three persons were convicted and executed upon the production and proof of affidavits made behind their backs by persons who, for anything that appears to the contrary, might perfectly well have given their evidence in open court.

At Port Antonio the evidence allowed to be given was of a most objectionable description.

William Troop gave evidence against William Mitchell of a confession made by the latter of his having assisted in the murder of Mr. Hire, and immediately afterwards was himself put upon his trial as an accessory to the same murder, and was convicted, upon the evidence of Mitchell, of a confession made to him, coupled with the affidavit of a person whose absence was not accounted for.

Both Mitchell and Troop were executed within a few hours of their trials.

Three persons were convicted and two were executed upon the evidence of a confession made by a man shortly before his execution, in which he stated that the prisoners had assisted in the murder for which he himself was about to suffer.

Five persons were convicted on the unconfirmed testimony of a man himself just convicted and sentenced to death as a spy, and for having incited others to join in the rebellion, one of the persons so convicted having himself given evidence to prove the case against the spy.

In other cases the sentences seem wholly disproportioned to the offence charged. The illegality, however, of these sentences, has happily prevented them from being carried out to their full extent. One man was sentenced to fifty lashes and three years' imprisonment for travelling without a pass, and not giving a satisfactory account of himself; another to fifty lashes and five years' imprisonment, upon proof that, in addition to not giving a satisfactory account of himself, he confessed "that he was coming from the residence of the late rebel, George William Gordon."

At Manchioneal also affidavits were regularly received as proof of the facts deposed to, and in some cases in which death was the sentence the affidavits constituted the only evidence.

At Up-Park Camp the trials seem to have been conducted with great regularity, and there were only three in which capital punishment was inflicted. But in one of these cases the only offence charged or proved was the use of the following expression by a convict in one of the cells of the Kingston Gaol: "I have seen too much gun. Creoles are fools. If it (meaning the present rebellion) had been in Africa we would have known what to do immediately. If I had but five of my countrymen I would make you see something. If I had a sword I would kill Mr. Shaw and Mr. Horton. The black man ought to rise like St. Domingo to take Jamaica from the Buckras."

The above observations are founded exclusively on the proceedings themselves, which were submitted for confirmation to the commanding officer, and on which it would appear that his confirmation of the sentence was founded.

It is right, however, to make mention of the fact stated by some of the officers who appeared before us, that other evidence than that which appears on the face of the proceedings was sometimes given, and that the commanding officer was aware of such additional evidence having been given.

We ought also to mention that in one of the cases above referred to, where the evidence upon which the prisoner was convicted appears most objectionable, the guilt of the prisoner was incidentally proved in the course of our inquiry.

THE CASE OF MR. GEORGE WILLIAM GORDON.

We felt ourselves bound to inquire whether the outbreak had a merely local origin, or whether there existed throughout the Island a wide spread conspiracy for a general rising against the Government at some future time, of which conspiracy the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East was a premature explosion, precipitated by local causes. It was with the view of determining this question that in one case we departed from our ordinary course of not inquiring into the guilt or innocence of particular persons who had been tried by Courts-martial. We considered that we were concerned with particular cases so tried only so far as to determine whether those broad general rules of evidence which ought to govern all tribunals had been observed; whether in fact the conduct of those who presided at such Courts, as illustrated by the proceedings, was open to animadversion.

The case of Mr. Gordon, however, appeared to us to be different from all others. He was intimately connected with Bogle the leader of the insurrection.

He had attended and taken a leading part in certain meetings in different parts of the Island which had been held in the course of the summer of 1865, and which were thought to be connected with the supposed conspiracy. He formed, moreover, the only probable link between the plotters at Stony Gut and the supposed conspirators in other parts of the Island.

At an early period, therefore, of the Inquiry, we came to the conclusion that, if conspiracy had in fact existed, Mr. Gordon must have been a party to it, and therefore we determined to admit any evidence which might be tendered in proof of his complicity, whether it had or had not been laid before the court-martial by which he was tried.

We propose, therefore, to set out that evidence with considerable fulness.

The affairs of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East were the subject of great interest among many of the parishioners who were friends of Mr. Gordon. Many looked to him for advice, which they relied on and followed.

Among these was Paul Bogle, who cultivated a few acres of land at Stony Gut, a village in the hills about six miles inland from Morant Bay.

A chapel belonging to him, of small dimensions, stood on his land, and was opened about Christmas 1864. He was a member of the "Native Baptists," a sect so called as being independent of and distinguished from the London Baptist Mission. Mr. Gordon was an intimate friend and correspondent of Bogle.

Mr. Gordon had himself become a Baptist, and had a Tabernacle of his own on the Parade at Kingston. To Paul Bogle he addressed a short note when about to become such member, as follows:—

"11th December, 1861.

"Mr. Paul Bogle,

"I am to be *baptized* on *Christmas Day*, this day two weeks. Remember me on that day.

"G. W. GORDON."

In 1862 Paul Bogle, James Bowie, and George B. Clarke sent the following letter to Mr. Gordon from Stony Gut:—

"Stony Gut, 25th July, 1862.

"(All hearts burnt) to hear the way you are treated for our cause. But in suffering their (*sic*) are CONCILATION (*sic*) for their (*sic*) is a *Rest* is Provide for those who toil and Bear (*sic*) persecution for truth sake in heaven.

"We want to see you at our vilage (*sic*), which is Exceedingly small, But sufficient to intertain (*sic*) you, For we have Plans to Arange (*sic*) with you. Come up, we beseech you as quick as Posible (*sic*), so that we may arange (*sic*) how the Baptism is to go on at Spring Before the ending of this month, so that we may get up a meeting to meet you, if Coming notice Mr. Warren with best wiches (*sic*).

"Yours truly

"PAUL BOGLE,

"JAMES BOWIE,

"GEORGE B. CLARKE."

Spring, mentioned in this letter, was landed property of Mr. Gordon, a mile from Stony Gut, and partly adjoining it.

The people connected with the small holdings at Stony Gut, wrote, through Paul Bogle, to Mr. Gordon on the 25th of July, 1862, to ask him to lend them 150*l*., in order to pay the tax which would qualify them to be registered as voters of the parish.

The postscript to this letter is as follows:—

"P.S.—The above amount is to pay for Registrations too Answer us by the First Post without *delay*, for we who have to go in the mountain district are to go by Tuesday evening, we are nothing to do with those in the Bay, For they appears to us as *decevers* (*sic*).

"PAUL BOGLE,

"Chairman in behalf of

"the Meeting."

On the 26th of February, 1864, Mr. Gordon wrote from Kingston to Paul Bogle at Stony Gut, as follows (*inter alia*):—

"Dear Bogle,

"Things are bad in Jamaica, and will require a great deal of purging."

"Again, in the same month, he wrote:—

"Morant Bay,
"22nd February, 1864.

"Dear Bogle,

"I have again to contend with Rector Cooke's annoyance; he is trying to get me out of the churchwarden's office, but I have no doubt he will fail also this time. I am busy in Kingston, and have to return for the Port Royal business. I have not yet seen Chisholm.

"Yours very truly,
"GEO. W. GORDON."

Mr. Gordon had been appointed churchwarden for St. Thomas-in-the-East, and the fact of his having become a "Native Baptist," and ceased to communicate as member of the Church of England in Jamaica, had, as before mentioned, been advanced as disqualifying him for the office. The same fact subsequently led to the action brought by him against the Custos, Baron Ketelhodt, by whom he had been forcibly removed from the Vestry. This subject was one which caused great irritation in the parish.

Paul Bogle was, on the 5th of March, 1865, made deacon of the "Native Baptists." On that day Mr. Gordon signed the following certificate as acting secretary:—

"Kingston, 5th March, 1865.

"To all whom it may concern. This is to certify that Paul Bogle has been this day ordained by me in the presence of the whole congregation to be made Kingston Jamaica (*sic*) to the office of deacon in Christ's church, and that he has been fully charged and has also undertaken faithfully to discharge the duties of the said office of deacon, and in all things to be obedient to the rules of the Church, devoting himself through the grace of God faithfully to the work, and that he is hereby authorized to execute and discharge all the duties appertaining to the office of deacon.

"Given under my hand, at Kingston, Jamaica, this 5th day of March, 1865.

"RICHARD WARREN.
"GEO. W. GORDON,
"*Acting Secretary.*"

Paul Bogle wrote to Mr. Gordon a letter addressed to him at Morant Bay on the 12th of July, 1865, in which, after referring to the writer's health, he says,—"You will be pleased to remember the horse that you did promise to give me to ride out on business. . . . . We expect to have a meeting at Bogle House, at Cottage Penns, next Tuesday, and your attendants (*sic*) will require. I am, yours truly, PAUL BOGLE."

When Paul Bogle's house was searched, in October, a list of ten names was found there in the handwriting of Mr. Gordon. Mr. Gordon's own name was at the head of this list, and the nine other names were those of persons connected with Bogle's party. A much larger list of names, most of which were original signatures or marks, was afterwards taken from the private writing-table of Mr. Gordon at Cherry Garden. This last list was headed by the name of Paul Bogle, and contained 148 other names, many of which belonged to persons who were implicated in the outbreak at Morant Bay.

We attach no great importance to these lists, as they may merely show the political connexion of Mr. Gordon with Bogle and his friends.

Mr. Henry James Lawrence was Mr. Gordon's manager and resident agent on his estate called "Rhine," near Bath, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and in letters addressed to him the interest in parish matters felt by Mr. Gordon in common with many of his adherents there, is expressed strongly in respect of the conduct of members of the vestry towards himself.

Writing to Lawrence on the 30th of January, 1865, he remarks, "BARON and Herschell are busy *publishing* lies against me in Spanish Town, so as to get the grant of money, 262*l*. I shall be obliged to speak in very plain terms on the subject. Can you send me Nibs on the subject? which may help me. They are a very wicked *band*, and the Lord will yet reward *them all*. . . . . I note what you say of ——. He is a sort of fiend who altho' chastized has remained hardened. We can afford to spare him, and perhaps England will better agree with him. Mark, the reign of others will also soon be cut short."

Again, on the 6th of March, 1865, he writes to Mr. Lawrence:—"I note what you say re Oxford and Walker and Ketelhodt,—the parish will be well rid of Walker, but the evil will be doubled (?) in Baron, and I quite agree with your *sentiments*. We must wait and see what the end will be of all these evil doers! . . . Thanks also for arranging with Kirkland. I shall treat him as he merits. What an unreliable SETT (*sic*) they all are. I am DISGUSTED with *them* and must try to keep aloof and above them. The

Ex. Com. Gov. and Bishop! what a set, can *any reliance be placed on these?* and can matters go on with such men *at the helm*. Herschell, Baron, Cookes, and a lot of others are against me, and some of low mark, ignorant coloured men, who wo'nt value their own position, countenance such proceedings,—do you not see that I have good reason to complain and be on the *alert?*"

Again he writes to his manager:—

"April 27, 1865.

"The case of Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt was a great triumph to Baron and all the Cookes, for in spite of every thing which was clearly in my favour they got a jury of five to give a verdict for defendant. What a fresh victory is this for them all? How well it looks, and how diminished is my head! but wait, it is not yet all over! . . . . The Attorney-General disgraced himself by low conduct. Sneddes proved a traitor and M'Kenzie a MOST *worthless lying fellow*. Have nothing to do with the man, he is a *great villain* (*sic*)."

And again on the 29th April, 1865.—

"I have no doubt there are dual actions and strong undercurrents against me, but wait and see the end of it, *be not cast down*, the Lord is at hand . . . . There is a sort of present exultation in the Baron, Herschell, Cooke, &c., all *their* points *being carried* . . . . I note the great and glorious gathering at Rhine House, this is very beautiful.

"Messrs. Warmington and Henry Seymour Kennedy, are new J. P's. for St. Thomas-y'-East, and some few more are expecting. All very *beautiful*. Great concerns for great men! Keep you quiet and see the end of it all."

On the 4th of May he wrote, "I know the inveterate dislike of Herschell and all his *confreres*. They will soon all find their level, and go like chaff against the wind."

Mr. Gordon was staying at Hordley in the Plantain Garden district of the parish in June, 1865, and in conversation there with Mr. Harrison, he was spoken to about the state of the feeling among the people, and told that he could not control it. In reply "Oh!" said Mr. Gordon, "if I wanted a rebellion I could have had one long ago. I have been asked several times to head a rebellion, but there is no fear of that. I will try first a demonstration of it, but I must upset that fellow Herschell, and kick him out of the Vestry, and the Baron also, or bad will come of it."

On 13th of July he wrote to Lawrence at the Rhine, "Herschell has got another 40*l.* for pews at Bath Church, through the aid of his friend Price. What will these (?) men, surely some calamity *will come* on them."

About the same time, conversing with Mr. Arthur Beckwith at Kingston, about a meeting held on the subject of labourers and wages, Mr. Gordon was told it was calculated to excite a spirit of disaffection amongst the people; to which Mr. Gordon answered, "Ah! well, we must have it some way or the other; this is the great movement; and if we do not secure it in this way, in six months there will be a revolution in the country, and as I have always stood by the people I will stand by them then."

He wrote from Kingston on the 10th of August, to Lawrence, "I must go to the east, and start this evening for Morant Bay, hoping to be there early to-morrow, and be at the Rhine by *Saturday* some time. The Baron has taken upon himself to postpone the public meeting until *further notice*. This is *improper;* it is not his meeting, but theirs, and he has not the power of postponing. I am getting quite tired of it, and must now bring the business to a close; and if the Baron won't do what is right we must do so for him."

On the 11th of August a printed address to the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East, headed "State of the Island," was posted up on a cotton tree in the main road at Morant Bay, opposite William Chisholm's house. The original draft of this address, in the writing of Mr. Gordon, was given by him to a compositor at Kingston shortly before, to be set up in type, with directions to forward copies to one Rodney at St. Ann's Bay, others to James Sullivan at Bath, and further copies to Paul Bogle and to William Chisholm at Morant Bay.

These copies were sent. In this address is found the following passage:—

"People of St. Thomas-in-the-East! You have been ground down too long already; shake off your sloth, and speak like honourable and free men at your meeting. Let not a crafty, jesuitical priesthood deceive you. Prepare for your duty. Remember the destitution in the midst of your families, and your forlorn condition. The Government have taxed you to defend your own rights against the enormities of an unscrupulous and oppressive foreigner, Mr. Custos Ketelhodt. You feel this. It is *no wonder you do*. You have been dared in this provoking act, and it is sufficient to extinguish your long patience. This is not time when such deeds should be perpetrated, but as they have been it is your duty to speak out and to act too. We

advise you to be up and doing, and to maintain your cause. You must be united in your efforts."

An open air meeting, on Saturday, August 12th, held in the market-place in front of the Court House, at Morant Bay, under a gynnep tree, was presided over by Mr. Gordon, at which Paul Bogle and Moses Bogle were present. Resolutions on the conduct of the Government, and on the depressed state of the labouring classes, and the price of labour, and low rate of wages, were passed; and in reference to the circular called the "Queen's advice to the people." Mr. Gordon said that "The Queen's message to the working classes of Jamaica is not true; I say it is not true; it is a lie; it does not come from the Queen; the Queen does not know any thing about it."

One of the resolutions passed at this meeting is as follows:—

"That this meeting views with alarm, and denounces the unconstitutional and unprecedented act of the Government in having provided the sum of 250*l.* to defend the Baron Ketelhodt in his illegal and oppressive conduct towards the rights of the constituency of this parish and the Island generally, in interfering with the office of churchwarden, and that a committee be now appointed to take all necessary steps in this matter in defence of the rights and privileges of the electors."

A committee, and a deputation, including Paul Bogle, James M'Laren, and others, were appointed to wait upon the Governor.

The meeting then further resolved "that they were of opinion that the generally arbitrary, illegal, and inconsistent conduct of the Custos was destructive to the peace and prosperity of the affairs of the parish."

At the time of this meeting Mr. Gordon was staying at his cottage on the Rhine estate, sixteen miles from Morant Bay.

In familiar conversation with Mrs. Major, the wife of Dr. Major, his tenant of part of that estate, he was told by her that in his speeches which she had recently been reading, he was certainly guilty of high treason, and she would accuse him of it. He replied, "Oh no, they have printed it wrong; I never made use of such expressions, and you can't do it. I have just gone as far as I can go, but no further."

In this conversation he spoke of the Governor as "a wicked man," and said "that it would be a blessing to the country if some one would shoot him;" and that Mr. Herschell and the Baron were "bad and wicked men, and it would be a blessing if these three men were removed."

On the night of the 15th of August a meeting was held at a house belonging to Mr. Gordon at Morant Bay, opposite the Wesleyan Chapel, at which James M'Laren acted as Secretary, with about thirty persons present; from this meeting five persons were turned away as spies, who had not previously attended the meeting on the 12th of August.

Mr. G. W. Gordon attended, and spoke at a meeting held at the "Alley" in Vere on the 4th of September. He is thus reported to have spoken, amongst other matters. "They report to the Queen that you are thieves. . . . . The notice that is said to be the Queen's advice is all trash; it is no advice of the Queen at all. . . . . I was told by some of you that your overseers said that if any of you attended this meeting they would tear down your houses. Tell them that I, George William Gordon, say they dare not do it. It is tyranny. You must do what Hayti does. You have a bad name now, but you will have a worse one then."

Dr. Bruce, a friend and political supporter of Mr. Gordon, who introduced him to the meeting, and took a part in it, and some others, deny that Mr. Gordon ever made use of the words "You must do what Hayti does."

The speech, however, containing these words, was taken down at the time in some careful notes by a witness (Peart), who produced the same before us. These notes were well and distinctly written. It would further appear that this speech must have contained some matter at least calculated to excite some alarm of disturbance, from the following passage in a letter addressed to Dr. Bruce by Mr. Sydney Levien, the editor of a local newspaper, in reference to this Vere meeting. "I could scarcely command vital thought enough yesterday to do justice to your meeting, and against the wish of William, I wrote the feeble editorial that appeared to second the noble exertions of the Vere people. All I desire is to shield you and them from the charge of anarchy and tumult, which in a short time must follow these fearful demonstrations. How I succeeded you must judge for yourself."

Dr. Bruce employed a reporter to attend and take notes of the speeches, and before the speech of Mr. Gordon was published the draft was submitted to Dr. Bruce for approval. This version of the speech was published in the "County Union" newspaper, and contains no expression that could provoke the remarks of Mr. Levien's letter, and Dr. Bruce himself in his evidence stated that he had said "that he would not attend any more meetings," because he did not like the

way in which Mr. Gordon spoke against the Government and Governor Eyre.

This version of the speech as reported by Mr. Peart was read to Dr. Bruce, and was accepted by him as correct, saving the words referring to Hayti, and one other expression quite immaterial. This version wholly differs from that which appeared in the "County Union."

About three weeks before the events at Morant Bay, and shortly after his speech at Vere, Mr. Gordon was at the Bank of Jamaica at Kingston, conversing with Mr. James Ford, the Secretary, on the subject of that speech; and Mr. Ford then said to him, "Supposing, Mr. Gordon, the people were to be such fools as to rise in rebellion, do you think that even in the event of their being successful in their cutting all our throats, which is perfectly possible in the first rising, if they took us by surprise, that England either could not, or would not, avenge us amply, so that every one of them would be killed and done away with?" Mr. Gordon said, "Ah, Mr. Ford, you are quite mistaken there, all the powers of the great Napoleon could not put down the rising in Hayti, and that was successful, for the troops died of disease before they could meet the people in the mountains." Mr. Ford then said, "But in India, a very short time ago, an organized, armed, and formidable rebellion of millions arose against the Government, and we know how they were successful at first, but it was very quietly, steadily, and determinedly put down, and England's power has been kept, and so it would be here." Mr. Gordon then replied, "Mr. Ford, India is not at all a case in point, for India is a flat country, and the English troops would overrun it and conquer it; but this country is a mountainous country, and before the British troops could reach the people in the mountains they would die of disease here."

He then went away observing, "Of course, this is mere abstract talking."

Mr. Lawrence, writing from the Rhine on the 8th of September to Mr. Gordon on private business, makes the following remark on local affairs, "I see by the papers that Mount Pleasant and Hall Head have been offered for sale by the Hon. W. P. Georges. . . . I suppose this green bay tree (Hon. W. P. Georges) will continue to spread, while the day of retribution draws nigh for his numerous transgressions, and the ex-member of the Assembly (Mr. D.) humbled."

On the 11th of September Mr. Gordon forwarded a letter to Mr. Lawrence, written on the 23rd of August, but mislaid, in which he says, "The case of Gordon and Ketelhodt terminated yesterday again for defendant; it seemed foredetermined. I was greatly prepared for it, from what I had perceived early in the day,—more anon on this subject. The prejudices are *very strong* against me, but it shall not rest there. These multiplications of wrong are only the gatherings up of future troubles."

On the same 11th of September he writes, "The fact is, St. Thomas-y'-East is about the *very worst* parish in the Island, and now the Governor has given *another* cheer to magisterial oppression, as if it were forcing matters to a point. Verily, this Governor is an evil-doer. The Lord will plenteously reward him. Again and again the Baron and the Cookes are *gratified*."

On the 14th of September he wrote to Mr. Lawrence, at the Rhine Estate, "I fear we cannot mend public matters in St. Thomas-ye-East, so we better look to our individual circumstances more clearly. I believe the Governor and his nest of Custodes are capable of any thing, but the Lord will soon scatter them as the chaff before the wind." . . . "There is just now great exultation, and a second verdict against me, and Jackson removed to satisfy the Baron! 'Anguis in herba.' I fancy you know that this means the character you refer to, and I have apprehensions that your opinions may be correct. Let it all *go on!* Just wait and see the result. . . . I do not think we were ever in more dismal times than at present in Jamaica. The Governor succours wrong and oppression to the fullest extent in every quarter."

Again, on the 18th of September, he wrote to Lawrence,—"The enemies now exult, and justice is silenced for the time, but it will raise its head. . . . The Lord will soon pluck his hand out of his bosom, and so confound the whole band of oppressors. I believe this to be about one of their last *flickers*. Let us wait and see."

And again, on the 21st of September, "The oppression still continues in St. Thomas-ye-East, and there appears every effort put forth to exasperate the poor people! Their plan is to pray to God for deliverance. You may laugh at this, and call it cant, but I assure you it is the most effectual plan, if you know the number of ways in which God can and often does destroy the evil-doer!"

On the 28th of September he wrote to Mr. Lawrence:—"Poor *Jackson* was in the midst of conspiracy. Rector Cooke will get up a charge of conspiracy against any one over whom the Governor has power, and get him dismissed. The man,

Mr. Eyre, is an arch liar, and he supports all his emissaries. . . . . The *wicked shall be destroyed.* This is decreed. God is our refuge and strength, a very pleasant (*sic*) help in trouble."

The news of the events of Wednesday evening the 11th of October did not reach Kingston till Thursday, the 12th of October, at noon.

On the 11th of October, Mr. G. W. Gordon was residing at his property, "Cherry Garden," in St. Andrew's, a short distance from Kingston. He was engaged in trade, and had business offices in that town, where he went on that day, returning home in the evening. On his return he is said by his wife to have informed her of the outbreak at Morant Bay.

As the outbreak took place at a distance of more than thirty miles, late on the afternoon of the 11th, and was not known in Kingston till the middle of the following day, it was suggested to Mrs. Gordon that probably it was on Thursday the 12th that Mr. Gordon first spoke to her on the subject. Upon this she replied that "Wednesday evening he brought the news," and that "Mr. Gordon came up on the 12th, and said the outbreak at Morant Bay was true that we had heard of on the Wednesday." He added, "that the feeling seemed to be so strong to put (*sic*) a pistol to him, and get rid of him, as they did the President of America."

When the news of the events of October 11th reached Kingston on the following day, they were not fully believed by many persons there in the first instance.

On this day, about two o'clock, Mr. Lee, a friend of Mr. Gordon, mentioned to him the news of what had happened at Morant Bay, and Mr. Gordon seemed much distressed.

Mr. Lee said, "George, I fear your agitation at Morant Bay has been the cause of all this." Mr. Gordon said, "I never gave them bad advice. I only told them the Lord would send them a day of deliverance." And when speaking of Baron Ketelhodt being killed, Mr. Gordon added, "I told him not to go, but he was such an obstinate man."

Dr. Major, Mr. Gordon's tenant at the Rhine, about sixteen miles from Morant Bay, was at seven o'clock on the morning of October 11th leaving the Rhine, in order to attend the meeting of the Vestry at Morant Bay. He met Mr. Lawrence as he came out of the gate, who tried to dissuade him from going, by saying, "I should strongly advise you not to go." Dr. Major went, however, and about two o'clock Mrs. Major sent to Lawrence for intelligence, at which hour he called on her at the Rhine, saying that "he heard nothing further than that there was a great disturbance, but that she need be under no apprehension about the doctor, he would be quite safe, but the Baron and Mr. Herschell he feared were doomed." This conversation was in point of time before the fight had begun at Morant Bay, where, according to all the evidence, the Baron and Mr. Herschell were not killed till after five o'clock.

About three o'clock the same afternoon Mrs. Major again made inquiry by note, sent by her servant to Lawrence, and he then sent word by the servant to her "that the doctor would be quite safe, but Mr. Herschell, and the Baron he had no hope of." About the same time he also wrote to her the following note:—

"Dear Madam,

"Things seem in a fearful way; the doctor did not seem to know of the rebellion at Morant Bay till I told him, but I beg you will not be troubled. I have no doubt the feeling will be quieted. The Volunteer force moved on the scene of action this morning at one o'clock. I will let you know if any thing more transpires."

This note was received before four o'clock on the 11th of October, and at that time the events had not yet ended in the deaths of the Custos and Mr. Herschell, nor could the news of what had happened at Morant Bay have reached the Rhine at a distance of sixteen miles.

On the 12th of October, the next day, Lawrence wrote to Mrs. Major as follows:—

"Dear Madam,

"I am sorry I have no reliable news for you. I have heard a good deal, but think much of what I hear is false. There is a report about the Doctor, but the same is not true. The negroes know full well who fit for retribution."

The financial difficulties in which Mr. Gordon found himself at the time are seen from some passages in the above letters.

On the 30th of January, 1865, he writes to Lawrence: "Your promise to me in the way of remittances from all quarters are getting in arrears, but I trust soon to find them being redeemed. It won't do to put off too long, for my own necessities seem to increase, and the hope I had of relief *is not realized.*"

On the 29th of April, he wrote, "The Spring rents do not come in as they ought. I thank you for one pound remitted."

On the 10th of August he wrote, "I am just returned from the north side, and find none of your letters. I had expected

one with some money, of which I now stand greatly in need."

Again, on the 14th of September, "At Bogg matters must be doing very badly when I get no remittances! *really too bad.* I had been *fully expecting some money* from you, and feel great disappointment. I am sucked dry at present."

And on the 18th of September,—"All my sources of supply fail while I continue being drawn on. I expected something from BOGG, and ditto from SPRING, and I hope at Rhine you will have something to assist me with taxes. Bogg concerns are now *too bad.*"

On the 21st of September he writes, "We are all suffering from fever and the want of of (*sic*) money; send me some if perchance there be any, to help me out by Saturday."

Again, on the 28th instant, "I note that you are without money, and that the weather is heavy. This is rather a bad state to be in; can we raise nothing in aid of the taxes? This is also a serious question."

His landed property was under mortgage, and his admitted liabilities amounted to above 35,000*l.*

On the 12th of October, he enclosed a bill of exchange on Mr Lawrence for his acceptance to reduce and retire a bill for 160*l.*, becoming mature on the 19th of that month, and requested him to send what money he could, as he was much in need.

On the 12th of October Mr. Gordon wrote to Mr. Lawrence from Kingston,—"I hear terrible things are doing at Morant Bay. I know nothing of the proceedings or the particulars, but here I am blamed for it all. I feel for the poor people of Morant Bay. A steamer with detachments of troops has gone up. I wonder how it will all end. The Lord have mercy. I regret that the people have acted unadvisedly. This is sad matter to contemplate."

On Friday morning, the 13th of October, he went over to Spanish Town before ten o'clock in the morning. The case of Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt had been fixed for argument in court there that day. He called at the office of his attorney there, and asked how the matter stood, and was told that the suit was at end, in consequence of the death of the Baron, if that fact was true. He then made inquiries as to the costs of the suit, whereupon his attorney declined, under the serious existing circumstances, to enter into such details. A person then present remarked to him that there was plenty of time for him to go to St. Thomas-in-the-East, and to exercise his influence on the side of order; to which Mr. Gordon replied, "If I go to St. Thomas-in-the-East the moment Martial Law is proclaimed I shall be the first man hung."

On Saturday, the 14th of October, Mr. Gordon left "Cherry Garden" to pay a short visit at Kingston with his wife, intending to return home on the following Monday, the 16th.

Amid the excitement in that town, which arose on and after the 12th of October, upon the confirmation of the account first received from Morant Bay, Mr. Gordon's name was quickly associated with the authors of the disturbances. His friends and relations thereupon suggested to him on Monday the 16th to retire at once, but he positively refused, and remained where he was. On the following morning, having been sought for by the police without success, he went to the house of the Major-General commanding the troops, to give himself up. There he was shortly after met by Governor Eyre and the Custos of Kingston, and by them arrested.

From Kingston he was sent by sea to Morant Bay, where he was put on shore, a prisoner, on Friday evening the 20th of October.

The next day a Court-martial was sitting for trial of prisoners there, consisting partly of Members of the Legislature. Brigadier-General Nelson, however, having deemed it right that Mr. Gordon should not be tried by a Court composed of persons who might be supposed to be influenced by local prejudices, adjourned that Court, and another was convened, before which, about two o'clock the same afternoon, Mr. Gordon was brought for trial.

This Court consisted of Lieutenant Brand, of Her Majesty's Ship "Onyx," President; Lieutenant Errington, R.N., and Ensign Kelly, 4th West India Regiment, members. The charges against the prisoner were for furthering the massacre at Morant Bay, and at divers periods previously inciting and advising with certain insurgents, and thereby, by his influence, tending to cause the riot.

Two heads of offence were drawn up, one for High Treason, the other for complicity with certain parties engaged in the rebellion, riot, and insurrection at Morant Bay.

One witness has stated, that more than once during this trial, at the opening and during its progress, Mr. Gordon made application to postpone the trial on the ground of want of jurisdiction of the Court to try him, and also on account of the absence of material witnesses for the defence.

The witness, however, who deposed to this, seemed wholly unworthy of credit. Neither the person who independently reported the trial for publication at the time, nor the documents of the Court recording the proceedings and particulars of the trial itself, make any mention of such an application, one of such importance as could hardly have escaped notice.

Other persons present at the trial who heard all that passed there, deny that any such application was made.

After the case against the prisoner had closed, Mr. Gordon inquired for Dr. Major, who he said could prove that the state of his health had prevented him from attending the Vestry meeting at Morant Bay on the 11th of October.

The Provost Martial was sent from the Court to look for the Doctor, and on returning shortly afterwards, said to Mr. Gordon, "Dr. Major is not in the Bay." The witness, Theodore Testard, was then called by Mr. Gordon, to prove the same fact, but he had no knowledge on the subject.

Considering the importance then attached to Mr. Gordon's absence from the Vestry on the 11th of October, it would have been much more satisfactory if some delay had been allowed in order that Dr. Major might have been sent for to speak to the state of his health on that day.

The evidence taken consisted of documents and oral testimony.

Some of these documents were selected from the papers of Mr. Gordon, by Brigadier-General Nelson, and others were statements of persons taken and sworn before Magistrates, and then forwarded to Mr. Ramsay, the Provost-Marshal. All these were laid before the Court by the Provost-Marshal.

They consisted of—

1st. Statements of the 21st of October separately made and sworn to by John Anderson and James Gordon before a Justice of the Peace of St. Thomas-in-the-East. These two persons were prisoners, and were sworn and examined orally by the Court.

2nd. A statement of the 17th of October, purporting to be a dying declaration of Thomas Johnson.

3rd. A joint statement of the 19th of October, on oath, by W. R. Peart and J. F. Humber, made before a Justice of the Peace.

4th. A statement of the 19th of October, on oath, of Charles Chevannes, at Kingston, before a Justice of the Peace.

5th. A statement of the 18th of October, of George Thomas, on oath.

6th. Printed placard headed "State of the Island," above referred to.

7th. Statement of the 17th of October, of Elizabeth Jane Gough, sworn at Kingston. She was also orally examined by the Court.

8th. Three letters of Mr. Gordon, to Chisholm, September 11th, 1865; to E. C. Smith, October 14th, 1865; to Chisholm, June 19th, 1865.

William Robertson Peart, and James Fyfe Humber, whose joint statement was read, deposed to the matter spoken by Mr. Gordon at the Vere Meeting in September.

Both of these persons were in Jamaica at the time of the trial, and might have been summoned to give oral testimony.

Charles Chevannes and George Thomas might also have been called as witnesses, as they were living in Jamaica.

The written statements of these four persons had been taken in the absence of Mr. Gordon, and were inadmissible as proofs against him according to the rules that regulate evidence in English Courts, either Civil or Military.

With regard to the written statements of J. Anderson, James Gordon, and Elizabeth Jane Gough, they were not legal evidence, but those persons were sworn and examined at the same trial.

The printed placard headed "State of the Island" is a duplicate of that above mentioned as posted up on a tree in August at Morant Bay, the original draft of which was proved to have been in the handwriting of Mr. G. W. Gordon.

Five witnesses were sworn and examined for the prosecution, and one on behalf of the prisoner.

The evidence, oral and documentary, appears to us to be wholly insufficient to establish the charge upon which the prisoner took his trial.

He was found guilty, and sentenced to death, after six hours trial.

After having approved and confirmed the finding and sentence, Brigadier Nelson forwarded the proceedings of the trial to Major-General O'Connor, under cover of a despatch, dated 21st October, 1865, 8 p.m.

In this despatch he states for the information of the Major-General, that he considered it his duty fully to approve the finding and confirm the sentence, and adds, "To-morrow being Sunday, and there existing no *military* reason why the sentence should not be deferred, I have preferred to delay its execution till Monday morning next, at 8 o'clock." The whole proceedings of the Court were enclosed for the General's information.

These proceedings reached the General at Kingston on the morning of the 22nd of October, who, after reading them to

two members of the Executive Committee, forwarded them the same day to Governor Eyre, with a request that he would return them with as little delay as possible. These proceedings were returned to the General the same day by Governor Eyre, who wrote at the same time that he fully concurred in the justice of the sentence, and in the policy of carrying it into effect.

On the same day Governor Eyre wrote the following letter to Brigadier-General Nelson from Spanish Town, dated 6 p.m.:

"My dear Brigadier,

"Your report of the trial of George William Gordon has just reached me through the General, and I quite concur in the justice of the sentence, and the necessity of carrying it into effect."

This letter reached Brigadier Nelson before the execution of Mr. Gordon.

On the 23rd of October, Brigadier-General Nelson sent a despatch to Major-General O'Connor, announcing the execution of Mr. Gordon at 7.10 a.m. that morning.

On the 24th of October, General O'Connor transmitted, in letters to the Secretary of State for War, and to the Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, a copy of Brigadier-General Nelson's despatch reporting the trial, sentence, and execution of Mr. Gordon, and in both letters he adds, "A copy of his Excellency the Governor's letter approving the same is enclosed, in which I fully coincide."

Evidence was given of indignities offered to Mr. Gordon at the time of his execution, but those on whom most reliance can be placed negative that such was the case.

Comment on the case of Mr. Gordon.

Upon a careful review of this evidence we have formed the opinion that the true explanation of Mr. Gordon's conduct is to be found in the account which he has given of himself, "I have just gone as far as I can go, but no further." "If I wanted a rebellion I could have had one long ago." "I have been asked several times to head a rebellion, but there is no fear of that. I will try first a demonstration of it, but I must first upset that fellow Herschell, and kick him out of the vestry, and the Baron also, or bad will come of it."

Mr. Gordon might know well the distinction between a "rebellion" and a "demonstration of it." He might be able to trust himself to go as far as he could with safety, and no further. But that would not be so easy to his ignorant and fanatical followers. They would find it difficult to restrain themselves from rebellion when making a demonstration of it.

If a man like Paul Bogle was in the habit of hearing such expressions as those contained in Gordon's letters, as that the reign of their oppressors would be short, and that the Lord was about to destroy them, it would not take much to convince him that he might be the appointed instrument in the Lord's hand for effecting that end; and it is clear that this was Bogle's belief, as we find that after the part he had taken in the massacre at Morant Bay he, in his chapel at Stony Gut, returned thanks to God that "he had gone to do that work, and that God had prospered him in his work."

It is clear, too, that the conduct of Gordon had been such as to convince both friends and enemies of his being a party to the rising.

We learn from Mr. Gordon himself, that in Kingston, where he carried on business, this was the general belief as soon as the news of the outbreak was received.

But it was fully believed also by those engaged in the outbreak. Bogle did not hesitate to speak of himself as acting in concert with him. When Dr. Major was dragged out of his hiding-place on the night of the 11th of October, he saved himself by exclaiming that Mr. Gordon "would not wish to have him injured," and when Mr. Jackson made a similar appeal for his own life to the murderers of Mr. Hire it appears to have been equally successful. The effect which was likely to follow the meetings which took place during the Spring and Summer of 1865, in some of which Mr. Gordon took a part, was foreseen by one of his most ardent supporters, who, writing to a common friend on the subject of an article he had inserted in a newspaper respecting the Vere meeting, used these words, "All I desire is to shield you from the charge of anarchy and tumult, which in a short time must follow these fearful demonstrations."

Although, therefore, it appears exceedingly probable that Mr. Gordon, by his words and writings, produced a material effect on the minds of Bogle and his followers, and did much to produce that state of excitement and discontent in different parts of the island, which rendered the spread of the insurrection exceedingly probable, yet we cannot see, in the evidence which has been adduced, any sufficient proof either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay or of his

having been a party to a general conspiracy against the Government.

On the assumption that, if there was in fact a wide spread conspiracy, Mr. G. W. Gordon must have been a party to it, the conclusion at which we have arrived in his case is decisive as to the non-existence of such a conspiracy.

The only evidence beyond that of vague rumours in any degree tending to show an intended rising at some future time was given by one witness, who deposed to a statement made by an insurgent engaged in attacking a property in the neighbourhood of Bath, that "it was not their time; that Christmas was their time, and they were preparing for it, but as it had come on so soon they must go on and mash down everything, and kill all the white and brown."

It appears also that in one parish two or three threatening letters were addressed to several persons, and that drillings were supposed to be taking place.

Notwithstanding the alleged fact that threatening letters were previously unknown in the Island, we were unable to attach any importance to those brought to our notice. As regards the drillings it was found upon investigation at the time that they were wholly unconnected with illegal objects.

Respecting an alleged change in the manner and deportment of the negroes, the evidence was very conflicting.

We think, however, that various meetings had been held in the course of the summer, at which speeches were made, tending to cause excitement and discontent. The effect of these speeches was the greater from being addressed to an ill-educated and impulsive people.

Upon this point also the evidence of Mr. Fyfe, a Stipendiary Magistrate long resident in the Island, is deserving of attention.

He speaks of an opinion which he formed and communicated at the time to the Government. He says, "There was a general excitement that led me to think there would be a disturbance, and I wrote to Mr. Hosack to that effect, after the meeting in Vere, to say that I thought the Law Officers of the Crown ought to interfere; that things were going too far; that is, the meetings held by Mr. Gordon; that we had no Police, and that a conspiracy might be hatched next door to our Police Station, without our knowing anything about it."

CASE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Among the papers of Mr. G. W. Gordon in the hands of the Government were found documents, the contents of which induced Mr. Eyre to direct the arrest of Mr. Levien and Dr. Bruce.

These were political friends of Mr. G. W. Gordon.

At the time of their arrest they were living out of the district in which Martial Law was in operation, and were sent to Morant Bay.

They were kept in prison there until after the expiration of Martial Law, when they procured their own discharge by writ of habeas corpus.

Some other persons who were arrested in Kingston for political offences were also sent to Morant Bay, and there kept prisoners.

Doubts, however, were entertained by Brigadier-General Nelson as to his power to bring these prisoners to trial before a Court-martial.

He accordingly decided on his own responsibility not to do so, and communicated his decision to Major-General O'Connor.

The Major-General "coincided in this view," and expressed his opinion that "although there might be authority to try them by Court-martial, they would not be justified in doing so."

Mr. Eyre considered Brigadier-General Nelson "had exercised a wise and just discrimination in coming to this determination, if he had satisfied himself in each case that there was no evidence directly connecting the prisoners with the immediate outbreak at St. Thomas-in-the-East."

THE DURATION OF MARTIAL LAW.

We have now narrated the means used for the suppression of the insurrection, and have commented on the conduct of some of those engaged in the suppression.

The number of persons concerned in the original outbreak, and in the deeds of violence by which it was accompanied and followed, was undoubtedly large; the number also of those who availed themselves of a time of disorder to plunder their neighbours was far larger; but the punishments inflicted seem to us to have been far greater than the necessity required. Nor can we shut our eyes to the

fact, that among the sufferers during the existence of martial law there were many who were neither directly nor indirectly parties to the disturbances which it was the object of those placed in authority to suppress.

We fear that this to a certain extent must ever be the case when the ordinary laws, framed for the suppression of wrong-doing and the protection of the well-doer, are for a time suspended.

The circumstances which are supposed to render necessary their suspension are almost sure to be such as to excite both fear and passion; and some injustice, and we fear some cruelties will be certain at such times to be perpetrated; but we think that much which is now lamented might have been avoided if clear and precise instructions had been given for the regulation of the conduct of those engaged in the suppression, and every officer had been made to understand that he would be held responsible for the slightest departure from those instructions. It does not seem reasonable to send officers upon a very difficult, and perfectly novel, service without any instructions, and to leave everything to their judgment.

But as under any circumstances, however carefully instructions may be prepared, and however implicitly obeyed, the evils of martial law must be very great, we are driven to consider whether martial law might not have been terminated at an earlier peried than the expiration of the thirty days allowed by the statute.

We know how much easier it is to decide this question after than before the event; and we are aware, too, that sometimes the success of the measures adopted for the prevention of an evil deprive the authors of those measures of the evidence they would otherwise have had of their necessity.

We have endeavoured therefore to place ourselves as far as is possible in the position of the Governor and his Advisers at the time their determination was arrived at. It was not till the 21st of October that the Maroons marched to Torrington, which evidently was the stronghold of the insurgents, and which place, from the marks of preparation found there, it had been intended to defend.

After, however, firing a few shots, they fled at the approach of the Maroons, and on the following Monday, the 23rd, Paul Bogle was apprehended with his few remaining followers, and on the 24th was conveyed as a prisoner to Morant Bay.

From this time it must have been clear to all that the rising in St. Thomas-in-the-East was put down, and that the only thing to be feared was simultaneous risings in other parts of the Island. The question to be considered in deciding upon the conduct of the Government is not whether such risings were in fact likely to take place, but whether the Government, with the information then in their hands, had reasonable grounds for apprehending that they might take place.

It will be seen that they were receiving almost daily reports from different parts of the Island which must have led them to the conclusion that considerable danger of such risings existed. They could not at the time investigate, as we have, the grounds on which those reports rested.

They were forwarded by the Custodes of different parishes, in whom the Government was bound to place a certain amount of confidence, and they would have incurred a serious responsibility if, with this information before them, they had thrown away the advantage of the terror which the very name of martial-law is calculated to create in a population such as that which exists in this Island.

But there was a course which might have been pursued by which that advantage would have been secured, and yet many of the evils ordinarily attendant upon martial law avoided.

On the 30th of October it was formally stated by the Governor that the wicked rebellion lately existing in certain parts of the County of Surry had been subdued, and that the chief instigators thereof and actors therein had been visited with the punishment due to their heinous offences, and that he was certified that the inhabitants of the districts lately in rebellion were desirous to return to their allegiance.

From this day at any rate there could have been no necessity for that promptitude in the execution of the law which almost precluded a calm inquiry into each man's guilt or innocence.

Directions might and ought to have been given that courts-martial should discontinue their sittings; and the prisoners in custody should then have been handed over for trial by the ordinary tribunals.

We cannot conclude our inquiry without expressing our regret at the tone of levity which is to be found in the letters and language of some of the officers while engaged in serious and responsible duties.

CONCLUSIONS.

Upon the subjects proposed for our inquiry we have come to the following conclusions:—

1. That the disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East had their immediate origin in a planned resistance to lawful authority.

2. That the causes leading to the determination to offer that resistance were manifold:

(1.) That a principal object of the disturbers of order was the obtaining of land free from the payment of rent.

(2.) That an additional incentive to the violation of the law arose from the want of confidence generally felt by the labouring class in the tribunals before which most of the disputes affecting their interests were carried for adjudication.

(3.) That some, moreover, were animated by feelings of hostility towards political and personal opponents, while not a few contemplated the attainment of their ends by the death or expulsion of the white inhabitants of the Island.

3. That though the original design for the overthrow of constituted authority was confined to a small portion of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, yet that the disorder in fact spread with singular rapidity over an extensive tract of country, and that such was the state of excitement prevailing in other parts of the Island that had more than a momentary success been obtained by the insurgents, their ultimate overthrow would have been attended with a still more fearful loss of life and property.

4. That praise is due to Governor Eyre for the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stages of the insurrection; to the exercise of which qualities its speedy termination is in a great degree to be attributed.

5. That the Military and Naval operations appear to us to have been prompt and judicious.

6. That by the continuance of Martial-law in its full force to the extreme limit of its statutory operation the people were deprived for a longer than the necessary period of the great constitutional privileges by which the security of life and property is provided for.

Lastly. That the punishments inflicted were excessive.

(1.) That the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent.

(2.) That the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous.

(3.) That the burning of 1000 houses was wanton and cruel.

All which we humbly submit to Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

(Signed) H. K. STORKS, Lieut.-Gen.
RUSSELL GURNEY.
J. B. MAULE.

CHARLES S. ROUNDELL, Secretary,
King's House, Spanish Town,
April 9th, 1866.

II.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND DEPUTY-GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND, AND EARL RUSSELL AND THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, RESPECTING THE SUSPENSION OF THE BANK CHARTER ACT.

"Bank of England, May 11, 1866.

"Sir,—We consider it to be our duty to lay before the Government the facts relating to the extraordinary demands for assistance which have been made upon the Bank of England to-day, in consequence of the failure of Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co.

"We have advanced to the bankers, billbrokers, and merchants in London, during the day, upwards of four millions sterling, upon the security of Government Stock and bills of exchange—an unprecedented sum to lend in one day, and which, therefore, we suppose, would be sufficient to meet all their requirements; although the proportion of this sum which may have been sent to the country must materially affect the question.

"We commenced this morning with a Reserve of 5,727,000*l.*, which has been drawn upon so largely that we cannot calculate upon having so much as 3,000,000*l.* this evening, making a fair allowance for what may be remaining at the branches.

"We have not refused any legitimate application for assistance, and, unless the money taken from the Bank is entirely

withdrawn from circulation, there is no reason to suppose that this Reserve is insufficient.

"We have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your obedient servants,
"H. L. HOLLAND, Governor.
"THOS. NEWMAN HUNT,
Deputy-Governor.

"The Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, M.P. &c."

"*To the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England.*

"Gentlemen,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which you state the course of action at the Bank of England under the circumstances of sudden anxiety which have arisen since the stoppage of Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. (Limited) yesterday.

"We learn with regret that the Bank Reserve, which stood so recently as last night at a sum of about five millions and three quarters, has been reduced in a single day, by the liberal answer of the Bank to the demands of commerce during the hours of business, and by its just anxiety to avert disaster, to little more than one-half of that amount, or a sum (actual for London and estimated for the branches) not greatly exceeding three millions.

"The accounts and representations which have reached Her Majesty's Government during the day exhibit the state of things in the city as one of extraordinary distress and apprehension. Indeed, deputations, composed of persons of the greatest weight and influence, and representing alike the private and joint-stock banks of London, have presented themselves in Downing-street, and have urged with unanimity and with earnestness the necessity of some intervention on the part of the State to allay the anxiety which prevails, and which appears to have amounted through great part of the day to absolute panic.

"There are some important points in which the present crisis differs from those of 1847 and 1857. Those periods were periods of mercantile distress, but the vital consideration of banking credit does not appear to have been involved in them, as it is in the present crisis.

"Again, the course of affairs was comparatively slow and measured; whereas the shock has in this instance arrived with an intense rapidity, and the opportunity for deliberation is narrowed in proportion.

"Lastly, the Reserve of the Bank of England has suffered a diminution without precedent, relatively to the time in which it has been brought about; and, in view especially of this circumstance, Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that it is their duty to adopt, without delay, the measures which seem to them best calculated to compose the public mind, and to avert the calamities which may threaten trade and industry. If, then, the Directors of the Bank of England, proceeding upon the prudent rules of action by which their administration is usually governed, shall find that, in order to meet the wants of legitimate commerce, it is requisite to extend their discounts and advances upon approved securities so as to require issues of notes beyond the limits fixed by law, Her Majesty's Government recommend that this necessity should be met immediately upon its occurrence, and in that event they will not fail to make application to Parliament for its sanction.

"No such discount or advance, however, should be granted at a rate of interest less than 10 per cent., and Her Majesty's Government reserve it to themselves to recommend, if they should see fit, the imposition of a higher rate.

"After deduction by the Bank of whatever it may consider to be a fair charge for its risk, expense, and trouble, the profits of these advances will accrue to the public.

"We have the honour to be,
"Gentlemen,
"Your obedient servants,
"RUSSELL.
"W. E. GLADSTONE.

"Downing-street, 11th May, 1866."

The official correspondence is completed by the following letter and accompanying resolutions:

"*To the Right Hon. Earl Russell and "the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, "M.P.*

"Bank of England, May 12.

"My Lord and Sir,—Having laid before the Court of Directors the letter received from you yesterday, with respect to a further issue of notes, if necessary beyond the limit fixed by the Act of 1844, we have now the honour to enclose a copy of the resolutions of the Court thereupon.

"We have the honour to be,
"my Lord and Sir,
"Your most obebedient servants,
"H. L. HOLLAND, Governor.
"THOS. N. HUNT, Deputy-
"Governor."

"Copy of Resolutions enclosed.

"At a Court of Directors of the Bank on Saturday, the 12th of May, 1866,—

"Resolved,—that the Governors be requested to inform the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Court is prepared to act in conformity with the letter addressed to them yesterday.

"Resolved,—that the *minimum* rate of discount on bills not having more than ninety-five days to run be raised from 9 to 10 per cent.

"HAMMOND CHUBB, Secretary."

METEOROLOGICAL TABLES.

CONDENSED SUMMARY OF ATMOSPHERIC CONDITIONS DURING THE YEAR 1866.

JANUARY.—The new year was ushered in by a wild tempestuous wind and driving rainfall. The month was remarkable for its high atmospheric temperature. On the 12th, amid showers of sleet and snow, the thermometer sank 12° below freezing, and in a few hours rose to 46°, and during the remainder of the month once only fell so low as 35°. On the night and morning of the 22nd the respective barometric readings were 47 deg. and 50 deg. Fahrenheit. A terrific hurricane raged on the 3rd, and minor gales on the 7th and 8th. There were alternate periods of ozone and antozone. Rainfall occurred on 16 days, and amounted to 4·62 in., which is considerably above the recognized average of the month. There were three cloudless days, and the predominant wind was tropical, W. or S.W.

FEBRUARY.—On the 11th an equatorial cyclone raged, accompanied by frequent flashes of lightning from S.W. At Frant, Sussex, which, as the crow flies, is about 25 miles from the sea, the gale committed great havoc, the pressure being somewhat about 40 lb. to the square foot. Houses were partially unroofed, and at Eridge-park, one of the seats of the Earl of Abergavenny, 3,000 trees were uprooted by the fury of the blast. Spray from the sea was borne nearly 30 miles. Intermittent tropical gales occurred also on five other days, and were preceded or followed by auroræ boreales, streams of electric cirrus, lightning, and solar haloes. Diurnal oscillations of the barometer were considerable, and ranged from 29·40 in. to 30·30 in. Rainfall extended over 15 days to the extent of 5·33 in.—upwards of 3 in. above the mean. The prevailing cloud, which almost daily obscured the sky, was the composite or rain cloud, fully developed. Three days alone were cloudless.

MARCH.—The passing of large solar spots gave rise to high magnetic action, and consequent atmospheric perturbations. The prevailing winds were keen and bitter from N. and E., and the whole month was abnormally unhealthy. During the first three weeks the registered rate of mortality was upwards of 500 above the average. There was not one cloudless day; tropical and polar winds were almost equally balanced; rain fell on 19 days, and amounted to 1·90 in., which is below the acknowledged mean of the month by about the eighteenth of an inch.

APRIL.—Three consecutive days were cloudless, when the sun shone with full vigour, and a cold and detrimental E.N.E. wind prevailed. Barometric readings were high, and ranged from 29·00 in. to 30·00 in. The wind in combination touched the N. and E. on 15 days, and on the remainder it was complicated with S. and W., so that the balance was nearly equalized. The mean temperature of the month was considerably lower than that of last year; the range by day was from 40° to 62°, and by night from 34° to 55°. On the 26th, at 2 p.m., the thermometer in full sun rose to 111°; in shade, N. aspect, it stood at 70°. On the 29th it had fallen full 30°. Rain fell on 19 days, and amounted to 2·41 in.; from the 2nd to the 4th inclusive, it was mingled with snow and sleet. From the 1st to the 30th, *de die in diem*, the ozonoscopes registered 10°, or the *maximum* of ozone.

MAY.—The weather of this month was marked by extreme unhealthiness. Towards the latter portion the wind became established in the N.E., and sometimes blew with the fitful violence of a gale; hoar-frost frequently covered the ground, and vegetation was greatly retarded. The mean temperature was little above 51°, which is 8° lower than that of last year. The variation was from 40° to 61°, thus making the range of morning temperature 21°. Hail fell on the 3rd and 4th, and rain on ten days, amounting in the aggregate to 1·06 in., which is considerably less than the acknowledged monthly mean. Cloud predominated on 21 days; the modification was that of the composite or

thunder cloud, either fully formed, or the elements existed isolated in their respective wind currents. The diurnal oscillations of the barometer were limited, and the entire range was below an inch. As in last month, so in this, ozone manifested a consecutive daily *maximum*, and notwithstanding the full development of this *allotropic* condition of atmosphere, the rate of mortality was excessively high, and diseases raged which are supposed to be specially controlled by its sanitary influence. The hygrometric state of the air was very low, amounting sometimes to 50 per cent. only of moisture; telluric evaporation was consequently rapid, but was speedily carried off by the stirring winds that prevailed.

JUNE.—We have the recorded rate of mortality again this month unusually high, the aggregate, corrected for increase of population, having amounted to little short of 1000 beyond the estimated average. The rainfall, though not excessive, was somewhat above the mean, and was spread over 14 days. The temperature represented less, certainly, than the average of past years; but, nevertheless, it maintained a considerable elevation. There was during the month but one purely cloudless day, and thunder clouds, or their elements in antagonistic currents, existed perpetually. The winds at the commencement and for nearly three consecutive weeks were tropical concomitants of thunderstorms, and were generally paroxysmal or squally. Atmospheric pressure underwent but slight variations, and the diurnal oscillations were comparatively inconsiderable. The range of the thermometer was 20°. The highest night temperature 63° and the lowest 47°. The *maximum* reading occurred on the 28th under the influence of a N.E. wind, and the lowest on the 6th, beneath a tropical and gusty S.W. wind. Ozone was very largely developed, the *maximum*, or 10°, having been reached on 24 days. The hygrometer registered a fair balance of atmospheric humidity, varying from 15 to 50 per cent.

JULY.—The whole of this month was also marked by great unhealthiness, and the temperature manifested strange fluctuations. During the first week the morning register ranged from 56° to 60°; and the night from 40° to 56°, and rainfall occurred every day. On the 9th the weather became dry and sultry, and on the following day the thermometer rose to 71°, at a later hour to 80°, and in the sun to 114°, marking within a brief period a difference of temperature amounting to some 35°. The predominant cloud modification was the composite, or raincloud, which occurred on 22 days, and frequently entirely obscured the sun. Four days were free from cloud, and rainfall, with very unequal distribution, extended over 11 days, and amounted in the aggregate to 3·05 in., which exceeds the accustomed mean by nearly one inch. From the 8th to the 28th no rain fell—or rather during that time there was no appreciable gauge. Tropical winds predominated, and occasionally they were high and squally, but once only, at the end of the month, attained the force of a gale. The estimated average temperature of July is 61·07°; this year it exceeded that amount by 3°. The *maximum* of ozone was registered on every day but one.

AUGUST.—But one solitary cloudless day during the month. The predominant modification was the cirro-cumulo-stratus, or thunder cloud. On the 17th, masses in two strata and adverse wind currents formed rack and scud, and undulating waves of cirro-cumulus frequently overspread the sky. On the 6th and 7th, 8th and 9th, cold, high, tempestuous winds blew from S.W., sometimes with the force of a hurricane. On the 16th and 17th equatorial gales again prevailed, and produced considerable damage on our coasts. Barometric oscillations were frequent, but limited in range; the highest point attained was 29·72 in., the lowest 29·00 in., so that the entire variation was scarcely three-fourths of an inch. Up to the date of the 20th, the mean temperature was considerably below the standard, but on that day a change occurred, and the thermometer rose and registered consecutively above the average until the 29th. The highest morning reading, at 10 a.m. on the 24th, was 75°, and the lowest, on the 4th, 59°; the range, therefore, was 11°. The *maximum* divergence between day and night temperature was 27°. Rain fell on 18 days, and was below the average by 0·15 in. Lightning and thunder, electric cirri, haloes, and other meteors were frequent, and ozone began to decline. The 10th, 15th, 22nd, 29th, and 30th were periods of antozone.

SEPTEMBER.—This month was characterized by the prevalence of wild, tempestuous gales, and excessive rainfall. The wind on 25 days blew from W. and S.W., and on the remaining days came in complication with N. and E. Tropical gales from S.W., extending throughout England, raged on the 2nd, 5th, 6th, 11th, and with somewhat mitigated force on other occasions. On the 24th, at 11 p.m., a cold atmospheric wave passed over Frant, Sussex, and produced transient condensation, and sent down the thermometer several degrees. The mean temperature of the month was 7·06° lower than that of

last year, thus bringing it into close proximity with the general average of the season. The variation of the barometer was 0·10 within the inch. Rain fell every day from the 1st to the 27th, and amounted to upwards of 6·50 inches, which is more than 4 inches above the mean. Ozone continued to decline, and was below the average, but there was no apparent period of antozone. Fogs, light mists, and abundant dews occurred throughout the month, sometimes producing complete atmospheric saturation, when external objects streamed with their accumulated condensation. Lightning and thunder visited the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire on the 16th, and slight shocks of an earthquake are reported to have occurred in Devonshire.

October.—A month of cloud and gloom and sunless days. On five or six occasions the hygrometer denoted complete saturation. The predominant combination of winds was E. and N.E. On the 18th a tropical gale occurred, but on the whole the action of winds was very moderate. The diurnal oscillations of the barometer were considerable, but limited in extent. A lunar rainbow, succeeded by a dim gray halo, appeared on the night of the 23rd. They were followed on the succeeding day by copious rainfall and heavy radii of cirro-stratus from N.W. Rain fell on seven days, and amounted, in gross, to 1·90 in., which was below the average by 0·18 in. Ozone again fell below the mean, and there were several well-marked periods of antozone.

November.—Mensis Mirabilis.—The marvellous epoch of meteors. This month was marked by destructive gales, disastrous floods, and other signs of violent atmospheric perturbation. The rainfall was of very unequal distribution, and some of the northern counties were deluged by successive torrents, while others were visited by scarcely their normal average. One day alone was free from cloud, the prevailing type was the composite, or rain cloud, often in varied and beautiful modifications. The complications of wind from W. greatly preponderated, and the gales were generally equatorial. The first frost of the season occurred in Yorkshire, on the night of the 10th, of sufficient severity to blacken or destroy the tender annuals; but generally the month was marked by unusually high temperature. The night register, on several occasions, was 50°, and twice only, on the 20th and 21st, it fell below freezing. Ozone continued to exhibit a deficiency, and there were several periods of antozone.

December. — The past month was ushered in by a cold S.E. gale, and such depression of atmospheric temperature as gave promise that Christmas this year would assume his ancient prerogative, but the wind having lulled, the thermometer rose upwards of 20°, and the frost of the previous night was followed by a warm equatorial wind from S.W. Several minor gales occurred during the month, and high and squally winds, which committed considerable damage. There were two cloudless days, and 22 days on which a canopy of rain cloud overspread the sky. The highest reading of the barometer was 30·45 in., and the lowest 29·35 in., thus denoting a range of 1·10 in. Atmospheric temperature attained its *maximum* on the 4th, when it registered 55° in the morning, and 54° by night. The lowest was on the night and morning of the 2nd, when the respective readings were 28° and 31°; during the remainder of the month the temperature, with one exception (on the 31st), never sank below freezing. Rain fell on 22 days, and amounted to two inches, which is fractionally below the average. Ozone was very scantily developed, and there were nine periods of antozone, when the tests, after due exposure, remained pure and uncoloured. The hygrometric condition of the air was tolerably uniform, and one day only denoted saturation. The rate of mortality was below the average.

Thus has passed away this memorable year; leaving in indelible characters traces, upon living witnesses, of its wonderful phenomena and antagonistic manifestations. No theory has yet been propounded of the dynamics of atmospheric combinations, but the day may not be far distant when even these recondite mysteries shall be solved by the human mind.

R. H. ALLNATT.

Weymouth, Jan. 1.

1.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE GROSS PUBLIC INCOME OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

In the Year ended the 31st day of December, 1866, and of the actual Issues or Payments within the same period, exclusive of the sums applied to the Redemption of Funded or paying off Unfunded Debt, and of the Advances and Repayments for Local Works, &c.

INCOME.	£	s.	d.
Customs	21,915,000	0	0
Excise	20,616,000	0	0
Stamps	9,291,000	0	0
Taxes (Land and Assessed)	3,463,000	0	0
Property Tax	5,458,000	0	0
Post Office	4,375,000	0	0
Crown Lands (Net)	327,000	0	0
MISCELLANEOUS:—	£	s.	d.	
Produce of the Sale of Old Stores, and other Military and Naval extra Receipts	731,449	14	6	
Amount received from the Revenues of India on account of the effective and non-effective charges of British Troops serving in that country	827,500	0	0	
Ditto ditto arrears	254,324	17	3	
Allowance out of Profits of Issue received from the Bank of England, per Act 24 Vict., c. 3	132,498	10	11	
Miscellaneous Receipts, including Imprest and other Moneys	472,176	18	8	
China War Indemnity	422,712	0	0	
New Zealand Bonds, per Act 29 & 30 Vict. c. 104	500,000	0	0	
				3,340,662 1 4
Total Revenue				£68,785,662 1 4

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Interest and Management of the Permanent Debt	23,431,712	11	1			
Terminable Annuities	2,391,422	9	7			
Interest of Exchequer Bonds	67,250	0	0			
Interest of Exchequer Bills	208,122	8	4			
Interest of Deficiency Bills	597	18	4			
				26,099,105	7	4
CHARGES ON CONSOLIDATED FUND:—						
Civil List	406,618	15	0			
Annuities and Pensions	273,447	0	7			
Salaries and Allowances	152,620	19	11			
Diplomatic Salaries and Pensions	177,217	7	6			
Courts of Justice	679,803	5	4			
Miscellaneous Charges	173,105	14	8			
				1,862,813	3	0
SUPPLY SERVICES:—						
Army	14,050,540	9	2			
Navy	10,626,101	4	2			
New Zealand War	764,829	0	0			
Miscellaneous Civil Services	7,896,623	14	7			
Salaries, Superannuations, &c., of Customs and Inland Revenue	2,419,445	11	6			
Ditto ditto Post Office	2,253,444	8	4			
Post Office Packet Service	881,867	0	0			
Marriage Portion of H.R.H. the Princess Helena	30,000	0	0			
				38,922,851	7	9
Total Ordinary Expenditure				£66,884,769	18	1
Expenses of Fortifications provided for by Money raised per Acts 27 & 28 Vict. c. 109				550,000	0	0
Total Expenditure				£67,434,769	18	1
Excess of Income over Ordinary Expenditure, in the Year ended 31st December, 1866	£ 1,900,892	s. 3	d. 3			
Deduct,—Expenses of Fortifications, as above	550,000	0	0			
				1,350,892	3	3

Remaining in the Exchequer on the 31st day of December, 1865; the amount of Money raised by additions to the Funded or Unfunded Debt, and the amount applied towards the Redemption of Funded or Paying off Unfunded Debt in the Year ended the 31st day of December, 1866; the total amount of Advances and Repayments on account of Local Works, &c., in the same period; and the Balances in the Exchequer on the 31st day of December, 1866.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balances in the Exchequer on the 31st December, 1865 — At the Bank of England	*4,736,456	6	1			
At the Bank of Ireland	1,061,773	0	10			
				5,798,229	6	11
Money raised in the Year ended 31st December, 1866:—						
TERMINABLE DEBT:						
By the creation of Terminable Annuities, per Acts 27 & 28 Vict. c. 109, and 28 & 29 Vict. c. 61 (to provide for the Expense of constructing certain Fortifications), to expire on the 5th April, 1885, as follows:						
12th Feb., 1866 £7,446 Annuity commencing	100,000	0	0			
14th April „ 11,100 6 April, 1866	150,000	0	0			
17th Oct. „ 15,075 ditto, 11 Oct.,	200,000	0	0			
5th Dec. „ 11,250 1866.	150,000	0	0			
				600,000	0	0
Total Annuities created . £44,871						
UNFUNDED DEBT:—						
Exchequer Bonds (Series M.) per Act 28 & 29 Vict. c. 29, dated 27th March, 1866 (payable 27th March, 1868) .				1,000,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills, dated 11th June, 1866, issued per Act 24 Vict. c. 5 (in exchange for Bills dated 11th June, 1861) .				2,581,000	0	0
Ditto ditto ditto (to replace, in part, Bills dated 11th June, 1861, paid off in Money) . . .				865,500	0	0
Repayments on account of Advances for the Purchase of Bullion, and for Local Works, &c.				1,717,629	16	1
Repayments on account of Advances for New Courts of Justice, &c.				300,000	0	0
Excess of Income over Total Expenditure in the Year ended 31st December, 1866				1,350,892	3	3
				£14,213,251	6	3

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Issued to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, to be applied to the Redemption of Debt, viz.:—						
Sinking Fund, per Act 10 Geo. 4, c. 27.	1,726,496	15	8			
Interest on Donations and Bequests .	7,409	0	0			
	1,733,905	15	8			
Deduct—Amount applied in redemption of Deficiency Bills	932,000	0	0			
				801,905	15	8
Exchequer Bills (dated 11th June, 1861), exchanged for new Bills				2,581,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills paid off in Money (including £525,200 for Bills paid in as Revenue)				2,154,900	0	0
Advances for the Purchase of Bullion, and for Local Works, &c. (including £200,000 for Lancashire Distress) . .				1,975,508	7	4
Advances for New Courts of Justice, &c.				338,000	0	0
Balances in the Exchequer on the 31st December, 1866 — At the Bank of England . .	†5,263,928	5	3			
At the Bank of Ireland . .	1,098,008	18	0			
				6,361,937	3	3
				£14,213,251	6	3

* No balance remaining of the Money raised for Fortifications.

† Including £50,000 of the Money raised for Fortifications.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Jan. 2. Major-Gen. Sir Henry Knight Storks, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.; Russell Gurney, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of the City of London: and John Blosset Maule, Esq., barrister-at-law, Recorder of Leeds, to be H.M.'s Commissioners for the purpose of inquiring respecting certain disturbances in Jamaica, and the measures taken in the course of their suppression; and Charles Saville Roundell, Esq., Barrister-at-law, to be secretary to the said Commissioners.

5. The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel to be an Ordinary Member of the Civil Division of the First Class, or Knights Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

9. Robert Burnett David Morier, Esq., Secretary to H.M's Legation at Athens, and Louis Mallet, Esq., to be Ordinary Members of the Civil Division of the Third Class, or Companions of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

10. The dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland granted to the undermentioned gentlemen, and the respective heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotton, viz.:—Edward Manningham-Buller, Esq., of Dilhorn-hall, co. Stafford; Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, K.C.B., of Belgrave-square, Middlesex, Director-General of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom; William Fergusson, Esq., of Spittlehaugh, co. Pebbles, and of George-street, Hanover-square, one of H.M.'s Surgeons Extraordinary.

19. Lord Augustus William Frederick Spencer Loftus, K.C.B., now H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Bavaria, to be H.M.'s Ambassador and Plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia.

Sir Henry Francis Howard, K.C.B., now H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Hanover, to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Bavaria.

Sir Charles Lennox Wyke, K.C.B., to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Hanover.

23. The Duke of Somerset, K.G.; Admiral the Hon. Sir Frederick William Grey, G.C.B.; Rear-Admiral Charles Eden, C.B.; Rear-Admiral Edward Gennys Fanshawe, C.B.; Rear-Admiral the Hon. James Robert Drummond, C.B.; and Henry Fenwick, Esq., M.P., to be H.M.'s Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging.

26. The Right Hon. George Joachim Göschen to be Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

30. Captain his Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen, R.N., K.C.B., to be a G.C.B. of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath; and his Serene Highness the Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenbourg, to be an Honorary K.C.B.

The dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto James Young Simpson, of Strathavon, Linlithgow, M.D., one of H.M.'s Physicians in Scotland, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

The dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto Dominic John Corrigan, of Cappagh and Inniscorrig, co. Dublin, M.D., one of H.M.'s Physicians in ordinary in Ireland, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

The Right Hon. Lord Napier, K.T., to be Governor of Madras.

Feb. 3. The Rev. Charles Frederick Johnstone, of Balliol College, Oxford, B.A., to be one of H.M.'s Inspectors of Schools.

5. The Queen has been pleased to appoint Frederick Eden, Esq.; Wallace Houstoun, Esq., Rear-Admiral in H.M.'s Navy; and James Paterson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to be the Special Com-

missioners for English Fisheries under the Salmon Fishery Act, 1865.

16. The Marquis of Hartington sworn a member of the Privy Council, and appointed Secretary of State for War.

Frederick Solly Flood, Esq., appointed Attorney-General of Gibraltar.

20. The Right Hon. Sir Charles Wood, bart., created Viscount Halifax, in the peerage of Great Britain.

Sir H. B. E. Frere, K.C.B., Sir R. Montgomery, K.C.B., and General Sir W. R. Mansfield, K.C.B., appointed Knights of the Star of India.

21. Francis Grant, Esq., President of the Royal Academy, in the room of Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, deceased, the Very Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster, to be Trustees for the formation of a gallery of the portraits of persons eminent in British history.

23. H.R.H. Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, to be Captain in H.M.'s fleet.

27. H.M. Leopold II., King of the Belgians, appointed a Knight of the Garter.

John Smale, Esq., appointed Chief Justice of Hong Kong.

The dignity of a Knight of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to David Monro, Esq., Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Colony of New Zealand.

The Right Hon. George William Fox, Lord Kinnaird, K.T., to be Lieut. and Sheriff Principal of the shire of Perth, in the room of Thomas Robert, Earl of Kinnoull, deceased.

March 3. Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Charles Grey, one of H.M.'s Equerries in Ordinary, and Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Myddelton Biddulph, K.C.B., to be Joint Keepers of H.M.'s Privy Purse, in the room of Colonel the Hon. Sir Charles Beaumont Phipps, K.C.B., deceased.

Major Sir John Clayton Cowell, of the Royal Engineers, K.C.B., to be Master of H.M.'s Household, *vice* Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Myddelton Biddulph, K.C.B., resigned.

Richard Couch, Esq., now a Judge of the High Court at Bombay, to be Chief Justice of the said Court; Sir Charles Sargent, Knt., to be a Judge of the High Court at Bombay; William Markby, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to be a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta; and Charles Collett, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, to be a Judge of the High Court at Madras.

Walter Morgan, Esq. now a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, to be Chief Justice of the High Court for the North-Western Provinces of the Presidency of Fort William; and Alexander Ross, Esq., William Edwards, Esq., William Roberts, Esq., and Francis Boyle Pearson, Esq., all of the Bengal Civil Service, and Charles Arthur Turner, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to be Judges of the said High Court for the North-Western Provinces.

9. Colonel the Hon. Augustus Liddell as Treasurer, and the Hon. Eliot Yorke and Lieut. Arthur Balfour Haig, R.E., as Equerries to H.R.H. Prince Alfred.

Frederick Dundas, Esq., of Papdale, in the shire of Orkney, Lieut. and Sheriff Principal of the shires of Orkney and Zetland, in the room of the Hon. John Charles Dundas, deceased.

16. Right Hon. William Monsell, to be President of the Board of Trade.

20. Arthur Hobhouse, Esq., Q.C., to be Third Charity Commissioner for England and Wales.

23. The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Francis Grant, Esq. President of the Royal Academy of Arts.

27. The Rev. Benjamin Morgan Cowie, B.D., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, to be an Honorary Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

Helène Eleonore Charlotte Auguste, Vicountess Walden, to be one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber in Ordinary to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, in the room of Mary Gertrude, Countess De Grey and Ripon, resigned.

April 6. Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Myddelton Biddulph, K.C.B., to be Receiver-Gen. of the Duchy of Cornwall.

10. Abraham Carlton Cumberbatch, Esq., late Consul-Gen. at Constantinople, to be a C.B. (Civil Division).

Assistant-Commissary-General James Bailey to be a C.B. (Military Division).

The Duke of Somerset, K.G., Admiral the Hon. Sir F. W. Grey, G.C.B., Vice-Admiral C. Eden, C.B., Rear-Admiral E. G. Fanshawe, C.B., Rear-Admiral the Hon. J. R. Drummond, C.B., and Lord John Hay, to be Lords of the Admiralty.

17. George Buckley Mathew, Esq., C.B., now Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republics of South America, to be Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Argentine Republic.

May 1. Letters patent under the Great Seal granting the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom to the following noblemen, and the heirs male of their respective bodies lawfully begotten—viz.: James, Earl of Caithness, in that part of the said United Kingdom called Scotland, by the name, style, and title of Baron Barrogill, of Barrogill Castle, in the county of Caithness; Thomas, Baron Clermont, in that part of the said United Kingdom

called Ireland, by the name, style, and title of Baron Clermont, of Clermont-park, in the county of Louth; and William Meredyth, Baron Athlumney, in that part of the said United Kingdom called Ireland, by the name, style, the title of Baron Meredyth, of Dollardstown, in the county of Meath.

8. The Hon. Otho Augustus Fitzgerald (commonly called Lord Otho Fitzgerald) to be Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household, in the room of the Right Hon. William Coutts Keppel (commonly called Viscount Bury), resigned.

The Right Hon. George Augustus Constantine, Marquis of Normanby, to be one of the Lords-in-Waiting in ordinary to Her Majesty, in the room of George, Lord Rivers, deceased.

The Hon. Frederick William Stopford to be Page of Honour to Her Majesty, vice Henry John Loftus, Esq.

The Right Hon. Robert Montgomery, Lord Belhaven, K.T., to be H.M.'s High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

10. Richard Edmund St. Lawrence, Earl of Cork and Orrery, and Clarence Edward Paget (commonly called Lord Clarence Paget) were, by H.M.'s command, sworn of H.M.'s Most Hon. Privy Council.

19. At the Court at Windsor, Her Majesty in Council was this day pleased to declare her consent to a contract of matrimony between Her Royal Highness the Princess Mary Adelaide Wilhelmina Elizabeth of Cambridge and his Serene Highness Francis Paul Charles Louis Alexander, Prince of Teck; which consent Her Majesty has caused to be signified under the Great Seal.

19. The Hon. John Henry Thomas Manners Sutton (now Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Trinidad and its dependencies) to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Victoria.

William Cleaver Francis Robinson, Esq. (now President and Senior Member of the Executive Council of the Island of Montserrat), to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of H.M.'s settlements in the Falkland Island and their dependencies.

21. Petrus Johannes Denyssen and James Coleman Fitzpatrick, Esqs., to be Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope; and Simeon Jacobs, Esq. to be Solicitor-General for that Colony.

25. H.R.H. Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, K.G., K.T., to be Earl of Ulster, Earl of Kent, and Duke of Edinburgh.

29. Lord Wodehouse to be Earl of Kimberley.

William Smythe, Esq., to be one of the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor in Scotland, *vice* Henry Home Drummond, Esq., resigned.

The Hon. Mrs. Robert Bruce, to be a Bedchamber Woman in Ordinary to Her Majesty, *vice* Lady Charlotte Copley, resigned.

Lady Charlotte Copley to be an Extra Bedchamber Woman to Her Majesty.

June 2. The Right Hon. John, Earl Russell, K.G., the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, John Bonham Carter, Esq., William Patrick Adam, Esq., and John Esmonde, Esq., to be Commissioners for executing the offices of Treasurer of the Exchequer of Great Britain and Lord High Treasurer of Ireland.

11. The Right Hon. Otho Augustus Fitzgerald (commonly called Lord Otho Fitzgerald), the Right Hon. Edmund Hammond, and the Right Hon. Russell Gurney, were, by H.M.'s command, sworn of H.M.'s Most Hon. Privy Council.

The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto Edwin Richard Windham, Earl of Dunraven and Mount Earl, in that part of the said United Kingdom called Ireland, K.P., and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Kenry, of Kenry, in the county of Limerick.

The Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, C.B., now H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Saxony, to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Denmark; and Sir Augustus Berkeley Paget, K.C.B., now H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Denmark, to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Portugal.

Victor de Magnus, Esq., to be H.M.'s Consul-General at Berlin.

John Savile Lumley, Esq., now Secretary to H.M.'s Embassy at St. Petersburg, to be H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Saxony.

18. The dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom unto Thomas Watson, of Henrietta-street, Cavendish-square, in the parish of St. Marylebone, and county of Middlesex, Doctor of Medicine, President of the Royal College of Physicians, and one of H.M.'s Physicians Extraordinary, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

Viscount Hamilton to be a Lord of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, *vice* the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, appointed an Extra Lord of the Bedchamber to his Royal Highness.

Richard Couch, Esq., Chief Justice of Bombay; and Walter Morgan, Esq., Chief Justice of the North-Western Provinces, Knighted by patent.

The Right Hon. Horatio Waddington, to be a member of H.M.'s Most Hon. Privy Council.

The Hon. William Stuart, now Secretary to H.M.'s Embassy at Constantinople, to be Secretary to H.M.'s Embassy at St. Petersburgh.

26. Henry Page Turner Barron, Esq., now Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Brussels, to be Secretary to H.M.'s Embassy at Constantinople; George Glynne Petre, Esq., now Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Copenhagen, to be Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Brussels; and Francis Clare Ford, Esq., now Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Buenos Ayres, to be Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Copenhagen.

July 5th. The Most Noble Richard Plantagenet Campbell Temple Nugent Brydges Chandos, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos; the Right Hon. Henry Howard Molyneaux, Earl of Carnarvon; Robert Arthur Talbot Cecil, Esq. (commonly called Viscount Cranborne); Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Bart.; and Gathorne Hardy, Esq., were, by Her Majesty's command, sworn of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to be Lord President of H.M.'s Most Honourable Privy Council.

Her Majesty in Council delivered the Great Seal to the Right Hon. Frederic Lord Chelmsford, whereupon the oath of Lord Chancellor of Great Britain was, by Her Majesty's command, administered to him, and his Lordship took his place at the Board accordingly.

Her Majesty delivered the custody of the Privy Seal to the Right Hon. James Howard, Earl of Malmesbury.

Her Majesty appointed the Right Hon. Henry Howard Molyneux, Earl of Carnarvon; the Right Hon. Robert Arthur Talbot Cecil (commonly called Viscount Cranborne); the Right Hon. Edward Henry Stanley (commonly called Lord Stanley); the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole; and the Right Hon. Jonathan Peel, to be H.M.'s Five Principal Secretaries of State; and the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli to be Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of H.M.'s Exchequer.

The Most Hon. James, Marquis of Abercorn, K.G., to be Lieut.-General and General Governor of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

The Right Hon. Sir Stafford Henry Northcote to be President of the Committee of Council for Trade.

The Right Hon. Henry Bouverie William Brand was, by Her Majesty's command, sworn of H.M.'s Most Honourable Privy Council.

John Hall, Esq., of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, B.A., to be one of H.M.'s Inspectors of schools.

Lady Susan Leslie-Melville to be Lady of the Bedchamber, and Lady Edward Cavendish to be Hon. Lady of the Bedchamber to Her Royal Highness Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein.

Lieut.-Col. G. G. Gordon to be Equerry to His Royal Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein.

G. D. Engleheart, Esq., to be Treasurer to Prince and Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein.

The dignity of an Earl of the United Kingdom granted to Richard, Baron Cremorne, in Ireland, K.P., and the heirs male of his body, by the title of Earl of Dartrey, of Dartrey, in the county of Monaghan.

The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom granted to Charles Stanley, Viscount Monck, in Ireland, Governor-General of all H.M.'s provinces in North America and of the Island of Prince Edward, and the heirs male of his body, by the title of Baron Monck, of Ballytrammon, in the county of Wexford.

His Serene Highness Francis Paul Charles Louis Alexander, Prince of Teck, to be an Honorary Member of the Civil Division of the First Class, or Knights Grand Cross of the most honourable Order of the Bath.

The Right Hon. Sir Andrew Buchanan, K.C.B., H.M.'s Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of All the Russias; Lord Augustus William Frederick Spencer Loftus, K.C.B., H.M.'s Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia; and Sir Arthur Charles Magenis, K.C.B., late H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Portugal, to be Extra Members of the Civil Division of the First Class, or Knights Grand Cross of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath. Sir James Clark, M.D., one of the Physians in Ordinary to Her Majesty; Thomas Erskine May, Esq., C.B., Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons; and Charles Pressly, Esq., C.B., late Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, to be Ordinary Members of the Civil Division of the Second Class, or Knights Commanders of the said Order; and James Booth, Esq., late one of the Secretaries to the Board of Trade, to be an Ordinary Member of the Civil Division of the Third Class, or Companions of the said Most Honourable Order.

Sir J. Matheson, Bart., to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ross-shire, *vice* Col. H. D. Baillie, deceased.

The Hon. A. Hamilton Gordon, C.M.G., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Trinidad; and C. F. Rothery, Esq., to be Assistant-Justice of the General Court of the Bahama Islands.

His Royal Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein to be a Major-General in the Army.

10. The Right Hon. William Reginald Courtenay, Earl of Devon, to be Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Most Noble John Winston, Duke of Marlborough, to be Lord Steward of H.M.'s Household; the Right Hon. William Alleyne Cecil (commonly called Lord Burghley) to be Treasurer of H.M.'s household; the Right Hon. Charles Philip Yorke (commonly called Viscount Royston) to be Controller of H.M.'s Household; the Right Hon. Orlando George Charles, Earl of Bradford, to be Lord Chamberlain of H.M.'s Household; the Right Hon. Claude Hamilton (commonly called Lord Claude Hamilton), to be Vice-Chamberlain of H.M.'s Household; Charles, Earl of Tankerville, to be Captain of H.M.'s Hon. Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms; Henry Charles, Earl Cadogan, to be Captain of H.M.'s Guard of Yeomen of the Guard.

The dignity of Barons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to John, Baron Heniker, in that part of the said United Kingdom called Ireland, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Hartismere, of Hartismere, in the county of Suffolk; to the Right Hon. Sir Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer Lytton, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Lytton, of Knebworth, in the county of Hertford; to the Right Hon. Sir William George Hylton Jolliffe, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Hylton, of Hylton, in the county palatine of Durham, and of Petersfield, in the county of Southampton.

The Right Hon. Edward Geoffrey, Earl of Derby, K.G.; the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli; the Hon. Gerard James Noel; Sir Graham Graham Montgomery, and Henry Whitmore, Esq., to be Commissioners for executing the offices of Treasurer of the Exchequer of Great Britain, and Lord High Treasurer of Ireland; the Right Hon. Sir John Somerset Pakington, G.C.B.; Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, K.C.B.; Vice-Admiral Sir Sydney Colpoys Dacres, K.C.B.; Rear-Admiral George Henry Seymour, C.B.; Rear-Admiral Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay, and Charles DuCane, Esq., to be H.M.'s Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; the office of Advocate-General or Judge-Marshal of H.M.'s Forces to the Right Hon. John Robert Mowbray; the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy to be Poor Law Commissioner for England; the Right Hon. Henry Thomas Lowry Corry to be Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education; the office of H.M.'s Advocate for Scotland to George Patton, Esq., Advocate; and the office of Solicitor-General for Scotland to Edward Strathearn Gordon, Esq.

Stephen Cave, Esq., M.P. sworn a Member of the Privy Council, and appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade.

The dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom to Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, of Guisachan, in the county of Inverness, Esq.; Henry John Ingilby, of Ripley, in the West Riding of the county of York, and of Harrington, in the county of Lincoln, clerk; John Ennis, of Ballinahowncourt, in the county of Westmeath, Esq.; Pryse Pryse, of Gogerddan, in the county of Cardigan, Esq.; Charles Henry Tempest, of Heaton, in the county palatine of Lancaster, Esq.; Edward St. Aubyn, of St. Michael's Mount, in the county of Cornwall, Esq.

Sir Hugh M'Calmont Cairns to be Attorney-General; and Wm. Bovill, Esq., Q.C., to be Solicitor-General.

17. Lord Colville of Culross to be Master of the Buckhounds, *vice* the Earl of Cork, resigned.

Viscount Strathallan, Viscount Hawarden, Lord Bagot, Lord Polwarth, Lord Crofton, Lord Skelmersdale, and Lord Raglan, to be Lords-in-Waiting in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

Sir J. P. Grant, K.C.B., to be Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica.

Sir Fitzroy Edward Kelly to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Royal licence granted to Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus Slade, K.C.B., to accept and wear the Order of the Osmanieh, conferred upon him by the Sultan.

The Duke of Beaufort to be Master of the Horse.

24. The dignity of Baronet of the United Kingdom to the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Knt., of Hatton, Middlesex, late Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; Henry Edwards, Esq., of Pye Nest, co. York; and William Williams, Esq., of Tregullow, co. Cornwall.

The Right Hon. Henry Lowry Corry to be the Fourth Charity Commissioner for England and Wales.

The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom to Lieut.-General the Right Hon. Sir Hugh Henry Rose, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., General Commanding H.M.'s Forces in Ireland, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Strathnairn, of Strathnairn in the county of Nairn, and of Jhansi, in theEast Indies.

31. The honour of Knighthood conferred upon William Bovill, Esq., H.M.'s Solicitor-General.

August 3. The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom to the Hon. Edward Gordon Douglas-Pennant, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Penrhyn of Llandegai in the county of Carnarvon.

George Burnett, Esq., Advocate, to be Lyon King of Arms for Scotland.

7. The Right Hon. John Robert Mowbray to be Second Church Estates Commissioner.

Edward Howes, Esq., M.P., to be a Church Estates Commissioner, *vice* the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole, resigned.

10. Henry James Baillie, Esq., M.P., to be a Privy Councillor.

Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Marshman Havelock, bart., V.C.; Lieut.-Col. William Cosmo Trevor; and Lieut.-Col. George Dean Pitt, to be Companions of the Bath (Military Division).

14. The Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., to be Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, *vice* Goldwin Smith, Esq., M.A., resigned.

17. Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Charles Hugh Lindsay, M.P., to be a Groom in Waiting in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

His Highness Datu Tummongong Abubakr Sri, Maharajah of Johore, to be a Knight Commander of the most Exalted Order of the Star of India.

19. General Sir George Wetherall, G.C.B., to be Governor of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst.

22. The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom to Gustavus Frederick, Viscount Boyne, in Ireland, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Brancepeth, of Brancepeth, in the county palatine of Durham.

The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Samuel Canning, Esq.; William Thomson, Esq., LL.D.; James Anderson, Esq.; and Samuel White Baker, the African traveller, and that of Companion of the Bath upon Captain Grant, of the Bombay army, the companion of Speke in his African expedition.

The Right Hon. Abraham Brewster to be Lord Justice of Appeal in Ireland.

Lieut.-Col. Edward Arthur Williams, of the Royal Artillery, and Lieut.-Col. Fiennes Middleton Colvile, of the 43rd Regiment, to be Ordinary Members of the Military Division of the Third Class, or Companions of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

Oct. 30. The Right Hon. John Edward Walsh to be Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

Sir Hugh M'Calmont Cairns to be a Judge of the Court of Appeal in Chancery, *vice* the Right Hon. Sir James Lewis Knight-Bruce, resigned.

John Rolt, Esq., Q.C., to be Attorney-General for England.

Nov. 2. Capt. John Edmund Commerell, R.N., V.C., and Staff-Commander Henry Augustus Moriarty, R.N., to be Companions of the Bath (Civil Division).

6. Lieut.-Colonel Frederick John Goldsmid, Madras Staff Corps, Superintendent of the Indo-European Telegraph, and Edward Backhouse Eastwick, Esq., some time Secretary of Legation at Persia, to be companions of the Bath (Civil Division).

The Earl of Lanesborough to be Commander in H.M.'s fleet.

Nov. 13. Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Sir Hugh M'Calmont Cairns, Sir Richard Torin Kindersley, and Major-Gen. Sir Henry Knight Storks, G.C.B., to be Members of the Privy Council.

John Rolt, Esq., H.M.'s Attorney-General, Knighted.

Daniel Gooch, Esq., of Clewer-park, Berks, and Curtis Miranda Lampson, Esq., of Rowfant, Worth, Sussex, to be Baronets of the United Kingdom.

Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., to be a Member of the Council of India.

The Hon. and Rev. Charles Broderick Bernard, rector of Kilbrogan, in the diocese of Cork, to be Bishop of Tuam.

20. William Robert Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald, Esq., to be Governor of Bombay.

Admiral Sir George Francis Seymour, G.C.B., G.C.H., to be Admiral of the Fleet.

26. Admiral Sir William Bowles, K.C.B., to be Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Lieut. of the Admiralty thereof, in the room of Admiral Sir George Francis Seymour, G.C.B., promoted to be Admiral of the Fleet; and Sir Phipps Hornby G.C.B., to be Rear-Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Admiralty thereof, in the room of the said Admiral Sir William Bowles.

The dignity of a Knight of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto Richard Atwood Glass, Esq.

The Rev. Edward Meyrick Goulburn, D.D., to the Deanery of H.M.'s Cathedral Church of Norwich.

29. Sir William Bovill Knight, H.M.'s Solicitor-General, to be Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and John Burgess Karslake, Esq., Q.C., to be Solicitor-General.

George Trafford, Esq., to be Chief Justice of the Island of St. Vincent; and William Alexander Parker, Esq., to be Magistrate for the Gold Coast Settlement, Western Africa.

Dec. 4. The honour of Knighthood conferred upon John Morris, Esq., Mayor of Wolverhampton.

Richard Malins, Esq., Q.C., to be a Vice-Chancellor, *vice* the Right Hon. Sir R. T. Kindersley, resigned.

11. Capt. James George Mackenzie, R.N., to be Lieut.-Governor of the Islands of St. Christopher and Nevis; and Edward Herbert, Esq., to be Colonial Secretary for the Island of St. Christopher.

14. The honour of knighthood conferred upon William Hackett, Esq., Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island.

18. His Highness Ismail Pacha, Viceroy of Egypt, to be a G.C.B. (Civil Division).

Gerard Francis Gould, Esq., to be Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Buenos Ayres.

28. Sir William Bovill, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and William Robert Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald, Esq., sworn of H.M.'s Most Hon. Privy Council.

HER MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AND CHIEF OFFICERS OF STATE.

First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Derby.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli.
Junior Lords of the Treasury	Hon. Gerard James Noel, Sir Graham Montgomery, Bart., Henry Whitmore, Esq.
Joint Secretaries to the Treasury	Thomas Edward Taylor, Esq., G. Ward Hunt, Esq.
Secretary of State for Home Department	Right Hon. Spencer H. Walpole.
Secretary of State for Foreign Department	Lord Stanley.
Secretary of State for Colonial Department	Duke of Buckingham.
Secretary of State for War	Sir John S. Pakington, Bart.
Secretary of State for India and President of the Council of India	Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart.
Vice-President of the Council of India	J. P. Willoughby, Esq.
Under Secretaries for Home Department	Lord Belmore, Right Hon. Horatio Waddington.
Under Secretaries for Foreign Department	Edward C. Egerton, Esq., Edmund Hammond, Esq.
Under Secretaries for Colonial Department	Right Hon. C. B. Adderley, Sir Frederick L. Rogers.
Under Secretary for War	Earl of Longford.
Under Secretaries for India	Sir James Fergusson, Bart., Herman Merivale, Esq.
Assistant Under Secretary for India	James Cosmo Melvile, Esq.
Assistant Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs	James Murray, Esq.
Chief Secretary for Ireland	Lord Naas.
Under Secretary for Ireland	Major-Gen. Sir T. A. Larcom, K.C.B.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Right Hon. Henry Lowry Corrie.
Junior Lords of the Admiralty	Vice-Adm. Sir Alexander Milne, Vice-Adm. Sir Sydney C. Dacres, Vice-Adm. George H. Seymour, Rear-Adm. Sir John Hay, Charles Du Cane, Esq.

Secretary to the Admiralty	Lord Henry Gordon Lennox.
Lord High Chancellor	Lord Chelmsford.
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	Right Hon. Abraham Brewster.
Lords Justice of the Court of Appeal in Chancery	Sir James Turner, Lord Cairns.
Vice-Chancellors	Sir John Stewart, Sir W. M. Page Wood, Sir Richard Malins.
Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench	Sir Alexander J. E. Cockburn.
Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas	Sir W. Bovill.
Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer	Sir Fitzroy Kell
Master of the Rolls	Lord Romilly.
Judge of the Court of Probate	Sir James Plaisted Wilde.
Attorney-General	Sir John Rolt.
Solicitor-General	Sir John B. Karslake.
Attorney-General for Ireland	Right Hon. H. E. Chatterton.
Solicitor-General for Ireland	R. R. Warren, Esq.
Lord Advocate of Scotland	Right Hon. E. S. Gordon.
Solicitor-General for Scotland	George Young, Esq.
Judge Advocate General	Right Hon. John R. Mowbray.
Lord President of the Council	Duke of Marlborough.
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Malmesbury.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Marquis of Abercorn.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Earl of Devon.
Commissioner of Works and Buildings	Lord John Manners.
Commissioners of Woods and Forests	Hon. Charles Gore, Hon. James Kenneth Howard.
President of the Board of Trade	Duke of Richmond.
Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Paymaster General	Right Hon. Stephen Cave.
Master of the Mint	T. Graham, Esq.
Postmaster General	Duke of Montrose.
Commander-in-Chief	Duke of Cambridge.
President of the Poor Law Board	Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy.
Secretaries to the Poor Law Board	George Sclater-Booth, Esq., W. Flemming, Esq.
President of the Board of Health and Vice-President of the Council	Lord Robert Montagu.
Earl Marshal.	Duke of Norfolk (Hereditary).
Lord Great Chamberlain	Lord Willoughby DeEresby.
Lord Chamberlain of the Household	Earl of Bradford.
Lord Steward of the Household	Earl of Tankerville.
Master of the Horse	Duke of Beaufort.
Master of the Buckhounds	Lord Colville.

HIGH SHERIFFS FOR 1866.

ENGLAND.

BEDFORDSHIRE—Charles Livius Grimshawe, of Apsley Guise, Esq.

BERKSHIRE—John Blandy-Jenkins, of Kingston Bagpuize House, near Abingdon, Esq.

BUCKS—Henry Arthur Hoare, of Wavedon House, Esq.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE—The Hon. Octavius Duncombe, of Waresley.

CHESHIRE—Robert Barbour, of Bolesworth Castle, Esq.

CORNWALL—John Thomas Henry Peter, of Chyverton, Esq.

CUMBERLAND—Sir Frederick Ulric Graham, of Netherby, Bart.

DERBYSHIRE—Sir William Fitzherbert, of Tissington, Bart.
DEVONSHIRE—Sir John Kennaway, of Escort, Bart.
DORSETSHIRE—St. John Coventry, of Knowle, Wimborne, Esq.
DURHAM—William Edward Surtees, of Seaton Carew, Esq.
ESSEX—Arthur Pryor, of Hylands, Esq.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE—Sir John Maxwell Steele-Graves, of Mickleton Manor, near Broadway, Bart.
HEREFORDSHIRE—Sir Edward Cludde Cockburn, of Pennoxstone, Bart.
HERTFORDSHIRE—Henry Heyman Toulmin, of Childwickbury, St. Albans, Esq.
KENT—Thomas Farmer Baily, of Hall Place, Leigh, Esq.
LANCASHIRE—Sir Elkanah Armitage, of Hope Hall, Knt.
LEICESTERSHIRE—Charles Hay Frewen, of Cold Overton, Esq.
LINCOLNSHIRE—Henry Robert Boucherett, of North Willingham, Market Rasen, Esq.
MONMOUTHSHIRE—Frederick Cotton Finch, of Blaenavon, near Pontypool, Esq.
NORFOLK—William Amhurst Tyssen-Amhurst, of Diddington Hall, Esq.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE—The Hon. George Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, of Milton, near Peterborough.
NORTHUMBERLAND—Sir John Swinburne, of Capheaton, Bart.
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—Sir Edward Samuel Walker, of Berry Hill, Knt.
OXFORDSHIRE—Sir Henry William Dashwood, of Kirtlington Park, Bart.
RUTLAND—William Wing, of Market Overton, Esq.
SHROPSHIRE—Thomas Hugh Sandford, of Sandford, Esq.
SOMERSETSHIRE—George Bullock, of East Cocker House, Esq.
SOUTHAMPTON, COUNTY OF—The Hon. John Thomas Dutton, of Hinton House, near Alresford.
STAFFORDSHIRE—Ralph Thomas Adderly, of Barlaston Hall, Stone, Esq.
SUFFOLK—William Gilstrap, of Fornham St. Geneveve, Esq.
SURREY—John Frederick Bateman, of Moor Park, Farnham, Esq.
SUSSEX—John Alexander Hankey, of Balcombe, Esq.
WARWICKSHIRE—Sir Robert North Collie Hamilton, of Alveston, Bart, K.C.B.
WESTMORELAND—Joseph Gibson, of Whelprigg, near Kirkby Lonsdale, Esq.
WILTSHIRE—Ambrose Denis Hussey-Freke, of Hannington Hall, Highworth, Esq.
WORCESTERSHIRE—Edward Charles Rudge, of Abbey Manor, Evesham, Esq.
YORKSHIRE—Charles Sabine Augustus Thellusson, of Brodsworth, Esq.

WALES.

ANGLESEA—The Hon. Henry Warrender Fitzmaurice, of Tregof.
BRECONSHIRE—William Fuller-Maitland, of Garthhouse, Esq.
CARDIGANSHIRE—John George William Bonsall, of Fronfraith, Esq.
CARMARTHENSHIRE—Thomas Charles Morris, of Brynmerddin, Esq.
CARNARVONSHIRE—John Dicken Whitehead, of Glangwna, Esq.
DENBIGHSHIRE—Robert Bamford-Hesketh, of Gwrych Castle, Abergele, Esq.
FLINTSHIRE—John Carstairs Jones, of Heartsheath Park, Esq.
GLAMORGANSHIRE—William Grayham Vivian, of Singleton, near Swansea, Esq.
MERIONETHSHIRE—John Corbett, of Ynysymaengwyn, Esq.
MONTGOMERYSHIRE—Edwin Hilton, of Rhiewhiriarth, Esq.
PEMBROKESHIRE—William Walters, of Haverfordwest, Esq.
RADNORSHIRE—Edward Coates, of Whitton, Esq.

UNIVERSITY HONOURS.

OXFORD.—CLASS LISTS.

Term. Trin. 1866.

In Literis Humanioribus.

Classis I.

Abbott, Evelyn, Balliol.
Anson, William R., Balliol.
Creighton, Mandell, Merton[1].
Davidson, James L. S., Balliol.
Hall, James R., Merton.
Hatch, Walter M., New College.
Hicks, Edward L., Brasenose[2].
Ridley, Edward, Corpus Christi.
Varley, John, Oriel.

Classis II.

Butterworth, Charles H., Trinity.
Fitz-Gerald, Gerald A. R., Corpus.
Hoare, Henry W., Balliol.
Morris, Edward E., Lincoln.
Thompson, William, Queen's.
Wedgwood, Arthur, Balliol.
Williams, Robert E., Jesus.
Willis, Edward F., Balliol.
Worsley, Edward, Magdalen.

Classis III.

Battishill, William J., Exeter.
Butter, James, Balliol.
Cockin, Charles E., Wadham.
Davies, Arthur M., Jesus.
Gordon, Richard G., Exeter.
Kitson, Robert, Balliol.
Manson, William P., Wadham.
Millington, William, Brasenose.
Molyneux, Henry W. M., Corpus.
Phillips, Thomas Ll., Jesus.
Poole, John, Christ Church.

Classis IV.

Jones, John, Jesus.
Osborne, William A., Brasenose.

Ninety-eight others passed.

Examiners.

J. M. Wilson.
C. P. Chretien.
T. Fowler.
W. L. Newman.

In Scientiis Math. et Phys.

Classis I.

Barratt, Alfred, Balliol.
Dodd, Cyril, Merton.
Kensington, Theodore, New College.
Rumsey, Robert F., Brasenose.

Classis II.

Kaye, Arthur, Magdalen.
Nash, Thomas, Balliol.
Powell, Edward, Lincoln.
Pughe, Kenneth M., Brasenose.

Classis III.

Barker, Robert, Corpus.
Martin-Atkins, George A., Trinity.

Classis IV.

Sixty-seven others passed.

Examiners.

B. Price.
D. Thomas.
W. Esson.

In Scientia Naturali.

Classis I.

Tomes, Charles S., Ch. Ch.

In Jurisprudentia et Hist. Mod.

Classis I.

Bruce-Gardyne, David G., Trinity.

[1] Fellow of Merton.

[2] Fellow of Corpus.

Follett, Robert W. W., Ch. Ch.
Owen, Harry, Corpus.
Streatfeild, George S., Corpus.

Classis II.

Emerton, Wolseley P., Ch. Ch.
West, George H., Ch. Ch.

Bousfield, William, Merton.
Boyle, William S., Magdalen.
Buxton, Harry J. W., Brasenose.
Eyre, George B., Ch. Ch.
Foster, Albert J., Pembroke.
Howard, Henry F., Ch. Ch.
Monckton, Hon. G. E. M., Ch. Ch.
Small, William J., Exeter.
Stephens, Henry J., Brasenose.

Classis III.

Bromby, C. H., New Inn Hall.
Chamberlayne, S. B. H., Ch. Ch.
Chidlow, Charles, Jesus.
Devas, Arthur C., Ch. Ch.
Tyre, Reginald E., University.
Weitbrecht, John H. M., Corpus.

Classis IV.

Robertson, George P., Trinity.
Voules, Stirling C., Lincoln.

One other passed.

Thirty-three others passed.

Examiners.

G. Rolleston.
H. J. S. Smith.
H. G. Madan.

Examiners.

W. Stubbs.
C. W. Boase.
J. Bryce.

Term. Mich. 1866.

In Literis Humanioribus.

Classis I.

Baillie, Alexander G. M., Balliol.
Bond, Edward, St. John's.
Edwards, Thomas C., Lincoln.
Le Marchant, Francis C., Balliol.
Mylne, Louis G., Corpus.
Phillimore, Walter G. F., Ch. Ch.
Sankey, Charles, Queen's.
Spooner, William A., New College.
Spurling, Frederick W., Wadham.
Willert, Paul F., Corpus.

Classis II.

Acworth, Carr G., Ch. Ch.
Avery, James, Exeter.
Babington, John A., New College.
Cameron, Charles J. L. L., Merton.
Evans, John A., University.
Forster, Michael S., New College.
Gladstone, Stephen E., Ch. Ch.
Hughes, William H., Jesus.
Jenkyns, John, Balliol.
Lloyd, Daniel L., Jesus.
Macrae, Charles C., University.
Murray, George S. D., Wadham.
Myers, Ernest J., Balliol.

In Scientiis Math. et Phys.

Classis I.

Bowyer, Alfred W., University.
Dale, Reginald F., Queen's.
Heath, Chris. H. E., Pembroke.
Reinold, Arnold W., Brasenose [3].
Tootell, Henry, University.

Classis II.

Ferrier, Henry J., Merton.

[3] Fellow of Merton.

Paravicini, Francis de, Balliol [4].
Penny, Edward W., St. John's.
Russell, Herbert D., Wadham.
Saintsbury, George E. B., Merton.
Whitaker, Walter E., Brasenose.
Wilson, Benjamin, Exeter.

Classis III.

Alcock, George, Brasenose.
Anstey, Arthur C. C., University.
Brooke, Samuel R., Corpus.
Burra, Thomas F., University.
Davis, Guillebaud F. L., Worcester.
Gepp, Charles G., Ch. Ch.
Girdlestone, F. K. W., Magdalen.
Glover, Frederick, Exeter.
Hodgson, Robert, Oriel.
Jeaffreson, Charles H., Lincoln.
Kemble, Arthur, New College.
Kemp, John, Lincoln.
Matthews, D. J. H., University.
Moore, Edward W., Wadham.
Nurse, Henry D., Trinity.
Roberts, Charles E. T., Exeter.
Stewart, Robert M., Worcester.
Worthy, Edward A., New College.

Classis IV.

Bandinel, James J. F., Oriel.
Bartholomew, Wm. H., Queen's.
Friend, Martin T., Queen's.
Gibson, Herbert F., Exeter.
Hannah, John J., Balliol.
Waddington, R., St. Alban Hall.

Seventy-six others passed.

Examiners.

J. M. Wilson.
W. Ince.
S. H. Reynolds.
W. L. Newman.

In Scientia Naturali.

Classis I.

Sparks, Edward J., Corpus.

Classis II.

Lightfoot, George H., University.

Classis III.

Raikes, Robert T., Merton.

Classis IV.

Tylecote, Thomas B., Queen's.

Sixty-nine others passed.

Examiners.

B. Price.
W. Esson.
J. D. Davenport.

In Jurisprudentia et Hist. Mod.

Classis I.

Barratt, Alfred, Balliol.
Hall, James R., Merton.
Talbot, Edward S., Ch. Ch.
Taswell-Langmead, T. P., St. M. H.
Varley, John, Oriel.
Verity, Richard H. M., Exeter.

Classis II.

Creighton, Mandell, Merton [5].
Deedes, Cecil, Brasenose.
Dupuis, Edward J. G., Exeter.
Gumbleton, George, Ch. Ch.
Kenyon, John G., Ch. Ch.
Maddison, Arthur R., Merton.
Morris, Edward E., Lincoln.
Robinson, Richard, Queen's.

[4] Senior Student of Ch. Ch.

[5] Fellow of Merton.

Classis III.

Hartland, Ernest, Merton.
Shaw, John L., Merton.

Classis IV.

Examiners.

G. Rolleston.
H. J. S. Smith.
H. G. Madan.

Classis III.

Amcotts, Vincent, Balliol.
Bailward, Thomas H. M., Balliol.
Green, William C., Wadham.
Hutchins, Peter B., Exeter.
Nicholl, Thomas B., Jesus.
Parkinson, Robt. J. H., Magdalen.
Reiss, Frederick A., Balliol.
Rose, William F., Worcester.
Selfe, Edward H., Ch. Ch.

Classis IV.

Granville, Gray, Ch. Ch.
Mills, Francis, Ch. Ch.
Morris, Charles, Corpus.
Secker, Augustus W., Balliol.
Summerfield, Rich. A., Worcester.

Twenty-nine others passed.

Examiners.

W. Stubbs.
C. W. Boase.
J. Bryce.

MODERATIONS.

Term. Trin. 1866.

In Litt. Gr. et Lat.

I.

Copleston, Reginald S., Merton.
Gallop, Richard W., Lincoln.
Godby, Charles V., New College.
Grose, Thomas H., Balliol.
Lake, Herbert J., New College.
Legard, Albert G., Balliol.
Longman, Frederick G., Balliol.
Moberly, Leonard C., All Souls.
Mozley, Francis W., New College.
Nutt, George, New College.
Reid, Robert T., Balliol.
Scott, William T., Exeter.
Shadwell, Lionel L., New College.
Sharkey, Lewis Le H., Corpus.

II.

Austin, Edward C. W., Brasenose.
Bagnold, Alexander B., Balliol.
Bell, Alexander J. M., Balliol.
Bond, John, St. John's.
Bullock, Thomas L., New College.
Butterworth, Frederick W., Balliol.
Fitz-Gerald, Maurice O., Trinity.
Frere, William J., Magdalen.
Gribbon, Walter G., St. John's.
Hartshorne, Bertram F., Pembroke.
Horner, Henry B., Magdalen.
Hume, Francis G., Queen's.
Johnson, Arthur H., Exeter.
Jones, David, Jesus.
Kolle, Frederick P., New College.
Love, Reginald T., Oriel.

In Disc. Math.

I.

Bowyer, Robert W., Queen's.
Grose, Thomas H., Balliol.
Hodgson, Richard G., Ch. Ch.
Laverty, Wallis H., Queen's.
Leeds, Charles E., Exeter.
Richardson, William M., Merton.
Scrymgour, Edward P., Oriel.

II.

Silvester, John, Queen's.

Mackenzie, Donald, Corpus.
Masterman, William, Wadham.
Nelson, George, H., Queen's.
Nicholson, Edward H., Balliol.
Powles, George le B., Magdalen.
Prichard, Charles C., Brasenose.
Redington, Chris. T. T., Ch. Ch.
Stourton, Henry J., Ch. Ch.
Stuart, William C., Merton.
Taylor, Aubrey C. A., Balliol.
Toye, William J., University.
Trevor, Henry E., Ch. Ch.
Twyford, Thomas, Magdalen.
Walker, George H. D., New College.
Ward, Thomas H., Brasenose.
Warden, William, Exeter.
Williams, John H., Magdalen.
Wilmot, Darwin, Magdalen.

III.

Bell, James, Queen's.
Coles, Vincent S. S., Balliol.
Duggan, William B., Lincoln.
Edwards, William G., Ch. Ch.
Eyton, Robert, Ch. Ch.
Foulkes, Evans, Exeter.
Johnson, Herbert, Ch. Ch.
Kelly, Edward E., Wadham.
Molineux, Arthur E., Ch. Ch.
Richmond, Henry S., St. Alban Hall.
Spearman, Rudolph H., Oriel.
Wroughton, Philip, Ch. Ch.

III.

Kitson, Benjamin M., Queen's.
Mozley, Francis W., New College.
Walker, George H. D., New College.

Moderators.

LITT. GR. ET LAT.	DISC. MATH.
J. Riddell.	G. S. Ward.
N. Pinder.	C. J. Faulkner.
J. R. King.	C. J. Price.
D. B. Monro.	

Term. Mich. 1866.

In Litt. Gr. et Lat.

I.

Armstrong, Edward, Exeter.
Batson, Thomas, Lincoln.
Cope, Herbert F., Balliol.
Cripps, Henry L., New College.
Crofts, William C., Brasenose.
Dunlop, Charles J. T., Merton.
Edwards, Robert J., Lincoln.
Elliott, Albert A., Queen's.
Farwell, George, Balliol.
Grant, Edward, Balliol.
Hervey, Lord Francis, Balliol.
Hollings, Henry de B., Corpus.
Hutchison, Robert, Exeter.
Lambert, Percival B., Queen's.
Lang, Andrew, Balliol.
Macmillan, Alexander, Brasenose.
Maitland, Alex. C. R., Corpus.
Michell, Richard B., Balliol.
Nolan, Edward, St. John's.
Parsons, Frederick W., Magdalen.
Pelham, Henry F., Trinity.
Reid, John M., Exeter.

In Disc. Math.

I.

Lambert, Percival B., Queen's.
Threlfall, Thomas, Brasenose.
Tosswill, Alick C., Oriel.

Robertson, Thomas S., Balliol.
Sayce, Archibald H., Queen's.
Wallace, William, Balliol.

II.

Aston, Edward A. H., St. John's.
Ball, Frederick J., Pembroke.
Bartholomew, Francis M., Trinity.
Beaven, Alfred, Pembroke.
Beecroft, George A. B., Ch. Ch.
Brewerton, George, University.
Burgess, William R., Queen's.
Bussell, Frederick V., Corpus.
Carslake, John B., New College.
Chalmers, Mackenzie D., Trinity.
Chitty, Edward, Queen's.
Davis, Montague P., Queen's.
Digby, Charles T., Corpus.
Evans, Robert S., Jesus.
Fish, James H., Worcester.
Frere, Edward T., Exeter.
Halliwell, John E., Magdalen Hall.
Hookham, Frederick, Lincoln.
Hoskins, James T., Oriel.
Hughes, Thomas E., Wadham.
Jackson, Clement N., Magdalen Hall.
Jermyn, Edmund, Ch. Ch.
Laidlay, Andrew, Queen's.
Leach, George P., St. John's.
Lloyd, John M. E., Trinity.
Mackey, Arthur J., Ch. Ch.
Marsden, Reginald G., Merton.
Maton, Leonard J., Lincoln.
Moffat, William, Worcester.
Muir-Mackenzie, Kenneth A., Balliol.
Peck, Philip, Wadham.
Rawnsley, Willingham F., Corpus.
Round, Francis R., Balliol.
Sharp, William H., Lincoln.
Sharp, Henry G., Queen's.
Smith, Henry U., Brasenose.
Sweeting, Henry E., Pembroke.
Wilkinson, Josiah, Queen's.
Willan, James N., Pembroke.
Woodhouse, Fletcher J., St. John's.

III.

Armishaw, William, Magdalen Hall.
Budd, Samuel, Exeter.
Carter, Edmund S., Worcester.
Carter, Lorance W., New College.
Kennedy, Arthur H., New College.
Lethbridge, Arthur, Exeter.
Maxwell, Henry G., St. John's.
Nind, Hubert G., University.
Smith, Clement, Ch. Ch.
Temple, Frederick, Trinity.

II.

Beaven, Alfred, Pembroke.
Brewerton, George, University.
Edwards, Robert J., Lincoln.
Marsden, Reginald G., Merton.
Round, Francis R., Balliol.

III.

Briggs, Thomas H., St. John's.
Kay, William H., Worcester.
Rashleigh, Jonathan, Ch. Ch.

Moderators.

LITT. GR. ET LAT.	DISC. MATH.
J. Conington.	G. S. Ward.
N. Pinder.	C. J. Faulkner.
H. F. Tozer.	C. J. C. Price.
D. B. Monro.	

CAMBRIDGE.

MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS.

MODERATORS.

Norman Macleod Ferrers, M.A., Caius.
James Clerk Maxwell, M.A., Trinity.

EXAMINERS.

Isaac Todhunter, M.A., St. John's.
George Richardson, M.A., St. John's.

*** *In all cases of equality the names are bracketed. The figures* 1 *and* 2 *refer to Dr. Smith's Mathematical Prizes:* 1 *denotes senior,* 2 *junior.* A *and* B *refer to the Chancellor's Medals:* A *senior,* B *junior.* α *denotes that the person was in the first class of the Classical Tripos,* β *in the second,* γ *in the third. The* * *denotes late or present Fellows.*

WRANGLERS.

Ds. [1]*Morton (1), Peter's.
Aldis (2) γ, Trinity.
{ Niven, Trinity.
{ Stuart, Trinity.
{ Hill, John's.
{ *Pirie, Queens'.
Toller, Christ's.
*Gross, Caius.
Dick, Caius.
Osborn, Trinity H.
Genge, John's.
Lang, Caius.
Davies, Emmanuel.
{ Marrack, John's.
{ Pryke, John's.
Goodacre, Sidney.
Turner, Trinity.
Covington, John's.
{ Ribton, Pembroke.
{ *Sanderson, Clare.
Galabin α, Trinity.
Thompson, Christ's.
Johnston, Trinity.
Pulliblank, John's.
Boys, H., Jesus.
{ Baylay, Trinity.
{ Howard, Trinity.
Young β, King's.
{ Ogle, Clare.
{ Taylor, Corpus.
Dewick, John's.
Saunders, Trinity.
Winterbotham, Pembroke.
Phillips, Corpus.
{ Haslam α, John's.
{ McHarg, Clare.
Smith α (A), King's.
Hollis, Trinity.
Rowsell γ, John's.
Sparling, Sidney.
Questel, Downing.

SENIOR OPTIMES.

Ds. Jamblin, John's.
Bishop, Trinity.
Adamson, Emmanuel.
Atkey, Queens'.
Moore, Jesus.
Manisty, Corpus.
Blakiston, Magdalene.
Powys, Corpus.
King, Sidney.
{ Elliott, Sidney.
{ Macartney, Clare.
{ Tuck, Trinity.
Rowband, John's.
{ George, John's.
{ Given, Caius.
Barker, John's.
{ Smith, Jesus.
{ Upton, Trinity.
Haworth, Clare.
Flood, Trinity.
Highton γ, Catharine's.
Govind-Withul, John's.
{ Buxton, Trinity.
{ Humphreys α (B), Trinity.
Barber, Magdalene.
{ Collett, Corpus.
{ Winter, Trinity.

[1] Fellow of Christ's.

JUNIOR OPTIMES.

Ds. Bokenham, Pembroke.
Copleston, Christ's.
Bunbury, Sidney.
Feltham, Emmanuel.
Bloxam, John's.
Gillbanks, Trinity H.
Payne, Peter's.
Kinglake, Trinity.
Dodd γ, Catharine's.
Fox, Trinity.
Shearwood, John's.
Darton, Trinity H.
Cross β, Queens'.
Thornton, C. C., Trinity.
Garnett, Trinity.
Dockray, John's.
Tucker, Trinity.
Browne, Clare.
Box, Trinity.
Payton, John's.
Glennie, Trinity.
Image, Trinity.
Bell, John's.

CLASSICAL TRIPOS.

EXAMINERS.

William Charles Green, M.A., King's.
Edwin Charles Clark, M.A., Trinity.
Arthur Holmes, M.A., Clare.
Charles Spread Deane Townshend, M.A., Jesus.

FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Smith (A), King's.
Smith, John's.
Humphreys (B), Trinity.
*Fanshawe, Corpus.
Haslam, John's.
Mansel, Trinity.
Hart, John's.
Kempthorne, John's.
Galabin, Trinity.
Sutton, Christ's.
Hewitt, John's.
Witt, Peter's.
Shuckburgh, Emmanuel.
Wood, Emmanuel.
Crawley, Trinity.
Hollingworth, King's.

SECOND CLASS.

Saxby, Trinity.
Casswell, Trinity H.
Ebden, Caius.
Massie, John's.
Maccoll, Downing.
Argles, Trinity.
Lund, Sidney.
Marsden, John's.
Bell, Christ's.
Burrow, John's.
Warren, John's.
Hawkins, Trinity.
Macnaghten, Trinity.
Anderson, Trinity.
Cotterill, John's.
Hollond, Trinity.
Brayne, Caius.
Brown, John's.
Hargrove, Clare.
Young, King's.
Doig, John's.
Mackey, Trinity.
Poyer, Trinity.
Cross, Queens'.
Firman, Jesus.
Gedge, Catharine's.
Nettleship, Christ's.
Beaufoy, Trinity.
Crossle, Magdalene.
Maclean, Trinity.
Owen, Clare.

THIRD CLASS.

Johnson, Magdalene.
Hildyard, Trinity.
Lyttelton, Hon. A., Trinity.
Highton, Catharine's.
Brayshaw, John's.
Aldis (2), Trinity.
Miller, John's.
Roberts, Jesus.
Mullinger, John's.
Rowsell, John's.
Dent, Trinity.
Hope-Edwardes, Trinity.
Selwyn, Trinity.
Rawlings, Pembroke.
Farbrother, John's.
Edmonds, Clare.
Romilly, Hon. H., Trinity.
Stansfeld, Trinity.
Butler, Corpus.
Chaplin, Corpus.
Dunn, Clare.
Chapman, Catharine's.
Thornton, Trinity.
Ryder, Hon. A., Trinity.
Wheeler, Magdalene.
Dodd, Catharine's.

NATURAL SCIENCE TRIPOS.

EXAMINERS.

George Murray Humphry, M.D., Downing.
Miles Joseph Berkeley, M.A., Christ's.
William Houghton Stokes, M.A., Caius.
Osmond Fisher, M.A., Jesus.

FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Earle, Jesus.
Walker, Sidney.
King, Caius.

SECOND CLASS.

Ds. Fenwick, Trinity.
Ralfe, Caius.
Smart, Caius.
Wollaston, Clare.

THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Marshall, Trinity.
Semple, Caius.

MORAL SCIENCE TRIPOS.

EXAMINERS.

Leonard Henry Courtney, M.A., St. John's.
Henry Sidgwick, M.A., Trinity.
Edward Meredith Cope, M.A., Trinity.
John Rickards Mozley, M.A., King's.

FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Scott, Jesus.
Mansel, Trinity.
Hewitt, John's.
Maccoll, Downing.
Leach, Caius.

SECOND CLASS.

Ds. Ribton, Pembroke.
Questel, Downing.
Mullinger, John's.

THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Given, Caius.
Durieu, John's.
Phillips, Caius.
Scarlin, John's.
Toone, John's.
Hamond, John's.
Sharrock, John's.
Trench, Trinity.

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